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FROM

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I N D E X

The American Child

VOL. I

MAY 1919—FEBRUARY 1920

National Child Labor Committee

Incorporated to promote the interests of children

106 EAST 22D STREET
NEW YORK CITY

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VOLUME I

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MAY, 1919



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WHEN A FELLER NEEDS A FRIEND



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EDITORIAL AND NEWS NOTES

With this issue the *Child Labor Bulletin* becomes *The American Child*. While the National Child Labor Committee

THE
AMERICAN
CHILD

has during the last few years been continuously broadening its scope, its quarterly publication has become something much more than an organ to influence and inform public opinion on child labor. It has contained articles on health, education, juvenile delinquency, and general child welfare. It had entirely out-grown its name, and *The American Child* was chosen as its new title because that seemed best to convey the present purpose of the editors—to give its readers a journal of all-round information and discussion on every subject concerning the welfare of American children of school age. It will be as distinctly a child labor review as formerly, but it will be something more. The child who goes to work is not essentially different from the child who passes through the public school grades and later perhaps has his four years of university training. Opportunity, paternity, environment, economic freedom or economic bondage, largely determine the lives of each. The object of a broad children's policy therefore, should be to give equal opportunity, not identity of opportunity, in every respect to all children, normal or defective. In some respects it may be said that defective children are given a better chance through special individualized training, than perfectly normal children—that working children, if they are able to withstand the wear and tear, the leveling monotony of early labor, may be stimulated to great effort through being given the opportunity to satisfy their instincts for wage-earning, productive work. The function of the schools should be to provide the same opportunity, making work developing instead of stunting, varied instead of specialized, calculated to draw out the full capacity and interest of the individual child, not to dwarf all children to a common industrial level and universal training. Child labor, as is stated elsewhere in these pages is a great educational

problem. It is a question of infinite ramifications that touches on the one hand the industrial problems of adult labor, and on the other the special, often mysterious problems of the nature of childhood and adolescence. The problem of freeing the schools from institutionalism, formal systems and Prussian-made industrial classification is intrinsic in the child labor problem. The time has come in this work when the *child*, not industry, not the state, not the convenience of manufacturers or parents, not the size of our pockets but the *child* must be thought of. What degree of protection does he need for his development in health, in mind, in his immeasurable potential qualities? Let us find out, and give him that protection. The editors of *The American Child* propose to get the fruit of the investigations and opinions of experts on these subjects and place these questions before their readers, frequently in the form of contributions from experts in different allied fields. They will be glad to receive from them in return, suggestions and news items of general interest.

The complete report of the Peace Conference Commission on International Labor Legislation was made public on April 28. A bill of rights has been drawn, including a state-
INTERNATIONAL ment on child labor: "No child should be permitted to be employed in industry or commerce before the age of 14 years. In order that every child may be insured reasonable opportunities for mental and physical education between the years of 14 and 18, young persons of either sex may only be employed on work which is not harmful to their physical development and on condition that the continuation of their technical or general education is insured." According to the present plan the international labor office would be established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of its administrative organization. Among the matters scheduled to be taken up at the first conference is the employment of children; (a) minimum age of employment; (b) during the night; (c) in unhealthy processes. The greatest difficulty is likely to be met by the Labor Commission in the enforcement of international standards. How can an international tribunal, with representatives from all countries establish rules governing the internal labor conditions of the separate states? It has been suggested that the proposals should take the form either of recommendations

to be submitted to the various nations prior to being carried out by legislation, or of a draft convention to be ratified as a treaty. Manufacturers in this country will undoubtedly be less reluctant to submit to rules of this sort, applicable to their competitors in foreign countries as well as to themselves, than to local or even national laws which fail to regulate the importation of cheap-labor goods from over-seas.

The federal child labor law, passed by Congress as an amendment to the Revenue Act, was signed by President Wilson on February 24, 1919. It went into effect 60 days later, on April 25. There are three important inquiries with regard to this measure. In what way does it differ from the first federal law, declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court last June? Will its constitutionality be affirmed, or is there a chance of its meeting the fate of the first measure? And how is it to be enforced throughout the states?

The text of the bill was printed in the February *Child Labor Bulletin*, together with a discussion of its passage by the Senate. The first child labor law was based upon the interstate commerce clause, and the shipment of child-made goods from one state to another was thereby declared illegal; such goods might be sold within the state and thus purely local industries were not kept from employing children below the standards established by the act. These standards were exactly the same as those established by the present law; no employment of children under 14 in mills, factories, canneries, or manufacturing establishments; no employment of children under 16 in mines and quarries; an 8-hour day and no night work for children between the ages of 14 and 16. But the new law is based upon the taxing power of Congress. That is, a tax of 10 per cent in excess of all other taxes will be levied upon the entire net profits from the products of factories, mines etc., employing children contrary to the specified standards laid down by the act. This will render such employment absolutely prohibitory, whether in local industry or not. Concerning the constitutionality of the law of course no promises can be made. As we go to press we learn that Federal Judge James E. Boyd of the western district of North Carolina, from whose decision the case concerning the first federal law

was appealed to the Supreme Court, has declared the present law invalid. He takes the ground that it seeks to accomplish the regulation of employment by indirection in the use of the taxing power and that it is an invasion of the states' regulatory authority. For the present the law will remain in force throughout the United States except in the western district of North Carolina. Experts believe that when this case is brought before the Supreme Court there is small doubt of its validity being affirmed, because like measures based upon the taxing power have in the past been sustained by the Court. The fact that it is part of the Revenue Act may also influence the Court's decision, as well as the strong reaction of public opinion against the throwing out of the first law.

The enforcement of the act is in the hands of the Treasury Department. It will be administered by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. The Child Labor Division of the Children's Bureau, which was charged with the enforcement of the first federal law was disbanded on April 25. According to a statement by Commissioner Roper as to the administration of the act:

"While it is the purpose of the bureau strictly to enforce the law, its aim is to administer its provisions in a way to cause as little inconvenience as possible to the business world and to offer no injustice to employees.

"It is the intention to adopt, in confirmation of the age of the child, with certain restrictions as to revocation and suspension, the age certificates, working or employment certificate or permit, or other similar permit issued under the laws of the state. In some of the states where adequate laws do not exist this will not be feasible. These states are probably North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and Texas. The plan is that federal agents are to visit localities in such states where establishments employ child labor and issue the certificates in person.

"The bureau will maintain a force of inspectors who are authorized to inspect at any time, any mine, quarry, mill, cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment. Collectors of Internal Revenue will remit the returns to the Commissioner, who will notify the person making the return of the amount of tax due.

"The penalty for failure to make a return or pay the tax within the time specified is a fine of not more than \$1,000. For 'wilfully refusing' or 'wilfully attempting' to evade the tax the penalty is a

fine of not more than \$10,000, imprisonment for one year, or both, together with the cost of prosecution."

Among the most important measures passed by the 1919 state legislatures is the West Virginia child labor law. Formerly this state regulated the hours of children's work only by the natural 24-hour day limit; its 14-year age provision was riddled with exemptions; its work permit system was ineffective; its implicit permission for young children to commit industrial suicide in its glass and other factories was a national scandal. This year, however, West Virginia put on the statute books a measure limiting employment in all gainful occupations at 14 years, with exemption for agriculture and domestic service only; prohibiting night work and fixing an 8-hour day for children under 16; strengthening the system of issuing work permits by requiring completion of the 6th grade, proof of age, and the employer's and a physician's certificate. Special permits will be issued for work outside school hours in business offices and shops for children over 12, and vacation permits to children over 14 without the educational requirement (completion of the 6th grade). This law places West Virginia where she should be—among the states that care enough for their children to give them the protection that has long been considered the minimum—no factory work under 14, no work in mines under 16, no night work and an 8-hour day for all children. Incidentally, in all respects save in the granting of vacation permits, the state law now conforms to the federal act which took effect April 25.

The bill did not, however, meet with unanimous approval, for Mr. Hough of the Senate inveighed loudly against it, on moral, physical, and educational grounds. As we believe this speech to be practically unrivaled in historical interest, as illustrative of an almost vanished point of view, we take pleasure in extending his opinions to our readers. After a brief historical sketch of child labor legislation in West Virginia, the Senator continued:

"The legislature of 1917 attempted to follow the federal child labor law, as we are now trying to do, but, understand, the Supreme Court has made some adverse rulings on the federal law since.

"The child labor law we now have before us is more complicated and its application will work a tremendous influence in shaping the

character, habits, and disposition of the growing generation in many ways in the wrong direction, on account of its impracticable application, and with its doctrine largely in direct conflict with moral laws that must be observed in caring for the growing child.

"The bill reads well, in theory sounds well, and has the endorsement of many clubs, societies and organizations, who often resolute for publicity and play to the popular chord, and I presume this legislature will enact this bill into law, notwithstanding not a single demand for this bill comes from the people whom the law is intended to benefit.

"In my life, I have been closely connected, in an executive capacity, with schools in country, town and city, and I have had much to do with their relation to industry as it affected the humblest family to the family of the millionaire, and I feel that the true education for the youth of today is in industry almost as much as in the school room, and the two should be more closely united under proper moral and civil regulations for the child. But this bill has the opposite effect and widens the breach between the study-room and the industrial training usually craved by the child.

"With my experience in a public capacity, I also have with it the domestic experience of raising a family of six sons, and I know the strict application of this bill would have been a handicap, and the strict application of the bill to family, school and industry, as they are related in the first senatorial district, will be impossible in the majority of cases coming within the perview of this bill . . .

"The present child labor laws can not be enforced in the first senatorial district, and I cite one case of four boys being denied five days wages to four different mothers, and five days of their schooling, and five days work and materials lost to employer, and if I had not accidentally seen these boys in their difficulty and helped them to meet the requirements of the law, they would have given up in disgust, or have broken the law by falsehood. This is one of many cases I could cite under misfit child labor law, which is nothing near as complicated as this bill, the practical application of which, I may say, is well illustrated in the picture drama 'Intolerance.'

"The children are not sold, but actually stolen and ripped from the mother's bosom by blind society in its craze for good and patriotic reputations.

"The demand for this bill comes mostly from clubs, societies

and organizations which are generally void of the practical experience of the application of the subject matter in this bill—composed mostly of misguided, well-to-do mothers, women not patriotic enough to own children, disappointed maids, and men lovers of the limelight—all illusioned to reform and save the American youth, but not charged with final responsibility like that of the senators who are obliged to answer for the good or bad in this bill.

"I conclude: The practical application of the bill will inculcate into the child disrespect for parent, instil idleness, indolence and laziness in the child, and disgust the American youth with civil laws hard to obey, that are out of harmony with moral law, and interfering with education he seeks and should have, to say nothing of the inconvenience, loss and damage to industry which it will work in the first senatorial district and in the state at large. I am convinced the enactment of this bill into law will be a feeder in disguise to the dangerous unrest now permeating the whole land, and I therefore vote against the bill—'No.' "

Full information is not available concerning the fate of many of the child welfare bills introduced in the 42 state legislatures meeting in 1919. Many have not yet adjourned, **LEGISLATION** and from other states it has not been possible to obtain copies of bills passed. It is apparent, however, that excellent progress was made. West Virginia's decision to turn over a new leaf is mentioned above. North Carolina also passed a child labor and education law, fixing the age for work in factories, mills, etc., at 14, and abolishing the poverty exemption in the education act; in this state the juvenile court law recommended in the National Child Labor Committee's report, *Child Welfare in North Carolina*, also went through. South Carolina made its education law state-wide and it looks at the date of writing as if Florida would follow her example. Oklahoma raised the compulsory school age to 18 (16 if regularly employed), and appointed a children's code commission to study the state laws and administration and report back to the legislature. Another southern state, Texas, passed a bill establishing an Industrial Welfare Commission.

The West and Middle West also give evidence of the change in the attitude of the law-makers toward problems of child welfare. Arizona provides for continuation schools, making attendance compulsory

for 150 hours per year, to be taken from the employers' time. Oregon is a second, Utah a third and Iowa a fourth state making provision for part-time schools. In Iowa there is to be a 40-hour week for children under 16 years in districts where there are such schools. Messengers in cities of 10,000 population must be 18 years old to work after 10 o'clock at night. North Dakota has included mines in the list of occupations prohibited under 16 years, and has passed a street trades law. South Dakota created a Child Welfare Commission. Though Indiana failed rather dismally in most of her efforts to obtain better protection for children, the legislature appointed an investigating commission on child welfare and social legislation.

For the North and East, New Hampshire passed a bill reorganizing the educational system. New Jersey was a fifth state to legislate for continuation schooling. As in Iowa the work hours are to be limited in districts where such schools are established, in order to allow time for attendance out of the employer's time.

There were hard fights in several states where bills failed to pass at the end—notably Texas, California and Indiana. But so far as can be ascertained, in only one state was anything done to lower the existing standards. Vermont passed a bill exempting from the hours restriction manufacturing establishments dealing with perishable products; in other words, children may henceforth work in canneries more than 8 hours a day.

The recent report of the English joint industrial conference of employers and employees, in many respects one of the most important documents arising from the present industrial world crisis, devotes a paragraph to child labor. "The committee are of opinion that child labor is bad in principle and in practice tends to decrease the chances of adult employment. For these reasons, without going into details, the committee think that the age at which a child should enter employment should be raised beyond the present limit." The present limit in England is 14 years. While this appears on first consideration, to be a gentle sort of recommendation, other proposals are an 8-hour day for all employed persons, with necessary exceptions, and a minimum rate of wages. Both of these would react in favor of the elimination of child labor, both through the provision of a living wage for the head of the family,

and through the natural desire of employers to obtain labor worth the established rate. The reduction of working hours would apply to adults and children alike. The present extent of unemployment in England, as in this country, is a potent argument for the demobilization of children in industry.

Soviet Russia, through its representative here (the Director of the Commercial Department of the Bureau of the Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic) makes the statement that as soon as trade is resumed only those manufactures will be purchased from the United States that have been made under conditions favorable to the workers. Among the undesirable commodities are sweat-shop products and goods manufactured by child labor. In Russia itself child labor in industry is to be abolished, according to the plan of the government. While the government will strive to eliminate the exploitation of children as laborers, the educational program includes productive work in the schools and in connection with the schools as one of its most striking features. From 13 years up, "there is possible an easy but real labor outside of the school . . . The school, without losing sight of the youngster, protecting it from harm, turning each act of its labor to the benefit of its general physical and mental development, will lead it into the very tangle of social productive work . . . The actual specialization, the transition to the vocational preparation, is, in the opinion of the Commissariat, admissible only . . . beginning with the age of 16."

Mexico, it is reported, is enforcing its new labor law; unhealthy and dangerous occupations and night work in factories are forbidden to all women and children under 16 years; they may not work in commercial establishments after 10 at night. Children between 12 and 16 are not allowed to work more than 6 hours a day, and the work of a child under 12 years of age shall not be made the subject of a contract.

The program of the German Teachers' Association, according to the *Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung* for February 15 reads as follows:

"A uniform school from the kindergarten up to the university; unrestricted right of every child to education according to its ability and willingness to pursue higher studies, regardless of the parent's wealth,

position, and creed; free instruction and school accessories; free maintenance and clothes for necessitous children; extension of compulsory education in the common and continuation schools up to the age of 18; abolition of all church supervision, and compulsory religious adherence for teachers and pupils; removing from the teachers' duties any purely church function; inspection of the school work by professional men thoroughly familiar with it; uniform training and salaries for all teachers; full citizenship for all teachers; guarantee of freedom of teaching and professional independence of teachers; a federal department for schools and education assisted by a Council of Education; uniform administration of public schools with complete self-government; advisory and authoritative bodies in all the grades of school administration; constitutional guarantee of these demands in case the federated state constitution remains in force."

The child labor law of Argentina provides that minors under 16 shall not work more than 8 hours a day in dangerous occupations, or between the hours of 9 p. m. and 6 a. m.; children under 13 shall not be employed in industrial establishments. Children under 16 years must obtain a work permit. During the period 1914-17, according to the Department of Labor of Argentina, 98.5 per cent of the children applying for permits were between 12 and 15 years of age. There were 17 of 10 years and 146 of 11 years. In 1917, 38 per cent more children of school age sought permits than in 1916.

The Report of the Back-to-School Drive Committee of New York City includes in its recommendations provisions for scholarships, more visiting teachers, additional continuation schools, additional attendance officers, more census enumerators and the extension of vocational guidance. With regard to the effect of the vacation employment law on the truancy problem of the city—which formed the basis for the committee's investigation—the opinions of school principals are about evenly divided. Those presiding over schools in good residential districts are in favor of the law. But those having schools in poor neighborhoods where the economic pressure is serious would like to see the law wiped off the statute books. They assert that it has caused them infinite trouble to get these children back to school and that many of them are still out.

"In conclusion it must be admitted that from the limited viewpoint of a 'Back-to-School' drive only, the drive was not successful, as it was

unreasonable to expect that children legally qualified to work and holding positions which paid them abnormally high wages would relinquish their newly won independence and voluntarily return to school. Out of the whole number investigated only two children—boys—were found who were willing to do this, provided scholarships could be provided, and one of them, on subsequent reconsideration, decided to remain at work.

"But, though the Back-to-School drive was unsuccessful, the work accomplished by the 'Stay-in-School' drive was distinctly satisfactory. Many children were dissuaded from their expressed intention of leaving school at the completion of the sixth grade. The interest of others in vocational and trade schools was stimulated and several transfers were effected so that children whose interest in a purely academic course had flagged might be enabled to enter industrial classes. These cases were handled chiefly through the various vocational guidance committees and followed up by the investigator. In other instances, scholarships were forthcoming to make further school available. Illegal employment, when found by the investigator was reported to the proper authority and the child returned to school. Tenement home work, a powerful agent in retardation was frequently found and conditions reported and remedied. It was found on one occasion that when all the persuasive powers of the vocational counselor had failed to impress the mind of a boy who had determined to leave school on February 1st the simply worded statement of a former scholarship holder who was sent to see the boy prevailed. A large group of cases has been referred back to the Chairman with the recommendation that further follow-up work be applied and arrangements have already been made to give this group special attention during the remainder of the school term."

In March a statement was sent out by Mr. Lovejoy, General Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, in which he said,

BACK-TO-SCHOOL without recognizing the fact that the schools
SCHOOL PULL actually drive children into industry." Mr.
IS NEEDED Lovejoy took the position that prohibitory
child labor laws and compulsory education are
not alone sufficient to constitute a solution of the problem.

"The majority of children," he said, "leave school just as soon as the compulsory education laws allow, and a majority of those who go from school to work do so just as soon as the child labor laws allow. Why do children leave school at the earliest opportunity? Not so often because their parents force them, as because they themselves want to leave. All the notable studies made in the last ten years of the reasons why children under 16 go into industry concur in the conclusion that the two main reasons are economic

pressure and dissatisfaction with school, and many persons who are in close contact with these boys and girls find that dissatisfaction with school is the more common reason.

"The fact is that the typical school does not hold the interest and allegiance of its pupils. We grown-ups defend ourselves by saying that it is all the children's fault, thereby putting the blame on somebody smaller than we are, which in this instance is an unintelligent as well as cowardly thing to do. To accuse children of a lack of interest in school is to accuse ourselves. If we made the school seem real and practical to the children it would hold them, and certainly the school ought at least to seem real and practical."

Mr. Lovejoy referred in particular to the "overworked machinery and machine-methods" of the modern school, "its cut-and-dried, traditional curriculum, its failure to allow for and provide for individual differences in children, its failure to give the work impulses the same scope in school that the children seek in other places, and its failure to give the social instincts the same scope that they have out on the playground.

"A large part of the difficulty lies in the niggardly attitude of the public in the matter of school equipment and fair salaries for teachers.

"The school," Mr. Lovejoy continues, "has been irresistibly driving children into industry—usually without vocational training or guidance. Industry has had the pulling power. Now we are engaged in a Back-to-School Drive, necessitated by the enormous exodus from the schools during the war. But the school lacks pulling power, and in scores of towns and cities it is being found next to impossible to get any of the boys and girls to return, even though a good many have lost their jobs. It would be a great help in the present campaign, from the standpoint of child labor reform, if in addition to the 'driving' there could be more 'pulling'—in other words, a Back-to-School Pull. And instead of trying to build a fence around the school so high that children can not jump out, why not make the enclosure attractive enough so that they will want to stay in?"

Mr. Lovejoy's statement aroused interest in many quarters, as indicative of the new emphasis placed on the child labor movement in these days. The *Pittsburgh Sun* says: "In broad view this criticism of American schools is just. We are still handicapped by a

system that tries to force the same medicine down all throats . . . It is child nature to resent restraint, and if schools are to be made popular, schoolmen must devise a more flexible system than those that now prevail."

The Oakland, California, *Enquirer* asks, "While we are at work overhauling many institutions worn out or proved antiquated; while we are in a general house-cleaning mood, why not put the school under the microscope of the public eye? Certainly something is the matter. Perhaps the sociologists are right. If they are, let us heed them; if they are wrong let us find out what is right, and remedy it. Can anyone find anywhere a normal child of average intelligence who will admit that he likes to go to school? Try it and see."

The Women's City Club in cooperation with the New York Child Labor Committee is conducting an intensive inquiry into the conditions of tenement-house child labor in New York City. The thoroughness with which the Committee conducts its inquiries will make this report of great value. We shall be curious to learn whether the Committee has discovered some method by which employment of children can be regulated in tenement house employments or whether their conclusions justify the conviction we have long entertained that child labor can not be eliminated while tenement house manufacture continues. Our objections to the turning of crowded rooms into factories were summarized several years ago as follows:

1. The goods occupy room the children need.
2. Tenement house workers constitute an inarticulate army unable to organize or improve their industrial conditions.
3. Tenement house manufacture endangers the public health by the impossibility of protecting goods from the germs of contagious disease.
4. The regulation of the employment of children is impossible unless the state is willing to provide one inspector for each tenement for each 8-hour shift in the day since the business continues over a 24-hour day.
5. The employer instead of carrying the legitimate overhead charges of heat, power, light and rent distributes these costs among the ignorant and hopeless victims of his system and is thus able to

underbid manufacturers in other cities who produce goods under proper conditions in well constructed factories.

No evidence has thus far been produced to alter our opinion in this matter.

In connection with Dr. Barth's article appearing in this number, it is interesting to note
WISCONSIN DEMANDS that the Wisconsin Industrial Commission
PHYSICAL FITNESS has formally adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved that the commission will in the city of Milwaukee hereafter pursue the policy of requiring proof of physical fitness to enter employment before any regular child labor permit is issued, and

"Resolved Further, that in order to secure evidence of the physical fitness of children who apply for regular child labor permits, the commission will require a detailed statement of the condition of the health of such child at the time when it applies for a permit, from the Health Department of the city of Milwaukee, the School Hygiene Department of the Board of Education of Milwaukee, or any other competent physician of general practice, such report to be made upon Form B-12."

That Wisconsin may soon be expected to be one of the states having effective regulation of street trading is the opinion of the Industrial Commission of that state. The law of
ENFORCING 1918 makes it prohibitory for boys under 12 or
THE STREET girls under 18 to sell newspapers and periodicals
TRADES LAW in all cities, instead of in cities of the 1st class
IN WISCONSIN only, and includes in its provisions newsboys selling papers on their own account. Further, all boys under 17 must obtain a permit from the board of education in order to engage in street trading, and they are prohibited from such work between 5 a. m. and 7:30 p. m., and during school hours. The Industrial Commission is making every effort to see that this law is strictly enforced, and it is helped in this by the fact that a boy without a street trades permit can recover treble compensation from his employer, under the 1917 Act, if injured. The newspapers therefore have a personal interest in employing only those boys who hold permits. "Still more important," says the Commission's report, "is the fact that in these cities no boys under 12 years of age are now engaged in street trades where formerly boys from 7 years up were engaged in selling newspapers."

BREVITIES

The National Conference on Social Work will be held at Atlantic City, June 1-8.

Cincinnati is going to continue the Social Unit. The Mohawk-Brighton district conducted a unique community referendum, and its citizens by a vote of 4,034 to 120 voted in favor of continuing the block system of community organization.

The establishment of a juvenile court for Charlotte, North Carolina, is scheduled for the near future, according to reports. The last legislature created the necessary machinery.

The New York Board of Education is going to hire a lawyer and accountants and spend \$25,000 to investigate itself. That will be more than adequate. It doesn't cost everybody \$25,000 to find out what is the matter with the Board of Education. For one thing it only costs five cents to find out that there are a quarter of a million children on part-time in New York City schools, at least 100,000 children suffering from malnutrition, and that the \$50,000 appropriated last September and ready to use last January 1, for the purpose of *experimenting* in school lunches is still lying in the treasury.

The North Continuation School in Pittsburgh illustrates the modern movement for continuation schooling. There are now in attendance about 2,200 boys and girls ranging from the sixth grade through high school. They form two groups; those who liked school but were forced to leave, and those who disliked it and sought work as a means of escape. Children may go to work at 14 years of age, but must attend the continuation school till they are 16. They attend 8 hours a week and the classes are arranged on a four hour basis, attendance being usually for one full day or for two half days.

News has just been received that the Missouri legislature has passed 25 of the 51 bills recommended by the Children's Code Commission.

The American Child

A Journal of Constructive Democracy

Published Quarterly

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Contributors to this Issue

Julia C. Lathrop is Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of labor. The Bureau conducted the Children's Year campaigns including the Back-to-School Drive now in progress, and it is at Miss Lathrop's invitation that the International Conference on Child Welfare was recently held in Washington.

George P. Barth, director of the Department of School Hygiene, Milwaukee, has been active in the campaign for physical examinations for school and working children. Dr. Barth's article on Health Supervision of the Working Child was printed in the November, 1918, *Child Labor Bulletin*.

John B. Andrews, Secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislation, is a prominent writer on economic subjects. He is editor of the *American Labor Legislation Review*, and joint author, with John R. Commons, of *Principles of Labor Legislation*.

Theresa Wolfson is special agent of the National Child Labor Committee. She has recently been doing work in New York City in connection with the Back-to-School Drive.

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION

RUTH MCINTIRE

Do we have a system of universal education in the United States? This is not a flippant nor an idle question. Have we a universal system open to every child, free to every child, calculated to give every child a fair start in life? We are not leveling criticism at the lack of compulsory education laws, at the lax administration of such laws, or even, at this particular moment, at the economic system which forces children of certain classes into premature work or ill fits them physically to take advantage of the schooling provided. But we have supposed till now that given the desire to learn, and given the freedom from work, every child in this country had a chance for education. Within the last few months, however, reports from various large cities are causing people to wonder seriously what we offer in education to the insistent needs of children. In New York City alone there are a quarter of a million children on part-time—a quarter of a million not able to receive, no matter how much they want it, the education that the state requires by law for every child. There are not enough teachers, and there are not enough seats for every child to have one reserved for himself alone. The *Pittsburgh Post* likewise reports, "While members of the Legislature are accused, in their efforts to create more jobs, of aiming to provide a seat for every politician, 20,000 school children in Philadelphia are reported on half-day sessions. In Pittsburgh there are a few children being similarly cheated." That is one difficulty, or rather two—no room, no teachers.

A third serious aspect is presented in the truancy reports. Even when there is room, apparently the children are none too eager to take advantage of it. A total of 253,195 cases of truancy were investigated in Philadelphia in 1918. There has been an increase of 86 per cent in the number of cases reported to the Bureau of Compulsory Attendance in the last five years. The situation is now such that there are neither enough truancy officers nor enough institutions

and truant schools to take care of the number. The Public Education Association of New York City says in respect of the situation, "In competition with other appeals to the imagination and varying tastes of growing children, the existing school has little to offer. One sits, mostly, and absorbs. Spontaneous self-expression too often is not invited, if not, indeed, suppressed. Little or no opportunity is afforded for the play of growing muscles that ache for action. The minds of children differ as widely as their faces. To win them, to hold them willingly, the appeal must be made to their individual interests. Large classes, the lack of adequate equipment, the rigidity of over-minutely prescribed courses of study, the inflexibility of school programmes, the inevitable fatigue and loss of enthusiasm of overworked and underpaid teachers, have all contributed, among other causes, to make children not want to stay in school."

For lack of teachers, there is only one effective remedy. Double the salaries and give freedom to teach effectively, without the incubus of an inflexible and tradition-bound curriculum or of a rigid standard of achievement in terms of text-book pages and formal examinations. With regard to the lack of school buildings or rather of "a seat for every child" the situation is perhaps more puzzling. The cost of building has about doubled in the last two years and it is a question if we shall for a long time catch up on school-houses. Experiments have been carried on for several years, however, in making full use of the school plant, and the success of the duplicate plan would point to this as a probable solution. So far as children's objection to the existing school system is concerned, a solution of the teacher difficulty will help. But much more than this is needed. Boys and girls prefer work to school because it brings them wages, because it gives them a feeling of responsibility, because they think they will be free from being talked at, and will have an opportunity for independence and experiment in the adult world. It is at least pertinent to ask ourselves, and it may soon be imperative to do so, whether we can not give children in school the things they seek without literally driving them out into industry ill-equipped to resist exploitation because they have never been allowed responsibility or initiative.

STOCK TAKING IN CHILD WELFARE

EDWARD N. CLOPPER, Ph.D.

Our conceptions of things are often cramped and inclined to run in grooves. We are in the habit of fashioning them according to well-established models, of conventionalizing them, so to speak. Mention a convict, and we think of a close-cropped, cow-licked, stripe-clad wretch. Speak of a vampire, and we visualize a sinuous, dark-eyed lady in a tight-fitting gown and droopy hat, wearing a languid air and a bunch of orchids. Refer to a child laborer, and we picture to ourselves a pale, stoop-shouldered, flat-chested, 10-year-old spinner in a southern cotton-mill. So with a prize-fighter, a preacher, a physician, a farmer, a politician, death, time, good, evil—each is fitted in our fancy to a type or symbol which we label the true representative of its class and file away in our memory for ready reference. And we instantly protest whenever a portrayal on paper, film, or stage runs counter to our model, as in a movie court-room scene, if the man on the bench does not meet our specifications for the type, we murmur: "Huh, he doesn't look much like a judge." These types and symbols usually were born of conditions and customs of the past, and it makes no difference whether any of those conditions and customs persist in our day—the pictures in our imagination are inalterably fixed.

When the term "child welfare" chances to fall from the lips of a speaker, his listeners at once think of a poor little, ragged, sobbing child whose mother is dead, and whose drunken father aims a blow at him with one hand and clutches a bottle of rum in the other, while the agent of the charity society stands with upraised arm and shields the helpless child from the ferocity of the unnatural father. This insistence upon reducing classes of people and kinds of work to the narrow limits of these conventionalized images interferes to a marked extent with our appreciating new developments and the full significance of what is going on in the world. The convict in stripes is archaic, but we cherish such insignia in the face of

modern penology. Even our speech is couched in terms of the long ago—a steamship “sails” from a port; one “drives” his automobile, and “writes” a letter on his typewriter. So with child welfare service—it is commonly thought of as the protecting from cruelty, the rescuing from iniquity, the relieving of poverty—while the safeguarding of health, the providing of recreation, the requiring of attendance at school, the regulating of work conditions, are generally looked upon as independent and unrelated undertakings. Inevitably, division of labor has split up social service just as it has split up manufacturing, but, curiously enough, the term “child welfare” has come to have in the popular mind a somewhat restricted meaning, as the care of the dependent, the protection of the neglected, the correction of the delinquent, and the training of the defective, which are the subjects concerning children most conspicuous in the programs of the National Conference on Social Work. And so discussion of school matters is largely confined to meetings of the National Education Association; of health matters to meetings of the American Public Health Association and medical societies; of employment matters to conventions of the National Child Labor Committee; of recreation matters to conferences of the National Playground Association.

The workers in none of these fields come into contact with those in the other fields either at conventions or in the course of their work, sufficiently to bring out that clear understanding of the connection among their several efforts, which would result in concerted action on a broad program of correlated activities. Health, education, recreation, and suitable employment, however, concern all children, and most boys and girls are not dependent or destitute or neglected or abused or delinquent or defective, but are normal in respect of parentage and their relations to society. It follows that these four great essentials, affecting as they do all classes of children, the fortunate as well as the unfortunate, are of paramount importance. But they cannot be secured to children by their parents alone—the state and the community are chiefly responsible in this matter through the laws they enact and the steps they take for promoting health, schools, play and proper work under good conditions. So it is that the normal child is to be considered in any welfare program as much as those who are unfortunate by reason of want, abuse, broken homes or bad environment.

The normal child, living in a place where the local authorities fail to take ordinary health precautions, where schools are neglected and where there is no local pride in keeping the town abreast of modern methods in sanitation, housing, fire protection, street beautifying, public school improvement and other civic undertakings, is denied the advantages commonly afforded to delinquent boys and girls in reformatories, and to the feeble-minded in the special institutions established for their care. It used to be said that the only way a youth could get vocational education was to commit a crime and be sentenced to the reformatory—the only place where it was provided. Although this happily is no longer a well-founded charge against the public schools, it is true that in proportion to their numbers, more thought and effort are devoted to the welfare of our unfortunate children than to that of our normal boys and girls. And yet it is the latter who are to carry on. This is not written in a spirit of deprecating this devotion to the interests of our dependent, neglected, delinquent, and defective children, for this work must be maintained and extended, but in a spirit of fairness to the great majority of our children who while enjoying the blessing of home life, are, nevertheless, subject to the public provisions for health, schools, recreation and labor restriction—matters that lie quite beyond the individual control of most parents. The responsibility is upon the state to protect the interests and advance the well-being of the normal child no less than to attend to the needs of the unfortunate.

The body of laws we have constructed for the benefit of children is made up of parts whose relationship has not been recognized. The health laws have been placed upon the statute books mainly through the agency of societies and individuals interested primarily in this subject and having little or no connection with other undertakings in behalf of children. Similarly, labor laws, school laws, and general protective laws have been separately enacted. As a natural consequence, administrative agencies set up for putting all these laws into effect, function without much regard to the bearing that one part of the program has upon the other parts. After years of such spasmodic and individual effort it becomes necessary to assemble the parts and fit them together, so that this increasingly important and elaborate machinery for child care may operate smoothly and effectively. In this respect the state is somewhat in the position of a merchant who takes stock from time to time, going over the goods

he has on hand and seeing what is shopworn and what is out of style, and what needs to be done in order to meet the present requirements of his trade. Some of our laws have been outgrown because of changed conditions; certain situations arise for which there is no remedy on the statute books; and parts of the system have been supplied without much thought of the real character of this business of safeguarding the interests of boys and girls. This taking stock in the child welfare world has come to be known as the movement for children's codes, but as a matter of fact, the children's code as developed in the United States is not a code at all, but consists simply of the standardizing and coordinating of laws relating to children and the improving of the machinery set up by state and local communities for their administration. Conflicts in their provisions must be removed, standards must be made as nearly uniform as possible, the development of the welfare idea must be encouraged, and above all, law observance must be promoted through making administration more effective and harmonious. In all this work, and it is a work exceedingly complicated and requiring skilled treatment and unremitting care and patience, the needs of the normal child are entitled to just as much consideration as the needs of the ones stricken in body, mind, or estate. For the main purpose of the people is to bring up children to be good men and women. Ohio, Minnesota and Missouri are the only states that have so far put their child welfare laws and procedure upon a sound and rational basis through the medium of children's codes. But others are working toward this end, and in a few years we may confidently expect this taking stock in the business of looking after the welfare of children to be generally under way in our country. It is not something that can be done at a desk by merely piecing together laws that have been written, but requires thorough knowledge of conditions and of standards and practices in vogue both in the state concerned and elsewhere. In order to furnish an informational basis upon which the action of children's code commissions may rest, the National Child Labor Committee in recent years has made comprehensive studies of conditions in the different fields into which child welfare work commonly falls, and at the request of state universities, official agencies, and social service societies, has published the findings of such inquiries in book form, together with discussions of how the laws apply or fail to apply to conditions found and of how administra-

tive agencies function in putting these laws into effect. The recommendations made by the committee in such reports have already been of use to state legislatures and officials in the improvement of laws and administrative methods. It is with the welfare of all children in mind and not of a special class that this work is being pursued, and it is believed that such studies will do more than anything else to bring home to the people of the country the fact that child welfare is not limited to rescuing orphans from dens of vice, but concerns the present and future of every child, yours and mine, rich and poor alike. It is only in this comprehensive way that justice can be done to these, our helpless wards.

THE NEW HUMANITARIANISM

RAYMOND G. FULLER

The humanitarianism of child labor reform—its spirit and motive—is becoming further socialized. More particularly, it is becoming patriotic.

Humanitarianism as human sympathy, instinctive fellow feeling, is primarily social in origin. But above the social instincts there is social imagination, and beyond social amelioration, social construction. The child labor reform movement is characterized to-day, as never before, by this social vision and purpose; its spirit—what I choose to call its humanitarianism—is dominated by its aims generically known as social aims. Subjective feeling has not been displaced, however, by objective thinking; the two have united in the new humanitarianism of child labor reform. Satisfaction is consciously sought in social construction and not merely in social amelioration.

The intellectual, socially purposive element in the humanitarianism actuating child labor reformers has been stronger—and longer present—with the leaders than with the great body of reformers. To the mass of people the term "social," in connection with social aims, has seemed somewhat vague, and these aims have often been called "visionary" in derision. The word was too broad to compel popular understanding for indeed, the speakers and writers themselves often used it with little understanding. It had no punch; it made no appeal; it failed to grip the imagination. So the word "social" remained—a word!

But something has lately happened that has translated the word and thereby illuminated it, clarified it, enlivened it. That something is the war. From the standpoint of social reform a great gain has been registered by the fact that social aims can now, much more easily than before the war, be identified with national aims. The war, accompanied by discussions of cooperative undertakings such as a League of Nations, has wonderfully enhanced national conscious-

ness. National thinking, as opposed to local or parochial thinking, has been stimulated. The patriotic imagination is active and it can be kept active. A highly important task now is to preach the gospel of peace-time patriotism. In peace as in war, service to country is needed—service to the ideal America. The war is over, but peace has only just begun.

Service to the ideal America implies, more than anything else, the promotion of democracy. The war, beside developing the nationalistic spirit, has in many ways added to the demand for greater human justice in our social and economic arrangements. Social reform as a task of patriotism is in tune with the psychology of the times. Humanitarianism and patriotism can be harnessed together.

They were harnessed together during the war, in a nationally spirited way. Loyal support in divers forms was given the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army and various other organizations, not solely because their work was a work of relief but also because it was a work of preserving and developing morale among both civilians and soldiers. It was a work that conserved and increased man-power—which is qualitative and quantitative—man-power for America and for American ideals. It was constructive work, felt and known to be such by the whole American people.

In the tasks and duties of peace America needs morale. America in the days that are now beginning needs man-power. Morale and man-power depend in large measure on conditions of democracy, on social justice, social reform. In this respect child labor is a handicap to the nation, for it is an injustice to adult workers as well as to its immediate victims. Injustice and the sense of injustice weaken morale. Child labor directly lessens man-power by its manifold evil effects on body, mind and morals. A patriotic humanitarianism as the dominant motive in child labor reform is idealistic and constructive and up-to-date.

The war has popularized the idea of man-power, which is conspicuously a national conception. The humanitarianism of man-power, of human conservation and development, of better human relationships, is the new ideal that is bound to swell the ranks of the child labor reformers as the old humanitarianism of pity and tears can not do. That old humanitarianism of pity and tears found its satisfaction in the relief of the individual exploited child, in his

rescue from cruelty and abuse, in his deliverance from bondage. Prematurity of labor was regarded as largely a question of physical hardship and injury, or perhaps as an infringement of the child's rights through his deprivation of a fair opportunity to get an education like that of other boys and girls. The time for pity and tears has not yet passed; the time for lamenting the lifelong injury done to individuals through child labor has not gone by; but the time has arrived when the cause of child labor reform will make its widest, if not its strongest, appeal to the patriotic humanitarianism of the American people. And this humanitarianism is concerned with man-power.

What makes a nation great? Man-power, man-power of intelligence and enlightenment, man-power for industrial and commercial prosperity but man-power also for the purposes and practices of democracy. What makes a nation great? Sometimes we say, "An educated citizenship." But education means physical education, intellectual education, vocational education, moral education; it means from the national standpoint, the development of man-power.

A patriotic humanitarianism will abolish child labor because child labor is not educative and because the education of all the children is demanded for the fulfillment of national ideals and the making of the ideal America. The abolition of child labor will be looked upon as a means to an end and not as an end in itself. Neither will man-power be regarded as an end in itself, but rather as a means to the further progress of democracy and social justice within America and throughout the world. The new humanitarianism will become the new patriotism.

Ideals of manhood, womanhood, nationhood, no less than pure humanitarian feeling, are the inspiration of the legislative attack on child labor. Child labor reform is the business of statesmanship, in which all intelligent, well-informed and thoughtful citizens are bound to participate. "To think," said William James, "is the moral act." There is a moral obligation to be intelligent and informed. The uninformed and the unthinking must be reached through publicity, propaganda, education. Writing of the conservation of material resources Professor Richard T. Ely says: "The need is intellectual and moral education—a better vision and more altruism. We need a keener social consciousness and new state-

sense, if we are ever to solve the problems of conservation." A keener social consciousness is developing through the growth of national consciousness. A new state-sense—what is it but a better-informed, a more thoughtful, a more imaginative patriotism? A new state-sense applied to the problems of *human* conservation—that is the meaning of the new humanitarianism.

EAST IS WEST*

RUTH MCINTIRE

The literary fiction that East and West are distinct, apart in viewpoint and customs, never to be joined or mutually assimilated, is giving way to an appreciation of the fact that the Orient and the Occident may on the contrary never again exist independently. Chinese coolies, native Indian troops, and American doughboys have joined the men of western Europe in a common enterprise. While coolie labor repaired the roads in France for a western campaign, American labor was forging the weapons for eastern exploit. And this was not the effect of emergency, but a sign of the gradual interpenetration of the two cultures.



LITTLE CHINESE GIRL CARRYING
LOAD

In all the Eastern countries modern industry has grown with tremendous strides in the last fifty years. We can not escape, if we would, our industrial relationship with Japan, China, and India. And we can escape as little the effect of their industrial conditions upon our own conditions of labor and living. When a child labor tariff was discussed a few years ago, a manufacturer stated that "excluding the import of child labor products from Japan would practically mean the exclusion of all their textile products." Many others declared themselves strongly in favor of such a tariff, since our restrictions on the employment of children placed them at a disadvantage in competing with eastern industry. Apart from a purely humanitarian desire for the welfare of the millions of exploited and submerged populations of the East, it is a fact that so long as the 12-hour day is there the accepted thing, so long as children of 9 years up work under the killing surroundings of factory life in India, Japan, and China, it will be difficult to establish in America the conditions that we believe to be just and necessary—purely on immutable economic grounds.

* Photographs by courtesy of Methodist Centenary Commission.

It is true, however, that cheap labor does not necessarily make for cheapness in production. It is estimated, for instance, that it costs three times as much to build a locomotive in Japan as here. And when it comes to freight hauling the cheap man power of China costs one hundred and sixty-six times as much as the high priced man and machine power of the United States. The high cost of low wages is something that we learned late and that the East has still to appreciate.

The story of factory conditions in Japan reads very much like the descriptions of early industrial expansion in England, and for that matter in the United States. In 1911, Japan's first and only national factory law was passed. Under its provisions children under 12 are forbidden to work, and children under 15 may not work later than 10 at night or before 4 in the morning, nor for more than 10 nights in succession, nor where poisonous gases are generated, *nor more than 12 hours a day except when "necessary."* Truly a mild measure. Yet the manufacturers begged for a period of five years in which to adjust themselves to these sweeping reforms, and in 1916, when the law was due to take effect the capitalists again asked for postponement.

The population of Japan is predominantly rural. Into its relatively peaceful, sane life there has burst the industrial awakening,



JAPANESE NEWSBOY

which has received even greater impetus since the beginning of the war. Consequently the factory workers of which the majority are women are in great part recruited from the rural population.

It is common for girls to be contracted for by their parents at an

early age. At 12 or 13, on leaving the primary school, these small girls are sent into the large cities, where they are barely able to earn a living though they work from daybreak till 6, or till 9 or 10 at night when the pressure of work is heavy. The cotton mills run two shifts of 12 hours each, The dust, the heat, and the lack of ventilation are described as appalling. Added to these conditions the girls are commonly housed in dormitories in the mill itself and their rent and food must be paid to the mill owners. It is easy to understand why in one factory in Osaka there was reported a daily accident toll of 50, out of 1,000 employees. Out of 1,350 girls examined and weighed the loss of weight of those employed on the night shift was from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{5}{8}$ weekly. In no case did these girls regain what they had lost, while on the day shift. Of the 200,000 new girls entering the factories yearly it is estimated that 13,000 return because of serious illness, chiefly tuberculosis, before the year is over. Statements agree in putting the average life of cotton mill operatives at from 5 to 6 years after entering the mill. Mr. Willard Price says: "The factory population can not be said to be deeply appreciative of the industrial opportunity afforded to Japan by the war. Japanese country life is being swept into the cities; it is put through the mills and comes out warped and colorless. Often it is completely destroyed in the process. It is estimated that every year a third of a million people are brought from the freedom and healthful conditions of the country to the congested factory quarters of the city."

In spite of these conditions girls are glad to enter the factories as a welcome change from domestic service. Children from poor families, 10 to 15 years old, are engaged in the homes of the middle and upper classes as *komori*, or baby-tenders—which reminds one of the system prevailing in the poorer quarters of some of our large cities, where children are hired out of school hours to tend babies while the mother is at work. In the country, the children help in light farming and in caring for the babies, very much as in all rural communities, while the boys of 15 and up help their parents in the fields. Agriculture is so largely done by hand that every possible worker must be used.

The silk industry is now turning from an essentially home industry, in which the worms were carefully reared and fed in small crops, to a factory industry. But from various accounts it is evident

that in Japan, as here, the factories bring their own accompaniment of sweated home work. For instance the manufacture of snap fasteners, which started in Tokyo after the war began, is partly a home industry, in which women and children are employed. In the factory the women operate the presses, while children feed the fasteners into the power machines and assemble the parts. The fasteners are commonly "carded" (as buttons are in this country) in the homes of the laborers, who operate on a piecework system.

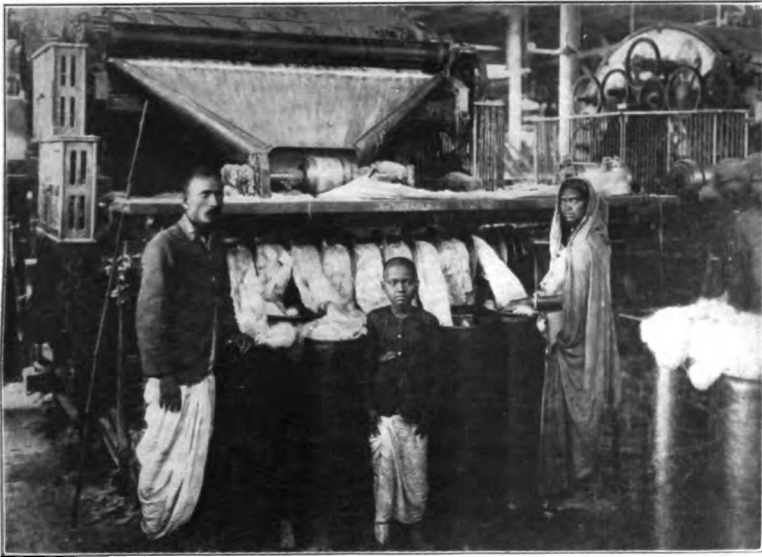
Education, until 1908, was compulsory only from 6 to 10 years of age. This period has now been extended to cover 6 years. Consequently the education law, if properly enforced, is calculated to coincide with the age for entering industry.

In India the development of industry has been less sweeping, but it has produced its quota of child labor, as in Japan. An accompanying cut shows different members of a family all working in a jute mill, just as in our southern states the whole family goes into the cotton mill. After the beginning of the war the jute industry was reported as very prosperous; it is said that many mills commenced the full double shift of $13\frac{1}{2}$ hours, while others employed the single 11-hour shift. Wherever factories have sprung up in India child labor is to be found—in jute, cotton and silk mills, ginning factories, biscuit factories, and paper mills. The last factory act (1911) resulted from the excessive hours reported in the cotton mills where workers had been employed for as many as 15 hours a day. Children are considered adults at the age of 14, and their hours of work limited to 12 a day. Prior to employment as half-timers and later as adults they are required to obtain certificates of age and physical fitness. No child may work more than 6 hours in textile factories, nor are children between 9 and 10 years allowed to work more than 7 hours per day in other industries. Women and children are prohibited from night work.

As the Act of 1911 provides for 14 factory inspectors only, as there is no system of universal compulsory education in India, and as public opinion is by no means strong in the matter, it is natural that the law should be eluded, as competent observers inform us it is. The Indian Factory Labour Commission (1908) reported "most serious abuses in textile factories. In the United Provinces generally (with few exceptions) children have been habitually worked during the whole running hours of the factories, not on

the excuse that they were over 14 years of age, but in pure disregard of the law," According to the last government report, out of a total of a quarter million workers employed in jute mills, 10 per cent were children, that is, under 14, we are to infer. In cotton mills the proportion of children was even higher—13 per cent.

As in Japan, 90 per cent of the labor in the Bengal jute mills is recruited from rural districts. The workers live in huts around the mills, and the only means of education provided are the schools set up by some of the mill owners. Where children are employed as



ALL THE FAMILY WORKS IN THE JUTE MILL

half-timers, certain mills have established the custom of having an early shift and a late shift for different sets of children; these attend school before going on the late shift and after coming off the early shift. But this is not the general policy. The report of the Indian Industrial Commission, 1916-18, says with regard to education: "The first thing to do is to introduce compulsory education in areas where this is feasible, applicable to all classes of children and not merely to those employed in factories." But the education recommended is one with an industrial bias, calculated to train the children

for the factories, not for more ambitious careers. In December, 1917, an act passed by the Bombay Legislative Council empowered municipalities (other than that of Bombay) to declare the education of children between 6 and 11 years compulsory, subject to certain safeguards, and to raise funds to meet the necessary expenditure. It was left to be decided in the first place by the school committee and in the next by the magistrate before whom a case is brought, whether the employment of a child is of such a nature as to interfere with its efficient instruction. It is quite evident that the government of India is still a long way from the modest ideal of free universal education and protection for young children. In fact as a writer on this subject, W. I. Chamberlain, says: "For financial and administrative reasons of decisive weight, the government of India has refused to recognize the principle of compulsory education; but it desires the widest possible extension of primary education on a voluntary basis. As regards free elementary education, the time has not yet arrived when it is practicable to dispense wholly with fees without injustice to the many villages, which are waiting for the provision of schools." Out of a school population that runs to over 100,000,000, only a little over 4,000,000 boys and less than 1,000,000 girls are receiving primary schooling.

How difficult it is to judge the needs of another country by those of our own is illustrated in the case of China. With a school population running to tens of millions, but 3,000,000 children receive an elementary education. There is about 10 per cent literacy among men and from 2 to 3 per cent among women. Wages are low, and the work is predominately rural. On account of the overpopulation of the country, the problem is chiefly to employ as many as a given business or piece of land will support. Hence children are not employed in native industry to the extent that might be supposed, since labor is cheap and adult labor more efficient. Nevertheless practically all children are put to work at an early age, at home, in the fields, tending the cows and the water-buffaloes, in the shops as unpaid and overworked apprentices—and in the large treaty ports where the factory system has entered with the foreigner.

In the cotton mills of these industrial cities child labor is largely used. The mills run 24 hours in the day, on two 12-hour shifts. Children 7 years old and up and women work full time. Gangs of children may be seen early in the morning going through the streets

of Shanghai to work in the cotton mills, and back again at night. There is no restriction on child labor, either for ages or hours of employment. One factory owner who wanted to change to an 8-hour shift found himself faced with bankruptcy, as other owners refused to cooperate in bettering conditions in the mills. Children are also employed by the great silk and tea companies.

The problem of child labor in China as in America, is largely educational. While in the United States the kind of education that



IN ONE OF THE COTTON MILLS OF SHANGHAI 500 CHILDREN UNDER 12 YEARS OF AGE ARE SAID TO BE EMPLOYED

will draw children out of industry into the schools is needed, in China the kind of education that will free the new generation from the traditional forms and so fit him for better labor conditions is the primary need. It is said that the whole child problem hinges on this question, as there is a set-back of two full years due to the difficulty of mastering the characters that make up the written language. After a few years away from school a large part of these are forgotten. The Chinese system of education with its reverence

for literary style makes universal education practically impossible. Recently, however, the government has invented a phonetic alphabet of 39 letters; as spoken Chinese is a simple language, it will be possible, if this can be successfully introduced in the schools, to make the Chinese nation literate almost over night. For this, however, the written language must become increasingly like the spoken.

Another essential is the development of a new type of school. The old type necessarily dealt with the production of men of literary



CHILDREN DECORATING POTTERY—CHINA

ability. The new type must be adapted to the 90 per cent who do not seek literary or civil careers. The Sociological Department of the Baptist College of Shanghai is now studying the problem of adapting the proposed type of education to the prevailing economic system. It is felt by workers in this field that education is the first, primary problem, without which very little can be accomplished in China.

The industrialism of Japan spread westward from America, that of China and India eastward from Europe. These countries

look to the United States, England and France increasingly for new methods, machinery, and efficient management. There are signs that better thought in all these countries also looks to us for protective measures for the people as a whole, lest the sudden rise of industrialism catch them even in greater degree than it caught England in the 19th century in the storm of competition and labor exploitation. Newspapers and periodicals seize upon western news, quoting the progress made here and in Europe for the protection of women and children, and for the furtherance of education. Commissions are sent from the East to study these questions. Meanwhile eastern manufacturers watch the progress of western industry, and swear as did our manufacturers here, that reduction of hours means reduction of output—that to better laboring conditions would mean bankruptcy under the competition of European and American industry.

These conditions mean two things. First, unless Asia learns that cheap labor is dear labor, and that in sacrificing the lives and the education of children to industry she is killing the goose that lays the golden eggs, she will wake one day as England did at the time of the Boer War, and America in lesser degree in 1914 to find that as Macaulay prophesied her "overworked boys will become a feeble and ignoble race of men, the parents of a more feeble progeny." Secondly, to prevent further squeezing and oppression on the part of eastern employers, America must help lead the way in setting high standards in labor, education and further child protection.

CHILDREN'S YEAR AND THE FUTURE

JULIA C. LATHROP

The Children's Bureau and the women connected with the organizations which made up the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense agreed, as a war service, to put through a child welfare program for the second year of America's participation in the great war. With the earlier features of that program—the weighing and measuring test, which surprisingly resulted in the examination of over 6,000,000 children, and the great amount of public and private follow-up work which resulted—I think the public is fairly well acquainted. The last activity of the Year, which is still going forward, is the Back-to-School and Stay-in-School Drive in which it is the endeavor to make clear that children who had left school for the sake of high wages without family necessity were wasting an irretrievable opportunity and should be encouraged to return to school at once. We have also tried to show that the question of re-employment of the soldiers ought not to be confused or made more difficult by the presence in industry of young persons who could and should be in school. In this we have been in accord with the English policy which has been expressed in periodicals.

It was felt that there should be at the end of this year a statement which should serve not as a conclusion but as a beginning; that some standard should be set up, or at least sought, which would be common to the needs of all children and which could be translated into law and local activities in such manner as the differing methods of states might make possible and practicable. Hence it was decided to conclude Children's Year with a series of conferences to be held in May in as many of the principal cities as practicable. These conferences are necessarily to be brief and will be devoted to discussions of tentative standards of child welfare, health, nurture, education, work, and the care of special types of children.

In order to secure the greatest possible degree of interest in the subject, it was determined to invite to these conferences child welfare authorities from abroad who had been closely occupied in the protection of childhood during the war period. This country, of course, has escaped the strain of war as Europe knows it; it is stronger and richer than any other country, and it therefore owes more to itself and to the world than any other country. It has made no great national advance during the war although it is safe to say that it has lost little ground—thanks to the national effort which was expressed in Children's Year. We are ready for a great advance. The simple recital of the fearful struggles which were necessary abroad, the ideals for children which were conceived and the laws which were enacted to express those ideals by people who have been themselves engaged in the effort will certainly stir Americans to a stronger sense of sympathetic comradeship with Europe and to a greater sense of responsibility at home.

The conferences as now planned will be held in the following cities: New York, Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco. The Washington meeting will be little more than a round table conference, since the overcrowded condition which has prevailed here since the outbreak of the war still forbids the calling of large meetings.

HEALTH SUPERVISION OF WORKING CHILDREN*

GEORGE P. BARTH, M.D.

Medical inspection of school children has attained a place of considerable prominence in child welfare problems but there is a strange apathy manifest in extending to industrial children the same care as is extended to school children. In a recent questionnaire sent out by the United States to all the large cities of the country it was found that medical inspection of schools was in operation in every state in the union even though all states did not have medical inspection laws on their statute books. There are not many cities now that leave to the parents of school children the entire responsibility for the health of their children. A number of states follow this up by requiring children to be examined by a physician before a permit to work can be secured, but with the exception of New York state, after the child goes to work no medical authority is charged with the duty of ascertaining the effect of employment on his health, and even the New York law leaves much to be desired.

The following are the present state provisions for the issuance of labor permits:

ISSUING OFFICER ALONE DETERMINES PHYSICAL FITNESS (5)

Colorado	Oregon
District of Columbia	West Virginia
Wisconsin	

NO PHYSICAL RESTRICTIONS (21)

Alabama	Philippine Islands
Alaska	Porto Rico
Arkansas	South Carolina
Georgia	South Dakota
Hawaii	Tennessee
Kansas	Texas
Mississippi	Utah
Montana	Vermont
Nevada	Virginia
North Carolina	Washington
Wyoming	

*Reprinted from *The Wisconsin Medical Journal*, Vol. No. 9, XVII, February, 1919.

ISSUING OFFICER MAY CALL IN PHYSICIAN IN DOUBTFUL CASES (11)

Connecticut	Maine
Florida	Michigan
Illinois	Missouri
Indiana	Nebraska
Louisiana	North Dakota
Oklahoma	

PHYSICIAN MUST DETERMINE PHYSICAL FITNESS (14)

Arizona	Minnesota
California	New Hampshire
Delaware	New Jersey
Iowa	New York
Kentucky	Ohio
Maryland	Pennsylvania
Massachusetts	Rhode Island

Most child labor laws have protected the interests of the child as far as two important considerations are concerned—the age qualification and the educational qualification before issuing a labor permit—but the most important of all, the physical and mental qualifications of the child to enter the industrial field have been overlooked by practically all agencies responsible for making these laws.

Of the 88,444 children examined in the Milwaukee Public Schools since 1913 there were found physical defects serious enough to require correction in 10,851. The proportion in which these defects were found are as follows: hypertrophied tonsils 22.57 per cent; adenoids 1.73 per cent; defective nasal breathing 3.03 per cent; defective teeth 66.10 per cent; defective vision 23.76 per cent; defective hearing 0.476 per cent; orthopedic defects 1.2 per cent; pulmonary disease 0.26 per cent; heart disease 0.94 per cent; nervous disease (not mental) 0.55 per cent.

These percentages can not be regarded as absolutely correct however as in the examination of the children at school no clothing is removed and the defects are so evident that they are easily manifest to the trained observer. They are sufficiently accurate however to show that a real economic problem exists among children.

A personal examination of 745 children who appeared before me for a physical examination for a working permit (in Milwaukee,

many school principals will not sign the application of a child for a working permit unless its physical condition is first determined by the school physician) resulted in the withholding of the permit in 205 cases pending the correction of the physical defect.

Of 30,244 children 14 or 15 years of age who applied for working employment certificates examined in New York City from January 1 to September 30, 1915, the following were found with physical defects:

Defective nutrition.....	2.37 per cent
Acute eye diseases.....	1.30 per cent
Defective nasal breathing.....	2.90 per cent
Hypertrophied tonsils.....	8.62 per cent
Pulmonary disease.....	.17 per cent
Deformities.....	.54 per cent
Defective vision.....	15.10 per cent
Defective hearing.....	.95 per cent
Defective teeth.....	32.85 per cent
Defective palate.....	.68 per cent
Heart disease.....	1.16 per cent
Nervous diseases.....	.28 per cent

In 1916 in New York City there were 545 children refused employment certificates on account of malnutrition; 425 cases with cardiac defects, and only three cases of pulmonary tuberculosis. Temporary (or easily remediable) defects caused the refusal of certificates to 946 children. These defects included defective vision, hearing, teeth and greatly enlarged tonsils, and contagious skin disease.

Statistics on the effect of industrial life on the growth and development of children are sadly lacking but an investigation by the Maryland Bureau of Statistics and Information which issues the permits for Baltimore City, examined in one year 1,500 boys previously employed in factories and found 93 serious occupational defects.

Of 100 boys who averaged 15 years of age in Baltimore, who have been employed in factories for an average of two years each, it was found that their average height was nearly one-half inch lower than the standard for 15 years of 5 feet 1 inch; their weight was 92²/₁₀₀ pounds as against a normal average of 106³/₄ pounds and only 58 per cent were of pubic age.

Of 800 bakers examined in New York for the army and navy, 57 per cent had some disease or defect; of a similar number of tailors the percentage was nearly 63 per cent; of 203 printers and 1,600 food handlers, it was only a little below 70 per cent. Of a group of 2,086 male garment workers practically 100 per cent were affected by some disease or physical disability.

For such ailments as defective teeth, defective vision, diseased tonsils, rhinitis, spinal curvatures, and flat foot, numerous occupations show proportions ranging above 25 per cent, sometimes above 50 per cent.

To say that the existence of any such great amount of ill health and physical disability among the nation's industrial workers is a serious matter is merely to state a truism. Even though these disabilities may not, at least in their earlier stages, cause extended absence from work, the tax thus imposed on efficiency must be a heavy one. Obviously, maximum efficiency, can not be obtained from a force of workers one-fourth of whom are suffering from such disabilities as defective vision, nasal disorders, and deformities, or whose health is being steadily sapped by tuberculosis, alcoholism, or venereal disease.

It becomes obvious that some form of supervision of the health of growing and developing children should be instituted.

Wisconsin is in a splendid position to lead all states in the union in the proper care and supervision of its permit children and to obtain the data so important and so much desired of the effect of industrial life on the health and physique of the child.

With a law requiring every community of 5,000 population to establish a continuation school and a permissive clause for those under 5,000 and a compulsory attendance law for the continuation school, the state can ill afford not to take advantage of its opportunities in promoting the welfare of the growing boy and girl. This can be done by establishing an adequate health supervision system in these schools providing for a frequent and systematic examination of all children working under permit, that is, from 14 to 18 years of age.

SOCIAL INSURANCE AND CHILD WELFARE

JOHN B. ANDREWS, PH.D.

The relation of social insurance to child welfare is a more intimate one than first appears. Indeed a study of workmen's compensation and of health insurance, which figure in the foreground of American legislative thought to-day, reveals the fact that social insurance and child welfare intersect in many interesting ways. A clearer understanding of the relation of these issues should be fruitful in helping to direct public policy and in making for a harmonious cooperation among those who are interested in these aspects of the common welfare.

The term "social insurance"—meaning collective protection of the wage earner against the economic hazards of life—is just finding its way into popular use in this country. Not a little confusion has existed as to what particular forms of insurance were "social." This was not to be wondered at because all insurance is mutual or social activity, consisting of the distribution of individual losses over an entire group. This insurance principle has long been accepted and extensively used in eliminating certain of the economic hazards in the life of the property owner. But even more important than for the property owner is insurance for the workingman. Under the present industrial organization the wage-earners are subjected to exceptional economic risks. The suffering and want which follow accident, sickness, invalidity, premature old age, and unemployment are for those who depend entirely on their wages from week to week, continual and vivid possibilities. Against these "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" the worker has but a single defense—insurance. If he loses his physical strength, if he is denied the chance to work through the maladjustment of the labor market—unless he is adequately insured he lacks the only thing that can stand between him and destitution.

Yet in the face of all these hazards the wage-earning masses do not readily insure themselves. There are several reasons for this,

the most important of which is obviously insufficiency of income. It is established beyond need of additional proof that a real surplus in the life of the workingman is a rare occurrence. With the present cost of insurance it is small wonder that the workers, in the face of so many immediate and compelling needs, hesitate to spend their money for contingencies that may never arise. Furthermore the value of the insurance principle is not always appreciated by the lower paid wage-earners. Yet even where the insurance principle is understood and valued, among the careful and thrifty, the excessive cost of private insurance often makes it a forbidden luxury.

The failure of the underpaid masses to protect themselves against the many hazards of life presents a serious social problem. The problem extends far beyond the suffering and want of the individual wage-earner. It involves his wife, his children, the industry of which he is a part and finally the state, upon whose care both he and his family may ultimately be thrown. It becomes therefore the concern of the progressive state to provide, by legislative enactment, a form of insurance which shall, at the lowest possible cost adequately protect the wage-earners from economic risks. It is natural to term this insurance provided by society for the needy group in the community, *social insurance*. Through this insurance the life of the worker is stabilized; he is liberated from the haunting fear of destitution; his right to life, liberty and happiness is made more effective.

It is obvious that the child must profit by this stabilizing effect of social insurance, for it is often the child who figures as the center of the tragedy when some catastrophe comes to the breadwinner of the family. In the unhappy cycle of events precipitated by an accident, a serious illness or a long period of unemployment, when the small family savings are swept away, what is more inevitable than that the efforts of the child should be enlisted to save the family from debt or destitution? Yet what a heavy price the community pays in the injury done to the development of these children, from whom the workers of a few years hence must be recruited.

Already in the United States workers are protected against the loss due to industrial accidents in all but seven southern states. Many of the workmen's compensation laws are inadequate both as to promptness and certainty of payment and as to scale of compensation, yet each year these laws enable thousands of families to keep

together and to tide over the period of hardship. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in a study of the effect of workmen's compensation laws in relation to the industrial employment of women and children reports one widow whose husband was killed by an industrial accident as declaring that she could never stay down-hearted very long because her sister cheered her up by saying "Look how much better off you are than if he'd a died natural." A Polish widow, when questioned as to her views on workmen's compensation replied "My God, what would I do without it?" The report goes on to state that "her award was only \$5.75 a week, but as she had four children under 14 and earned but \$3 a week herself by taking in washing, her emphasis was pardonable."

Important as is insurance against accident it is less far reaching in its effects than insurance against sickness—health insurance as it is termed in this country in order to emphasize the preventive aspects of the plan. To-day the greatest fear in the life of the working man or woman is the fear of sickness. Seven times as much destitution is caused by sickness as accident, and against the ravages of disease the ordinary worker is helpless to prepare. For sickness takes away the worker's wages with one hand and with the other presents him with bills for medicine, for doctor or surgeon and for nourishing food to build him up. Sickness is like a two-edged sword and cuts both ways. "In all countries, at all ages it is sickness to which the greatest bulk of destitution is immediately due," say Beatrice and Sydney Webb. Under the storm and stress of this destitution the child does not escape unscathed. He may be too young to be sent to work, instead he may be sent to an institution or left to the haphazard attention of a well-meaning neighbor—or allowed to run the streets. But there is no vicissitude of family fortune that does not leave its trace upon the sensitive organism of the child. In the pale wan look of the little girl we may often read the illness of her father.

The present method of handling sickness among wage-earners has been well described by Warren H. Pillsbury of the California Industrial Accident Commission, when comparing the cost of the present method of handling industrial illness with the cost of health insurance.

"The workman becoming ill, struggles to remain at work as long as possible to avoid loss of wages and refuses to go to a physician until the

last moment because of fear of expense, thus preventing treatment at the time it is most effective, the early stages of the illness. When finally obliged to leave work, the income of himself and his family is ended. His savings will seldom last for more than a week or two of idleness. He then becomes a charge upon relatives, friends, and public charity. Worry over his financial condition prolongs his illness. Inability to procure necessary medical and surgical appliances or to take proper rest or sanitarium treatment delays recovery. The children are taken from school prematurely and put to work without adequate preparation or allowed to go upon the streets. Eventually he may go to the county hospital for a long period of time, and his wife will be taken care of by the Associated Charities, or will undertake work beyond her strength and become ill. The employer has to break a new man into the work. The community, friends or relatives have to support the family, and the man is inefficiently and haphazardly taken care of because of lack of organized social endeavor to meet the problem presented."

The accuracy of Mr. Pillsbury's description is readily confirmed by a study of the cases aided by charity organizations. These organizations report that from 50 to 80 per cent of their relief goes to families in which sickness is the chief factor in the plea for help. Greatly as these cases differ in outward appearances they all present one fundamental need—the need of medical and financial aid in the sickness crisis. A case recently referred to a New York charity organization is one of many that might be cited to illustrate in detail how pressing is this need. Anton W. was a butcher's assistant earning \$18 a week. He was taken seriously ill with pleurisy and was sent to the hospital leaving his wife and three children without any means of support, except \$2 a week which the wife earned by taking care of a neighbor's child. Desiring to keep her family together the wife added to this income by doing night ironing for a near-by laundry. During the day she took care of the children. Under the strain of this extra work, however, her health gave way and she became ill. The oldest child, just 15, was then taken from school and put to work in a factory where she earned \$5 a week. The neighbors tried to care for the wife and the young children. The case was finally referred to a charity organization and a weekly allowance was given the family to tide over the hard period—much against the protest of the wife who objected most strenuously to becoming an object of charity.

With this sickness case it is interesting to contrast the aid supplied a family through the workmen's compensation law in New

York State. A Russian, Vladimir K., was working for a boss carpenter when he fell through the floor of the building and was instantly killed. He was survived by a widow, a mother and three children. The family had accumulated no savings, the three children were all under five, the widow was frail and the mother was almost an invalid. Utter destitution would have faced this family had it not been for the workmen's compensation law. Through the insurance fund Vladimir's family was paid \$15 a week. They also received \$100 to pay for the funeral expenses. It is hard to estimate in terms of human values just how much the weekly cash benefit meant to that family. Certainly no statement in financial terms can do justice to an arrangement which made possible their very existence as a family unit.

A large number of men and women of widely varying interests are to-day demanding that this protection afforded to workers in case of accident be extended to cover cases of sickness. In response to this demand, nine state commissions have been appointed to study sickness in relation to the wage earner and to suggest methods of control. Eight of these have reported. They all agree that the present handling of the sickness problem is inadequate and five commissions have already recommended compulsory health insurance as the best method of solving the problem. Over 40 state and international labor organizations have come forward to urge health insurance and the demand in New York State for this type of legislation was so insistently voiced and by such a large number of organizations that as a result the health insurance bill passed the Senate on April 10, 1919.

The health insurance plan provides for the establishment of mutual health insurance funds under state supervision. These funds are supported by equal contributions from the workers and employers and are to be democratically managed by a committee on which both sides shall have equal representation. In time of sickness the insured employees receive medical and surgical treatment and supplies, dental care, and hospital or sanatorium care when needed. The more liberal health insurance plans extend this medical care to include the members of the insured employee's family. To meet the necessary living expenses which continue whether a worker is sick or well, a weekly cash benefit is provided and a funeral benefit of \$100 is given to the family in case the worker dies. For working

women and wives of insured men medical and obstetrical care is provided and for the working women a cash benefit for two weeks before and six weeks after childbirth. In view of the 15,000 American women who die every year from causes connected with childbirth, and the 250,000 babies who die during their first year, these maternity benefits are of the utmost importance in the fight for race conservation. Miss Julia Lathrop in pointing out the close relation of infant mortality to pre-natal and confinement care says that we cannot rest content "until we are assured that skilled care is available to every mother. To-day we know that few mothers can secure it." "No system of health insurance is complete which ignores maternity insurance," says Miss Lathrop in another connection. Health insurance by its maternity benefits provides for the welfare of the child before as well as after the child is born.

"Nothing is so devastating in the life of the worker's family as sickness," said Governor Smith in his first message to the New York Legislature. Significant and true as is this fact it is not the only reason why health insurance is marked as our next great step in social insurance. It is because we are beginning to understand that the public health standard of a community is the most important index of its general well-being. The fearful waste of human energy resulting from the lack of adequate medical care can be tolerated in a progressive community no longer. Miss Mary Beard, President of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing in endorsing Health Insurance said: "The future to me seems to be typified by a vision of opening doors." The figure suggests the many doors that are still closed to the American workman and his family. Surely the first door which should be opened in the new era is the door marked Health.

LEGISLATIVE PROHIBITIONS OF CHILD LABOR

OWEN R. LOVEJOY

Hitherto we have more or less unconsciously employed the sliding scale in relation to child labor standards. We put prohibition of night work in West Virginia, which had an extremely low all-round standard, on very much the same plane of achievement as establishing an 8 instead of a 10-hour day in Connecticut, which had relatively high standards. That is, it has been natural to work with almost equal enthusiasm for high standards in states where the demand for them was strong and for much lower standards where the demand was less or where it was lacking. And when those standards were established we worked for still higher ones. We used the sliding scale in accordance with the age-old theory of demand and supply. This theory in economics is fallacious. And it is time to discard it in social work. It is time to consider solely the individual, for what is right for the individual is right for industry and society and the world at large.

Arguments have been used to prove that child labor is not economical; that it is fatal to labor because it lowers wages; that it is not in harmony with efficiency for the manufacturer; that it is not conducive to the education or to the physical health and vigor of the nation.

Now it is time to talk of the child, and in turning to the child it is evident that really very little account has been taken of him. We know that work can't be good for his health, but we don't know scientifically how bad it is for him, what are the effects of different kinds of work upon his development, or at what age it is, physically speaking, permissible for him to enter industry in general.

A few states theoretically make physical examination of children when they leave school and apply for work permits, but the fact that they have not been subject to systematic physical examination during their school life makes this examination of almost negligible value. Furthermore, up to date not a single one of the forty-eight

commonwealths requires systematic physical examination of children between 14 and 16 years of age who are at work. America has not even had the intellectual curiosity to try to find out what industry does to our children.

Further, though certain studies have been made of child nature and psychology and that of adolescence, we do not really know what the child needs mentally and spiritually. I think it is time we applied ourselves to this task. We know that nearly half the children who leave school in order to go to work do so because they are tired of school, because they dislike the teacher, "did not get on," or prefer to work. Why does this common phenomenon of revolt against school appear so regularly at the age of 13 or 14? Is it the fault of the child or of the school? Are we willing frankly to face the fact that the elaborate and formal school system built up by us adults on behalf of children is not acceptable to the beneficiaries? That perhaps they could point a way to its improvement? *What in short are the needs of children?*

It is evident that in order to fix our standards, this question must first be answered. But until the studies can be made, and they never can be finished, for as science advances new light will continually be thrown upon one of its most interesting and baffling problems, certain minimum legislative requirements should be set up—to be established as soon as possible in the more advanced communities, and to be approached for the present as a limit in states whose citizens demand less protection. A reasonable minimum age for entrance into industry would be 16 years. This should apply to all common work, such as factories, mills, canneries, offices, stores, laundries, restaurants, and all the miscellaneous occupations entered by children. It should be a flat minimum that is, for all gainful occupations with the one exception of agriculture. Eighteen years should be the minimum age for work in mines and other especially dangerous industries, and 21 the age for morally dangerous work such as falls to the lot of night messengers in our cities. There should be periodic examination of all working children to see that they are not being broken down in health, and means adopted for their transfer to less harmful industries or their removal from industry altogether. Such an examination, made not less than once a year, would in a short time show just what are the industries and operations which induce excessive fatigue, predispose to disease

or lead to stunted growth. As to hours of employment the regulations recently proposed by the Commission on International Labor Legislation for insertion in the Peace Treaty and adopted by the Peace Conference in Paris, April 28, offer a suggestive basis. The Sixth Article proposes "The abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitations on the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development." The term "abolition of child labor" is so indefinite that unless light were thrown upon it by other portions of the statement, it would have little more effect than similar declarations in our own national political party platforms. Fortunately however, the Commission speaks with a definiteness that leaves no room for doubt. The Fourth Article proposes "The adoption of an 8-hour day or a 48-hour week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been obtained," This limitation of hours does not relate to child labor which according to Article Six is to be entirely abolished. This 8-hour day, 48-hour week refers to labor in general—to the protection of men and women—to those of mature physical development. The corollary is obvious and it has already been recognized under existing conditions by the adoption of an 8-hour day for children in states where the limitation of hours for men and women was 10, 11, or 12 hours, or perhaps where no limitation existed. The principle underlying this discrimination in the interest of children assumes that the growing, developing child subjected to industry should have the burden laid on gradually rather than all at once. That if men and women need protection children need more protection. But now we face a new condition for certainly America with its natural resources and abundance of enterprise can not afford to stand on a lower plane than the one proposed in this international labor compact. If an 8-hour day measures a desirable social limitation for the labor of men and women, then an 8-hour day is too long for the labor of children. For the first two years at least—namely from 16 to 18 years of age—no child engaged in ordinary industrial processes should be employed to exceed 6 hours a day. Therefore we should propose as the maximum industrial burden that restriction of hours to 6 per day and prohibition of night work under 18 years should of course form part of the program. Obviously this program can not be put into immediate effect at least so long as excessive industrial burdens are

laid on the shoulders of half-starved mothers, and so long as our schools persist in "teaching" instead of educating our children. It would be absurd to force law-making ahead of the standards that public opinion can maintain. But they are suggested as those that in our educational and legislative work should undoubtedly be our object.

Although approximately three-fourths of working children are employed in agriculture, this is one of the most difficult of all occupations to regulate. Farm-work is undoubtedly harmful when accompanied by exploitation as in the Colorado beet-fields and the southern cotton fields, and yet work about the home farm on a variety of occupations, or work for a neighbor may be highly healthful and instructive. The most serious objection to this form of work is that it almost invariably tends to keep the child out of school for more or less of the short period that rural schools are in session. The child gradually falls behind his normal grade, one year, two years, or three years. He is both ashamed and bored at being forced to study with younger children on matters that are too elementary to hold his attention. Retardation leads to further retardation, and to early dropping out altogether.

The trouble suggests the cure. While it might be unfair and would undoubtedly be quite impossible to enforce a law directed against the employment of children on farms, we can raise the educational standard in rural communities, and we must do so at once if we wish to retain our rural population and our agricultural soundness.

The condition of our rural communities not only affects our social and civic institutions. It strikes at the very foundation of economic prosperity. Ten per cent of the rural population can not read an agricultural bulletin, a farm journal, a thrift appeal, a newspaper, the Constitution, their Bibles, answer an income tax questionnaire, or keep business accounts. Secretary Lane says "We spent millions of dollars in presenting to the country the reasons why we were at war, and more than 10 per cent of the money that was spent was spent fruitlessly, because the people who got the literature, who got the speeches, who got the appeals, could not understand one word that was written."

One thing that draws boys to the city is the call of life and human intercourse and better facilities for knowledge. If we can in some

manner endow our country schools with vitality, man them with teachers earning and getting a living wage, introduce the spirit of community effort and give scope for the instinct of workmanship—and then create and enforce adequate compulsory education laws, we shall have eliminated the worst evil of children's employment in agriculture. We shall at the same time be building up an educationally equipped and consciously effective agricultural and land-minded population.

Continuation schools and laws compelling employers to allow time for attendance by their employes under 18 years of age should be the reverse side of our child labor law. But it is very difficult to confine oneself to legislative prohibitions when the whole trend of child labor and education work in this country is in the direction of construction rather than prohibition. Our enforced laws, however good, however effective in keeping children out of industry and in school will avail very little unless we provide a better substitute than work and a better school system and curriculum than the one in vogue. And here we return to the question of children's *needs*. Let us by all means work for the minimum standards which common sense and our industrial experience justify, but let us at once begin the campaign for the scientific determination of the physical effects of work, through regular physical examination of school and working children. Let us by all means encourage educational experiments, especially those which seek in some way to satisfy the craving of youth and adolescence for real work, for learning through doing, and for wage-earning. If we can finally eliminate the two evils of being taught on the one hand and being exploited on the other, we shall have touched the heart of the problem. It is possible that this may be done by bringing work into the schools or taking the schools out into the world of adult endeavor and labor; by substituting for our industrial training, education through responsibility and initiative in different kinds of hand and brain work. Such experiments will inevitably lead to a better understanding of child nature and to an interpretation of its unexpressed demands.

WHY, WHEN, AND HOW CHILDREN LEAVE SCHOOL

—
THERESA WOLFSON
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Because of the relaxation of child labor laws in 12 states, the annulling of the federal child labor law, and the increased demand for labor, the flow of children from the schools to the industries was inordinate during the war period. Each transport carrying soldiers across, taking them out of the normal fields of activity, meant an exodus of boys and girls from the schools into the industrial fields to take their places. This extraordinary amount of child labor was in addition to the usual numbers leaving school.

The Children's Bureau in order to cope with the situation instituted the Back-to-School Drive in cooperation with the local Councils of Defense, Women's Clubs and social agencies. It was an official recognition of an industrial as well as social crisis. The war was over and the men were returning only to find their positions filled.

The backward pull is no easy task—*facile est descensus Averno*. Not only did the children find it difficult to take up school routine again, but in many instances they refused and it was perfectly natural that they should.

The following study of the why and wherefore of the exodus from school was made from the latest school reports of representative cities throughout the country. The standards required by each of the communities are not identical and hence it is difficult to compile statistics and deduce an accurate statement, but from the information given it can be seen that something more is needed than mere compulsory attendance laws to force the child into school and child labor laws to force him out of industry.

WHY CHILDREN LEAVE

What are the reasons which children themselves give for leaving school? In a survey made of 1,168 children leaving school in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1917, 439 left because of personal illness, 29 because

of illness in the family, 33 because of financial conditions, 6 because of physical defects, 18 because of sheer indifference, 156 left the city, 304 went to work, 181 left for miscellaneous reasons and 2 because of failure to get promoted.

In the Iowa report of 1918, 4,913 work permits were issued in the biennial period of 1916 to 1918. 24.62 per cent were working in vacation time only. Of the total 24.91 per cent claimed necessity as the reason for leaving school caused by lack of work of father or sickness or death of either parent. 21.7 per cent gave dislike of school as their reason for leaving. Many of these were found to be retarded pupils. To this latter number can be added 9.85 per cent giving preference for work to school, as their reason. These are the ones who desire spending money for clothes. 14.6 per cent are at work because of parental influence, 4.31 per cent compose a group giving poor health, weak eyes, too nervous to study, as their reasons.

In a similar report in Baltimore, of 3,695 children leaving school to go to work, 2,365 reported "economic pressure" as the reason, 336 gave "unsatisfactory school conditions," 657 "wanted to work," 14 "to keep occupied," 44 "parents want child to work," 263 left for miscellaneous reasons and 16 for reasons not stated. Over one-third of the number leave school because of a dislike for it, a larger proportion because of economic pressure, and the small remainder for miscellaneous reasons.

In the 1917-18 report of Pasadena 1,214 children left school during the year. Of this number 877 left the city, 181 left because of ill health, 57 went into private or business school, 55 went to work, 8 alleged inability to get along or lacked interest; the remainder left for various known and unknown causes. Curiously enough the health factor seems to be the cause for the largest number of drop-outs, which occurs largely in the first five grades.

Shifting the attention from the extreme West to the south-central part of the country we find that out of 1,487 employment certificates issued in Louisville, Kentucky, 875 were given on account of economic necessity. This is approximately one-half of the total; 124 children disliked school, 159 preferred work to staying in school. The latter reasons of general dissatisfaction with school comprise 20 per cent of the total.

The states considered in this survey are those having good school laws as well as child labor laws. However, in North Carolina where

both laws were negligible, a study was made of 130 children found in various occupations. A number of 11-year-old children left school because they "wanted to work," "had to work," "had headaches in school," "didn't have to go to school." Of the 12-year group, 12 boys were working because they "wanted to". One youngster had been arrested for stealing and didn't want to face his companions. Another declared "he didn't learn anything, anyway."

We find as a result of this study that alleged economic necessity is the largest factor in withdrawals from school. But there is often a psychological reason for so large a proportion of "have to go to work." In most communities the child knows the law affecting his interests. If he has left school and is working illegally he will be quick to conceive of some plausible reason to substantiate his position. Instinctively he feels that nothing will "get across" so quickly as the poverty plea. He does not hesitate to use it although detailed investigation of family resources often proves that it is not justified by fact.

Following close behind this reason, is that of dissatisfaction with the school. It is useless to pass child labor laws to pull the child out of industry and force him into school unless something adequate can be substituted for the forces which drew him into the industrial field. Mothers' pensions and scholarship funds fail of their purpose in alleviating financial distress if the school holds no attraction for the child. The frequency of "want to work" as a reason for leaving school especially in the 13 or 14-year-old child is more fundamental than the sheer desire to earn money. The "call" is one which involves the use of energy in creative work—in accomplishing something useful in the work-a-day world—in getting away from the academic, and, as far as their immediate environment is concerned the unreal. Can not the child be so interested in a school planned to meet the demands of his nature, as to want to attend without drastic measures to compel him?

WHEN CHILDREN LEAVE

When do the children leave school? It is of great interest to note in what grades and at what ages withdrawals occur. There are specific age and schooling requirements in most states which must be complied with before children leave. In Indianapolis the child must be 14 and must have completed the fifth grade. Of 1,480

working certificates issued 398 boys and 318 girls were 14 years of age and 438 boys and 326 girls were 15 years. The grade distribution was as follows:

20 boys and		12 girls were below the 6th grade.	
213	"	109	" in " 6th "
235	"	154	" " " 7th "
134	"	74	" " " 8th "
234	"	276	" " " High School.

Thirty-two certificates were issued to children who did not meet the requirements, on the ground that they were mentally deficient.

Of 3,195 permits granted in Baltimore, 38 were issued to children below the fifth grade. 1,250 were granted to children in the fifth grade, 1,124 to those in the sixth, 668 to those in the seventh and 540 to those in the eighth. Approximately one-sixth of the certificates issued were to children in the last grade of school and over one-third were issued to children as soon as they could get them.

Forty boys and 22 girls who had passed the fifth grade received work permits in Iowa, where the law requires a child to complete the sixth year in school and be at least 14 years of age. Of 1,522 permits issued, 74.5 per cent of the boys from 14 to 14½ years of age were retarded in school and 84.8 per cent from 14½ to 15 years were retarded. It was found that the largest number of drop-outs began in the sixth grade and continued to the eighth.

In Louisville, Ky., 25 per cent of the children receiving work permits completed the fifth grade, 28 per cent completed the sixth, 17.5 per cent the seventh, 20 per cent the eighth and 9.3 per cent were in high school. The school and grade table of the Iowa report shows that permits were issued to 66 boys and 23 girls who had only passed the fifth grade; these are therefore contrary to the strict letter of the law.

Of 6,621 certificates issued in 1917 in St. Louis, Mo., 21 per cent of the children left school as soon as they reached the fourteenth year; 78 per cent left school before they graduated and more than 40 per cent have not completed the sixth grade. In Cincinnati of 1,888 certificates issued 3.6 per cent were to children below the fourth grade; 74 per cent were pupils in the fifth grade, 21 per cent were in the sixth, 23 per cent were in the seventh, 100 boys and 209

girls not having the required qualifications received permits because of mental retardation.

In Providence, Rhode Island, 2,778 certificates were issued of which number 211 were to children in and below the fourth grade and 69 to pupils of ungraded classes. In Philadelphia, 3,225 boys and 2,353 girls secured work permits; of this number 704 were less than one month over 14 years of age; 1,280, or over one-fifth of the total were less than two months over 14. Fifty-five per cent of the children dropped out at the end of the sixth grade or while in the seventh, 28 per cent from the eighth grade and 16 per cent from the high school.

What can we deduce from this array of figures? The large majority of children leaving school do so at the age of 14—and do so in the fifth and sixth grades. These are the minimum requirements of the average child labor laws. When, in some instances, as high as 74 per cent of the children receiving work permits have not gone beyond the fifth grade of public school, one fears for the efficiency of the future citizenship. It is not fair either to the child or the community.

Yet there is the other side to the question—the fact that children impatiently await their fourteenth year when they will be old enough to leave school. They are impatient to grow up! The story of the little girl who had her party celebrating her fourteenth birthday in the morning, and was seen at the mill doors in the afternoon waiting in line to be interviewed by the superintendent—is not an uncommon one.

HOW CHILDREN LEAVE

Thousands of children leaving school yearly to enter the fields of industry do so within the law. There are, however, any number of children working under false pretenses and even in direct violation of the laws. In Peoria, Illinois, the Woman's Division of the Council of Defense conducted a survey of "drop-outs" in the elementary grades, as part of their work in the Back-to-School Drive. Of 1,892 drop-outs only 94 were said to be going to work, yet 267 work permits were issued during the period of the survey. One hundred and thirty-four of the permits were to children of the elementary grades not on the drop-out list, that is in attendance at school prior to appearing for work papers. Thirty-two of the children who left school

to go to work did not take out their working papers. There were, then, 166 children not accounted for on school or work records. Conclusions are that the children use the summer vacation to leave school for work and disappear from school-rolls in the fall.

In the Bureau of Vocational Guidance in Chicago the large discrepancy between the number of children leaving school and the number of children receiving work permits was accounted for by the fact that children deceived employer and investigator by posing as 16 years of age. Another common ruse was to use the work permits of older sisters and brothers, who had "outgrown" their permits. Many children continued working on their vacation permits, or worked without even bothering about permits or requirements. In the maelstrom of industrial life it is not difficult to elude the inspector and truancy officer especially when these are comparatively few in number.

The more one studies the child labor problem the more one realizes that it is not only an economic problem—it is the problem of a stagnant school curriculum, of under paid teachers, of minds overfed with indigestible material, and of souls undernourished in their craving for adventure and real preparation for the lives they are to live. The problem of child labor must include in its scope not only the economic phases but also the educational, for a chain is as strong as its weakest link.

REVIEWS OF NEW BOOKS

RUTH MCINTIRE

RURAL LIFE. Charles Josiah Galpin. Century Company.

Professor Galpin's study emphasizes the struggle taking place in rural life through the introduction of scientific methods of farming and business among a people essentially "landminded," super-individualistic and conservative through generations of in-breeding. "The great 'if' in rural life," he says, "is 'if science captures farming.'" The important social problem of to-day is how to remove the significant handicap of the farmer's restricted contact with the human mind and how to give him access to it at its best. The author describes the methods now being evolved in this direction—rural social centers, clubs, county fairs, churches, and most important of all, the schools. At present the farmer's chief point of contact with the outside world is through his children. Professor Galpin does not point out the woeful inadequacy of the schools through which this contact must come. In fact throughout the book he is inclined to emphasize the cheerful side of the picture. His farmer is of the traditional type—an owner of his inherited acres, independent, hard-working, industrious. Likewise the question of children on the farm is easily solved by him. They work under their parents on a variety of occupations, they go to school, they grow up either as the next generation of landminded owners or as "variants" who are drawn to the city and with whom too little contact is subsequently maintained.

There is little or nothing in his book of the reverse side of rural life—such pictures as the Children's Bureau has given in its survey of North Carolina, and in its study of rural New York. There is nothing of the tenant class of farmer, who forms a significant proportion of agriculturists, nothing of the children who are kept out of school to work in the large cotton growing areas of the south and middle west, not for their parents, on a variety of jobs, but in long, monotonous, commercialized labor.

"The fear of the hoe-farmer has been that if he educates his boy, he will run the risk of losing the boy from the farm to the city. The fear of the machine-farmer may very well be that if he fails to educate his boy, he runs the risk that the boy will not comprehend the modern science and art of agriculture. This rural dilemma in which the farmers of a community are living and struggling is the real problem of our time."

Professor Galpin is for the larger school unit, a closer relation between the elementary and the high schools, the gradual evolution of the school into a social factor in the life of the community and an agent for holding children to the country. Although the book is the product of long study and intelligent thought his attitude is primarily one of detachment. He is intent upon the future, and

upon the encouraging signs of a larger life that are manifesting themselves to-day. In this way he overlooks many of the elements that should enter into such a study. He fails to see significant obstacles. To present a complete picture of rural life to-day and to diagnose the troubles and prescribe the cure, a man must run closer to earth than the present author has done.

THE A B C OF EXHIBIT PLANNING. Evart G. and Mary Swain Routzahn. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Clear and practical ideas, fully illustrated by photographs of actual exhibits make this volume, the first in a new Survey and Exhibit Series, a useful textbook for publicity and education workers. The exhibit as a means of getting social lessons across to a hurrying and for the most part apathetic world, is comparatively new. Its technique is not established. It has been used both clumsily and with great effect. What the authors have tried to do and have admirably succeeded in doing is to point out the reasons for success or failure, and to indicate the possibilities of the method. Everyone engaged in working out local campaigns or exhibits should find it a great help.

OUR SCHOOLS IN WAR TIME AND AFTER. Arthur D. Dean. Ginn & Co.

Mr. Dean is chiefly concerned with our schools in war-time, whereas we, seeing that the war is presumably over, are more interested in what will come after. Historically, his book offers good material. He describes in detail the various ways in which the schools were brought into intimate contact with the war, in respect of activities, new opportunities for training, organization, and community spirit. As he says: "Now we have extension courses in economical cooking for adult women as a war measure. Later we shall have it as a home measure. Now we are bringing adult women into the schools to receive instruction with their children. Later we shall do the same thing because it is the only sensible procedure under any and all conditions. Now we think in terms of re-education of disabled soldiers because of the immediate need of helping these honored men. Later we shall turn what we have learned to do for these men into better provisions for making self-supporting our crippled and blinded children who are now in dependent institutions being made still more dependent by the very nature of the poor apology for vocational training which is given them. Now we have clearly before us the need for industrial education because those who are to work in the industries need it. Now we hold a child-labor law before youth tempted by industry. Later we shall endeavor to hold before youth better opportunities for vocational, physical, and mental training in our schools as an inducement to stay in them."

The author does not introduce any fundamental plan for accomplishing this purpose of drawing rather than driving the pupil to school. Better opportunities for training alone will not interest him or hold him. Mr. Dean appears to appreciate the need, but not to have grasped the fact that the change has got to be more sweeping than any that could be affected by the mere introduction

of additional curricula. There is missing in this study, the sense of reality. Furthermore he has a conception of the state as a personified super-being which is not in keeping with genuine democracy and equal opportunity. He is right in so many points, he has such trenchant criticism to offer of the existing educational system, that it is a disappointment to find that he offers to the modern doubts and hopes for modern education, very little that is constructive.

THE YOUNG WAGE-EARNER AND THE PROBLEM OF HIS EDUCATION. Edited by J. J. Findlay, Committee of the Uplands Association. London: Sidgwick & Jackson.

The English Education Act, passed last summer, stands as the greatest step that England has ever taken in education. Its passage was largely due to the personal initiative and the broad, progressive conception of education of Mr. Herbert Fisher, Minister of Education. One of its main provisions, which aroused the greatest degree of opposition on the part of manufacturers and employers, was the continuation school clause. As the bill was originally drafted, this would have applied to all "young persons" under 18 years of age, making schooling compulsory within work hours for 320 hours per year. On the ground that there can not be adequate provision for carrying it into effect for a few years, the operation of this part of the act is postponed seven years, and during this time local education authorities may reduce the attendance from 320 to 280 hours.

The passage of the Act was a great triumph, but not so great a triumph as would be the securing of a really inspiring, all-round kind of instruction for these working boys and girls. The cut-and-dried methods will not apply; compulsion will hold bodies but it will not train minds. As a writer in the present volume points out, "The success of a course of education is to be measured not by the knowledge or capacity acquired but by the development of the power and the will to acquire further knowledge and capacity." It does not seem, from some of the experiments described in "The Young Wage-Earner," that this ideal has as yet been attained in the schemes worked out by private enterprise.

The authors describe, on the part of the wage-earners of 14 and up who will become new scholars under the operation of the act, "a set attitude of mistrust and apprehension towards tutelage, particularly of the kind associated in their minds with school and school-life. There is a ground-swell of resentment against being passive; against being talked at, being ordered about, and being treated as a child. There is also a dislike of what is being taught in school. . . . We can coerce and compel attendance, with the legal authority contained in Clause 12, if we are sufficiently thorough in using the police court or in stopping wages—that is, we can compel the bodily presence of these youths at our classes; though there is something of assumption even in this. But the country will scarcely be satisfied with compelled attendance. Unless we can find some kind of an organization and curriculum that makes a positive appeal, our compulsion is waste of energy and temper."

The Committee of the Uplands Association proposes changes in the school organization, in curriculum, and most important, in the selection of teachers and supervisors, who should be given a free hand in working out the sort of school-

ing best adapted to the mental and physical development of adolescent wage-earners. Its report contains material that is intimately connected with our own problem of holding children in school by desire rather than compulsion.

THE KINGDOM OF THE CHILD. Alice Minnie Herts Heninger. E. P. Dutton & Co.

The proposition that "school work does not carry over into life" is not a new one, but Mrs. Heninger's experiment in helping it to carry over is new, educationally speaking, and has proved its worth. She is the founder and manager of the Children's Educational Theater, and in this volume describes her methods in utilizing the dramatic instinct in children and thus securing their interest in school work which is one of the most difficult problems of the teacher. "Dramatic play," she says, "is the natural way suggested by the child as his own inherited method of socializing facts." We need only be guided by the method adopted by the child in his self-education to become aware of the great force which identification with imaginary or real people bears in the child's life. The task is to give this force expression. Further, it has a direct empirical value in teaching. "The child, in his world of fancy, is constantly developing the right spirit towards drudgery, and we, in our world of fact, are constantly undoing his work. We regard a game as something to play at and be finished with in play. The child regards a game as something to be connected with life." The author's own experiences in drawing out the child's real character, in helping him to develop through participation in plays of real dramatic merit and beauty his own will, his social sense and his fundamental instinct for work and study, are told with great interest and life. She has pointed out one of those short cuts that open up a veritable avenue for the teacher who must jack her pupils up to formal examination standards, and yet rebels at the necessity of doing this through formal methods. The author repeatedly warns the would-be follower against any system. Each one must work it out individually with the cooperation of the pupils. This looks like one of the beginnings of democracy in school life and curriculum.

"YOU HELPED THE REST, NOW HELP THE BEST—OUR AMERICAN CHILDREN"

JOSEPHINE J. ESCHENBRENNER

With this slogan on its banner, the Pittsburgh and Allegheny County Membership Campaign Committee entered the field the week of February 3d, with a personal appeal for help for the work of the National Child Labor Committee, and, under the able leadership of Mrs. William Thaw, Jr., proved that where long-distance correspondence from National Headquarters had been able to develop only 77 members, the personal word of the friends of the National Committee could bring 1,096 active recruits into the fight for American children. \$7,628.60 in memberships and contributions were secured, and additional subscriptions still come in. Mrs. Thaw's lieutenants were Miss H. Marie Dermitt, Mrs. F. P. Iams, Mrs. Enoch Rauh, Vice-Chairmen; Alexander C. Robinson, Treasurer; Miss Annie E. McCord, Secretary, Miss Fredericka Richardson and Miss Marcella Callery, Assistant Secretaries. Leading the local committees were the following chairmen: Mrs. C. Valentine Kirby, Membership Subscriptions; Miss Margaret Dewar, Pageant; Mrs. Morton Herzog, Hotel Subscription Tables; Sidney A. Teller, Publicity; Miss Mary J. R. Condon, Exhibit Aides; David Terry, Exhibit Speakers; Miss Helen Nathan, Theater Speakers; H. A. McConnaughey, Church Cooperation; Dr. William M. Davidson, Cooperation of Schools; Sherman Conrad, Cooperation of Organizations.

Under the auspices of the Girls' Patriotic League, of which Miss Margaret Dewar is President, Miss Constance D'Arcy Mackay's Pageant of Sunshine and Shadow was beautifully presented at Carnegie Music Hall as a feature of the campaign. Members of the League took the parts of the principal characters, led by Miss Dewar as "Joy" and Miss Rachel H. Mellen as "Knowledge;" and pupils of Miss Viola Semler represented the "Children of Sunshine" and the "Children of Shadow."

INDIANAPOLIS DOES ITS PART

Twenty members contributing in all \$45 were increased to 775 contributing over \$3,500, and the returns are not all in as this report goes to press. Indianapolis saw that the large sums she had donated recently for the work of humanity in foreign lands added to the obligation to prevent injustice to the young at home. An Indianapolis Membership Campaign Committee for the National Child Labor Committee was organized for active personal work the week of April 6th. Franklin Vonnegut, Chairman, was aided by Amos W. Butler, Mrs. L. W. Ellinwood, Rabbi M. M. Feuerlicht, Rev. F. H. Gavisk, Judge Frank D. Lahr, V. H. Lockwood, Rev. F. S. C. Wicks, Vice-Chairman; E. H. Wolcott, Treasurer, Miss Ruth G. Lockwood, Secretary, Miss Pauline C. Curnick, Assistant Secretary. Committee Chairmen were: on Membership Subscriptions, W. A. Hacker; Meeting at Murat Theater, Mrs. Edward L. McKee; Pageant, Mrs. W. O. Bates and Miss Mary Gavin; Publicity, Tom Snyder and Mrs. Carlos Recker; Cooperation of Organizations, Paul Kirby; of Churches, Eugene C. Foster; of Public Schools, E. U. Graff; of Parochial Schools, Mrs. Angeline Cook; Fourteen Minute Women, Mrs. G. M. Henderson; Parent-Teachers' Associations, Mrs. H. E. Barnard.

The Little Theater Society of Indiana presented the Pageant of Sunshine and Shadow at the Murat Theater as the feature of the week's work. It was the first presentation of the Pageant since Miss Constance D'Arcy Mackay, the author, strengthened it into a reconstruction measure, and the charming sermon was so effectively presented that grown-ups left the Theater with much the same feeling that one of the little girl participants expressed earlier: "Surely, after this they won't make little children work like that ever again!"

"NOW, FINISH THE WHOLE JOB"

Evansville, Indiana, is in the midst of preparations for its campaign as the report goes to press. Coming at the successful close of the Victory Loan Campaign work, the slogan of the local Committee is that the *whole* job for humanity and democracy is not finished until every child in our own country has a chance to grow and to learn the ideals democracy stands for; until every one of the

2,000,000 laboring children in our country, is taken out of the trench of child labor, and helped "over the top," to the schoolhouse and the playground and opportunity. The Evansville Campaign Committee is led by Mr. Paul H. Schmidt, Chairman; Rev. F. P. Ryves, Vice-Chairman; Mrs. A. M. Dawson, Chairman Membership Committee; Frank R. Wilson, Treasurer; Miss Pauline C. Curnick, Secretary; Miss Grace Kiechle of the People's Players, Chairman of Pageant Committee.

THE COLLEGES LEND A HAND

Showing our exhibit in the great colleges has brought a strong response, both in new memberships and in awakened interest.

Vassar College led the way: in a two-day campaign over 200 of the girls of Vassar joined our membership, contributing \$460. The campaign, under the auspices of the Christian Association and Consumers' League of the college, was ably managed by its two chairmen, Miss Adelaide S. Day and Miss Charlotte C. Pardee. Miss Day had been aroused by her own experience at work in a tomato cannery where little children were employed, and she chose this way of protesting against that abuse.

Swarthmore College, after showing our exhibit for three days, accompanied by a spirited campaign of speeches and propaganda, conducted simultaneously in the College and in the village community, enlisted 230 new members contributing \$539. The campaign manager, Mrs. Isabel Briggs Myers, had the enthusiastic cooperation of Miss Esther E. Baldwin, of the faculty, and Mrs. Robert C. Brooke, in charge of Village cooperation. Committee chairmen who gave splendid assistance were: Miss Young, Speakers; Miss Reichard, Exhibit; Mr. D. Bronk, Publicity; Miss Janet Brown, Village Canvass; and Miss McNeel, College Canvass.

At Barnard College the Intercollegiate Community Service Association held our exhibit the week of April 24 to 30. Under the leadership of Miss Ruth Marshall assisted by Miss Aline Buchman, and with the cooperation of the Christian Association, represented by Miss K. W. Scudder, Barnard rolled up a membership in the Committee nearly 100 strong, contributing \$200.

At Teachers' College our exhibit carried its message effectively to scores of teachers and teachers-in-the-making. Of these a number

will have missions in China, in Japan, in Persia, in India—and they have asked for information and material which they may use to carry our message to those lands where new industrial systems threaten to take their grim toll of little children.

The University of Illinois, the Illinois State Normal University, and the three colleges at Oxford, Ohio—Western College, Miami University, and Oxford College—have each shown our exhibit and sent us their quota of new members. Each college student who sees our exhibit and joins our membership carries our message back to his or her community. And so we “preach our sermon to a procession.”

The American Child

FORMERLY THE CHILD LABOR BULLETIN

AUGUST, 1919



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INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF CHILD LABOR

SCHOOLBOY HOWLERS

PUBLISHED BY

National Child Labor Committee

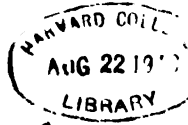
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The Committee.

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EDITORIAL AND NEWS NOTES

In the May number of *The American Child* it was noted that the federal child labor law, which went into effect April 25th last, had just been declared unconstitutional by Judge JUDGE BOYD's Boyd of the western judicial district of North DECISION Carolina. Judge Boyd, it will be remembered, handed down a like decision with regard to the first federal law, and was later sustained by the Supreme Court. Judge Boyd's decision in the present case not only runs contrary to the spirit and the will of the people of the United States expressed through Congress, but it runs contrary to the majority will of his own state. On May 2, at Greensboro, North Carolina, Judge Boyd made permanent a temporary injunction preventing the Atherton Cotton Mills from discharging an employee, John W. Johnston, or curtailing his employment to 8 hours a day. John is between the ages of 14 and 16 and is one of those for whom the federal government believes 8 hours a day labor to be sufficient. According to the recent amendment to the Revenue Act placing a 10 per cent tax upon the profits of mills employing children under 14, or children between 14 and 16 for more than 8 hours a day, he would have had his time in the factory curtailed or if the mills decided that he and his mates were not worth the trouble of changing the schedules, he would have been discharged. W. C. Hammer, United States Attorney for the western district of North Carolina appeared as *amicus curiae* and suggested a want of jurisdiction in that the mills had no contract to prevent them from discharging the "infant plaintiff" at any time or for any reason that might seem fit, and also because the case was not one arising under the Internal Revenue or other federal laws so as to give the court jurisdiction to pass on the validity of the law. The court, however, overruled this suggestion and made the injunction permanent, as stated above.

But if the people of the state are not behind the decision, it does not lack supporters. Winston Adams, Secretary of the American

Cotton Manufacturers' Association sent out the statement that: "The manufacturers are contesting this law as a matter of principle rather than merely the working of young people. The manufacturers claim that if this law is held constitutional, the precedent has been established whereby the federal government can make and enforce any regulation covering conditions of employment, wages, hours and other kindred matters."

The important consideration, of course, is whether or not the Supreme Court to which the case has been appealed will sustain Judge Boyd's decision of unconstitutionality. It can not do so seemingly unless it goes squarely back on its previous decisions. The fact that Congress sought to do by indirection what it could not accomplish by direct prohibition, is beside the point. Congress has in the past laid a prohibitive tax calculated to destroy the article taxed—notably in the case of colored oleomargarine, state bank notes, and the manufacture of phosphorus matches. Its power to do this has twice been upheld by the Court. The National Child Labor Committee has every confidence that the Court will uphold it for the third time in the child labor case.

"When you keep children from working, what are you going to do with them?" is a question that has been asked from the beginning of the agitation against child labor. Most of the states that have taken measures against this form of exploitation have answered the question by bringing their compulsory school attendance laws to the standard of the child labor provisions. The federal government has just put in force a national child labor law, and as a corollary to this it is planned to provide federal aid to the states for promoting education and equalizing educational opportunities, which everyone knows to be grossly uneven, throughout the country. The states are in every case to take the initiative and to match the government's appropriation dollar for dollar. We have discussed the question of federal aid to education before. It is unnecessary to repeat the arguments in favor of appropriations to the states for the purposes of the removal of illiteracy, Americanization, equalization of educational opportunities, physical education, health education and sanitation and the preparation of teachers.

THE SMITH-TOWNER
EDUCATION BILL
REVISED

"It is always pertinent to ask whether we can afford to spend the money," said Mr. Herbert Fisher, English Minister of Education, speaking prior to the passage of the Education Act of 1918. "But when we are considering a form of productive expenditure, which is not only an investment but an insurance, that question can not stand alone. We must ask a supplementary question. We must ask not only whether we can afford to spend the money, but whether we can afford not to spend the money. And the supplementary question is more important and more searching." Can we in America afford not to spend the money? The Smith-Towner bill, creating a federal department of education and providing federal aid of \$100,000,000 annually for education within the states has been reintroduced in Congress. It is known as H. R. 7. It has the support of those working for child protection, for it is constructive and it is rational. It will help solve that problem of finding a real alternative to child labor.

Many states and bodies of people are working for more effective ways of promoting physical education. Some are seriously discussing the introduction of military training in the schools as a means to this end. In this connection it is interesting to note the report of the New York State Reconstruction Commission, on military training as given under the Welsh-Slater acts of 1916. After a careful inquiry into the value of this work the Commission "finds that the present military training law is designed to reach all boys of the state 16, 17, and 18 years of age and to give them one and a half hours a week of drill; but in reality it reaches only a quarter of the number due to the system of exemption. While this law has the advantage of being already in force and is an available instrument for the state, it has the great disadvantage of interfering needlessly with school work and causing confusion in the educational system. Also it creates a false and temporary obedience, it is too brief to accomplish results, it is vitiated by the fact that instruction is given by officers instead of by teachers, by the system of exemption, and by the monotonous repetition of drill. A training for a high type of citizenship and good physique can be attained better through other methods. The chief of these methods are physical education and summer camps. The

Commission therefore desires to report adversely on the matter of technical military training for boys 16, 17 and 18 years of age." The findings of this Commission should be of use to the entire country. All-round physical development promoted through games and varied activity is a far better preparation for life—as well as for possible later military service—than premature automatic drill.

The child in America is rapidly coming into his own. The concern over his welfare which Prof. Lester F. Ward predicted many years ago as the outstanding sociological fact of the twentieth century is now very clearly manifest. THE ATLANTIC CITY CONFERENCE Evidence and illustration of this concern were afforded by the National Conference of Social Work in its sessions at Atlantic City, June 1 to 8, inclusive. The child held a remarkably prominent place in the thought and discussion of the week, not merely the defective, the delinquent, the dependent, or the exploited child, but also the child of better fortune. At the first general session of the Conference, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Chief of the Children's Bureau, said in her presidential address:

"What is America's duty—a country rich and strong beyond the dreams of avarice? If we are in earnest about democracy we are in earnest about giving every citizen a fair chance; that means first of all a fair chance for every child whatever his race or color. In practice it means vastly increased expenditures of public money for the direct service of childhood.

"Illiteracy existed before we went to war. It existed because children had gone to work instead of to school. Adult illiteracy is the inevitable sequence of child labor. The census in 1910 warned us, but we did not heed, that the areas of rural child labor and of adult illiteracy are largely identical.

"The illiteracy in our draft army shocked us. Unless we are willing to spend millions at once on elementary full term schools for children, we shall have a doubled adult illiteracy in a few years. The federal child labor law protects only children in mines, quarries and factories. We must protect every child, and the protection of the school is the surest and sanest. It is costly in money, but cheap and effective in result.

"In brief, universality is the only method of protecting children which is big enough and democratic enough to command our respect now. No race, no section, can be neglected. It is dangerous as well as selfish to do less than give all children a fair chance. The colored child has been too long neglected. Negro immigration is forcing us to see in a new way the dangerous folly of forgetting him. What of the children of the islands of Porto Rico and Hawaii? Not one but has a right to be counted."

Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, was elected president of the Conference for the ensuing year. In the concluding address at Atlantic City he gave renewed expression to his conception of social work as a patriotic, nationally constructive enterprise and to his faith in the leadership of little children in the tasks before the men and women of America.

Mr. Wiley H. Swift, in an article in this number of *The American Child*, suggests that the Red Cross become an agency for uniting local groups throughout the country in much needed work for children. Children's specialists at the international conference of the Red Cross at Cannes strongly advocated the adoption of a world program for child welfare. It was recommended that the program in order to offset the normal sickness and death rate resulting from the war include the education of prospective parents, the welfare of expectant mothers, obstetrical assistance, nursery supervision, including health studies in the school, recurring physical examinations of school children and detailed health records, special attention to subnormal children and universal age limits, and close physical supervision of child labor. In New York City recently the Red Cross has established a health station which is concerned not only with the physical health of the children under its care, but with keeping children in school, and arranging for scholarships so that they may complete their education.

The survey staff of the National Child Labor Committee has completed the field work involved in a state-wide study of conditions and problems of child welfare in Kentucky. The study was undertaken at the invitation of the Kentucky Child Labor Association, and its prosecution has been cordially aided by the people of the Blue Grass State. The subjects to be treated in the final report, which the Committee will shortly publish in book form, embrace: Public Health, Education, Recreation, Delinquency and Juvenile Courts, Child Labor, Agricultural Economics, Law and Administration. A special study of the coal-mining regions of Kentucky will be included. The volume will be added to the series of which

"Child Welfare in Oklahoma" was the first, followed by "Child Welfare in Alabama" and "Child Welfare in North Carolina," and it is hoped will help the people and legislature of Kentucky in formulating a comprehensive children's code.

A preliminary report of the proceedings of the Second Pan-American Child Welfare Congress which met, May 18-25 at Montevideo, Uruguay, has been forwarded by

THE SECOND Mrs. Cornelius van Domselaar, representative of the National Child Labor Committee. At the opening session held in one of the largest theaters of the city, at least 1,500 people were present including the delegates of the Uruguayan and other governments. Among others the Minister of Public Instruction addressed the opening meeting and the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister were present. One of the important resolutions adopted at the closing session was the following:

"The Second Child's Congress of America accepts the project presented by its President, Dr. Luis Morquio, of creating an International American Bureau for Child Welfare which shall be the centre of study, of action and propaganda in America of all questions referring to the child. This Bureau will be an official organization of America, having its seat in the city of Montevideo. The Government of Uruguay will ask from its legislative assembly the sanction of a law creating this institution and will formulate its constitution in accord with the other American Governments."

Among the other resolutions adopted which are of special interest is the broad health programme laid down, including pre-natal care of mothers, medical examination of school children and a strenuous campaign against tuberculosis. There were recommended a flat 15-year age limit for working children, with compulsory school attendance to 15 years, a 16-year limit for industrial labor, a 6-hour day for all under 19 years, proof of age and physician's certificate, prohibition of the sale of newspapers, etc., by minor girls and by males under 18, prohibition of dangerous employment and night work. The establishment of children's courts was urged, and the care of abandoned children, the establishment of compulsory vocational instruction for children of both sexes between 14 and 18, and other far-reaching measures. Further, "The Second Child's Con-

gress declares that, without infringement on the special solution required by each of the above problems, all activities on behalf of child welfare should unite in an attempt to modify the hurtful economic organization of the present social regime."

The year 1919 as regards child labor legislation in New York was decidedly an off year. A glance at the results achieved will readily convince anyone of this fact as the record of new laws is far exceeded by the number of bills which failed of passage.

NEW YORK CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION*. The chief gains were the two bills forming a part of the program of legislation introduced by the Women's Joint Legislative Conference. One of these for the first time brings under legal protection the employment of girls and women as elevator operators. This law prohibits girls under 21 years of age from engaging in such work and limits the hours of this work for women over that age. The other bill is similar but affects employment of girls and women in or in connection with the operation of any street, elevated or subway transportation service. It likewise forbids such employment for girls under 21 years of age and regulates the hours for women over that age to 54 per week and 9 per day and forbids such work after 10 p. m.

Another law of special importance is the Lockwood Law, which establishes the principle of state-wide compulsory continuation school attendance for all working children 14 to 18 years of age whether elementary school graduates or not. This legislation provides that the administrative details shall be left to local school authorities but the required attendance shall be between the hours of 8 a. m. and 5 p. m., and shall be for not less than 4 hours and not more than 8 hours per week. The law provides state aid to finance these classes and allows a period of five years commencing September, 1920. to make the law completely operative.

Legislation extending the jurisdiction of the State Industrial Commission was adopted, which provides for the enforcement in cities of the third class, such as Poughkeepsie, Kingston, Niagara Falls, Jamestown, Mt. Vernon, White Plains, etc., of the pro-

*This report on legislation in New York is by Mr. George A. Hall, Secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee.

visions of the labor law relating to the employment of women and children in mercantile establishments. This has been urged for years by the New York Child Labor Committee, in as much as local health officers have been too overburdened with the sanitary duties to inspect adequately these establishments. Two other bills became laws—one increasing the salaries of factory and mercantile inspectors and the other extending the power of child welfare boards with regard to the grants made of allowances to widowed mothers.

The passage of the Lockwood salary bill for school teachers marks the end of a legislative fight extending over a period of many years. It affects 50,000 school teachers throughout the state and increases the allotment of state funds to cities and rural districts. This law while not directly a child labor law is of vital importance, in so far as it will raise the standard of teaching in our public schools and thus make them more attractive to the children.

Space will not permit the description of the bills defeated directly or indirectly. Among these were one raising the standard of the newsboy law and one extending the limitation as to hours of employment of males 16 to 18 years of age employed in mercantile establishments. These two bills will be introduced in the next legislative session.

The federal child labor law and the end of the war together have resulted in plans for a general tightening in the enforcement of the state laws. In Arkansas, Iowa and Kansas the commissioners of labor have issued strict orders for the enforcement of the child labor laws. In the last two weeks of May there were seven prosecutions under the law in Des Moines. Parents who make false affidavits are to be prosecuted, as well as the employer. While last year in Arkansas special vacation permits were issued to children between 10 and 14 years of age, permits will be issued this year only to children over 14. The Commissioner of Labor and Industry in Kansas has made a statement regarding the child labor law in that state in which he outlines the requirements for work permits and adds: "In no case will children under 12 years of age be permitted to be employed. During the school months no work permits shall be issued to any child under 16 years of age who has not completed the course of study for elementary

schools, except they may be permitted to work before and after school hours and on Saturdays and holidays." Children between 12 and 14 are not to be allowed to work in any restaurant, hotel, or place where soft drinks are sold. The Labor Commissioner says, "We expect to have a common sense interpretation of the law and then see that it is enforced."

In the May issue of *The American Child* a number of measures passed by the states were outlined. Complete returns are not yet in from the state legislatures, several of which are still in session. Special articles in this number refer to the work done in Missouri, California, North Carolina, Ohio and New York. In addition, progress was made in other states as follows:

The most significant general movement noted this year is the appointment of children's code commissions. Nebraska and Connecticut appointed commissions which will report back to the legislature; Indiana appointed an investigating commission on child welfare and social legislation which is to report its recommendations to the governor by December, 1920. Governor Cooper of South Carolina has appointed a like commission which, working with the state board of charities and corrections will study the conditions in the state affecting children and will draft a children's code. Thus it appears that the coordination of laws for children has become a fairly general aim in the states.

In the field of education, Florida made her compulsory school law state-wide and extended the time for attendance to apply to children between 7 and 16 years instead of between the ages of 8 and 14. Nebraska provided for continuation schooling for children between 14 and 16 years, for 8 hours a week. Minnesota, on the other hand, reduced the age for compulsory attendance from 18 to 16 years. This will doubtless make slight material difference in the actual number of children in school, as attendance has been required only through the eighth grade, and normal children will certainly have completed this before their sixteenth birthday. Among the labor laws are those of Maine and Massachusetts. In the latter state the bill providing for an 8-hour day, 48-hour week, for women and minors was passed. Maine established a 15-year age limit under which no child may be employed in any business or for hire

during school hours; night employment in bowling alleys and pool rooms is prohibited and the work permit provisions strengthened.

Mothers' pensions received attention in Maine, where the law was made stronger, and in Florida where a law was passed for the first time, granting \$25 a month for one child attending school and \$8 for the second child. In the matter of health, New Mexico passed a public health bill providing for a board of three, one of whom shall be a physician. North Dakota is to have health inspection in the schools; examination is to be made at least annually and the records will be filed. Among the miscellaneous measures is a Texas law creating an Industrial Welfare Commission empowered to fix a minimum wage for women and minors and regulate working conditions. Wyoming has forestalled the federal government by accepting the provisions of the Smith-Towner bill now pending in Congress, which would create a federal department of education.

BREVITIES

According to the announced program of the Polish Minister of Education, children in Poland will be required to attend school for at least seven years, and the free common school is to care for all children of all classes of society.

It is reported that in Anniston, Alabama, last winter, 1,203 white children and 1,934 negro children were denied admission to the public schools for want of buildings. It takes something more than compulsory attendance laws to provide education for all the people.

The agitation for higher teachers' salaries, impelled by the unvoted and unheralded strike of thousands of teachers against intolerable injustice, is showing results. New York and Iowa have raised the salaries of teachers. The Board of Education in Seattle has fixed minimum salaries of \$1,500 and \$1,200 for high school and grade teachers respectively. This is yet not high enough compensation for teachers of real ability nor is the New Jersey provision of a minimum monthly salary of \$70 for the period school is in session, but it is a start in the right direction. Teachers' unions in numerous other states and cities are working for better conditions.

The East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, is organizing vocational work calculated to retain the children in school and to offer a so-called life-career motive in education. One of the pupils in a written class-room statement remarks pertinently, "I would like to be a school teacher because I have always taken a fancy to teach. My mother said it takes too much schooling for the pay you get after you get to be a teacher." When shall we give those priceless individuals who "have a fancy to teach" adequate return for their training and ability?

Buffalo has tackled the problem of overcrowded schools by approving a program involving the immediate erection of 20 new buildings to cost approximately \$8,500,000. Twelve of these are to be intermediate schools for the seventh, eighth and ninth grades. While this arbitrary division of children into elementary, junior high, and high schools is open to grave criticism, there can be no doubt as to the progressive character of the program outlined by the Superintendent, Ernest C. Hartwell. This includes departmentalized work, physical education and play, flexibility in the course of study, promotion by subject rather than by grade, recognition of the special needs of adolescent youth, and "an opportunity for the child to find himself vocationally through actual contact with the basic processes of a variety of occupations." Further, says Mr. Hartwell, "I would do away with the idea of the traditional recitation, and make the dominating ideal and purpose of the school to teach pupils *how to study*. If such an ideal is to be achieved, every class must be a work room and every subject must be taught by the laboratory method."

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INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF CHILD LABOR

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY

The Peace Treaty makes provision for many new forms and agencies of international cooperation of a non-political and economic character. Nothing in the Treaty goes more directly to the real foundations of permanent international peace and nothing has caused greater surprise to the unprepared American public than the establishment of an International Labor Office and the provision for an Annual International Labor Conference.

Certain ideals with respect to desirable international labor standards are embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations. It is gratifying to note that the prohibition of child labor and the protection of the working child during the early years of its legal employment stand at the top of the list of desirable international labor standards. It is the purpose of the International Labor Office and of the Annual International Labor Conference to work out concretely a formal expression of these international standards and to provide for their enforcement and realization.

The first Annual International Labor Conference is scheduled to meet in Washington in October, and paragraph IV of the Agenda of the Conference relates to the employment of children and proposes to discuss three aspects of that question: (a) minimum age of employment; (b) during the night; (c) in unhealthy processes. Whatever agreements are reached on these matters by the delegates from the member states of the League of Nations assembled in Washington next October will be embodied in one of two forms: (a) recommendations to be submitted to the high contracting parties for consideration with a view to their being given effect by national legislation or otherwise; (b) a draft international convention for ratification by the high contracting parties. In either case a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present is necessary on the final vote for the adoption of a recommendation or of a draft convention, as the case may be. There is further provision that in the case of a federal state, "the power of which to enter into conventions

on labor matters is subject to limitations, it shall be in the discretion of the government of such state to treat a draft convention to which such limitations apply as a recommendation only, and the provisions of this article with respect to recommendations shall apply in such case." It is supposed that this particular provision was inserted primarily to make it easy for the United States to be a party to the international labor agreements of the League of Nations. The procedure is that each of the high contracting parties undertakes that it will, within the period of one year at most from the end of the meeting of the Conference, bring the recommendations or draft convention before the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies for the enactment of the legislation or other action. This would mean that the President of the United States would probably refer recommendations dealing with child labor regulations to the governors of the several states to be presented by them in turn to their respective legislatures for consideration and appropriate action, on the theory that Congress has no power directly to legislate on the matter of the regulation of child labor. The same procedure would then follow in the case of a draft convention, even if ratified as a separate treaty, provided the United States wished to take advantage of the special procedure provided by the Peace Treaty for federal states with limited powers on labor matters. From our experience with state and federal legislation on child labor we would all agree that such action would make the cooperation of the United States in the international regulation of child labor extremely impotent and unsatisfactory. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the leaders in child labor reform along with others interested in labor standards generally will give serious thought to every proposal that will help us to formulate a more effective means of playing a part commensurate with our influence and proper place in the League of Nations, when our delegates are called upon to state our position in the International Labor Conferences.

A very interesting suggestion has been made by Dr. E. Stagg Whitin of the National Committee on Prisons that Congress might in advance of the International Labor Conference enact provisions by which, similarly to the provisions for the prohibition of the importation of convict made goods, the importation of any article manufactured contrary to any standards adopted by the International Labor Conference and embodied in recommendations or

draft conventions would be automatically prohibited, and the Secretary of the Treasury authorized to formulate proper regulations under our tariff laws to enforce such prohibition. That suggestion might be extended into a proposal that the International Labor Conference itself embody as part of its recommendation or draft convention in every case an agreement between all nations parties thereto to enact legislation prohibiting the importation into their respective countries of all goods manufactured contrary to the standards agreed upon. This would close the doors of international commerce to those who violated such standards. Theoretically this would be, perhaps, sufficient to accomplish their enforcement, but practically it would involve great administrative difficulties in the inspection and certification of goods shipped in international commerce.

Former United States Senator George Southerland in a recent book entitled "Constitutional Power and World Affairs" presented an able argument for a more far-reaching and thorough-going solution of this problem in which he held that the treaty-making power of the Federal Government is sufficiently extensive to enable Congress to deal adequately with the enforcement of any treaty provisions which the Federal Government has ratified, and which come properly within the scope of international agreements by treaty.

Mr. J. P. Chamberlain of the Legislative Drafting Research Fund of Columbia University in a recent address before the Academy of Political Science* has reviewed many recent decisions which throw light on this view of the implied powers of Congress under the treaty making power of the Federal government.

The following liberal extracts from Mr. Chamberlain's published address may well serve to encourage and stimulate constructive study of the vital problem of our participation in and enforcement of international labor standards:

"The treaty power is granted to the Federal Government in the most general and inclusive terms:

He [the President] shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur. (Art. II, Sec. 2, Clause 2.)

*Published in the Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, Vol. VIII, No. 3, July, 1919, Columbia University, New York City.

To protect further any rights secured under treaties and to make secure the settlement of treaty questions in the Federal courts, and so to emphasize the exclusive nature of the Federal control over treaties, the Constitution further provides:

The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and *treaties made, or which shall be made*, under their authority. (Art. III, Sec. 2, Clause 1.)

Not satisfied, however, with the implied prohibition upon the power of the states, the fathers went a step further and expressly prohibited relations between states and foreign countries:

No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation. (Art. I, Sec. 10, Clause 1.)

No State shall, without the consent of Congress . . . enter into any agreement or compact with any State, or with a foreign power. (Art. I, Sec. 10, Clause 2.)

Therefore, both by direct grant to the Federal Government and by express limitation on the action of the states, is the treaty power vested exclusively in the Federal Government and the intention of the Constitution made doubly clear, that as to foreign relations the United States shall be a single unit expressing its will through the President and two-thirds of the Senate. Only through the action of the United States Government can the interests of this country and of its citizens be protected abroad. Only in this manner can we enter into those arrangements between governments which, as the society of nations becomes closer knit, and intercourse more frequent and more vital, increase in number and in importance. Wisely did the founders of our Government set no express limit to this power of the Federal Government; but granted it in general terms, so that it could be extended to any of the new developments in international life which might require the joint action of states. . . .

"The legislative and administrative branches of the government on their side have lately expressed their judgment that the treaty power may invade fields which would be closed normally to Congress. In 1898 the question arose as to whether or not the United States could enter into a treaty with Great Britain to protect fisheries in boundary waters between the United States and Canada. It was referred to the Attorney General who said that it was obvious that the United States had no authority to regulate

fisheries within the territorial jurisdiction of the states, but since the regulation of fisheries was a proper subject for international agreement the United States could enter into a treaty for this purpose. To show that the regulation of fisheries was a proper subject for international agreement he cited certain treaties with Great Britain and also the necessity of joint control of the waters in which fish live and spawn, that is, the question as to whether a certain treaty is within the treaty power is determined by precedent and by the necessity of the case arising from the facts. (22 Op. Att. Gen. 214). A treaty to regulate fisheries was signed on April 11, 1908.

"Very recently this same theory has been embodied in a treaty and statutes. By the act of March 4, 1913, certain migratory birds were taken under the custody and protection of the United States Government and the game laws of the various states were set aside by a Federal statute. On August 17, 1916, by treaty between the United States and Great Britain on behalf of Canada, the protection for certain of these birds was made international. The statute being subsequently held unconstitutional in *United States v. Shauver* (214, Fed. 154, sec. 39, Sup. Ct. Rept. 134), Congress on the 3rd of July, 1918, passed a new act regulating migratory birds and declared that it was for the purpose of carrying out the treaty. The President promptly promulgated regulations under the statute. Congress, therefore, clearly assumes that under the treaty power it could take control of a subject otherwise in the exclusive control of the states and pass legislation otherwise not within its power, to carry out a treaty. The Executive has endorsed the opinion of the legislature. The Federal district judge who held the statute of 1913 unconstitutional has recently held the treaty and statutes passed under it constitutional.

"The best precedent for the power of the United States to enter into treaties without regard to the police power of the states is found in the words of the ordinary commercial treaty guaranteeing reciprocal liberty of residence, of travel and of doing business, to the citizens of one country in the territory of the other. If the police powers of the states are paramount and if no treaty in any way limiting them can be effective then these treaties guarantee no protection whatsoever to foreigners and the United States went beyond its powers in negotiating and ratifying them. That no one will contend this for a moment is the best proof that the question is not whether a

treaty can override the police powers of the states, but whether it is a legitimate exercise of the treaty power.

"The extent of the treaty power is the crux of the whole question. Fortunately we have judicial help in aiding us to determine it. Justice Davis in *United States v. 43 Gallons of Whiskey* (93 U. S. 188) said: 'It cannot be doubted that the treaty-making power is ample to cover all usual subjects of diplomacy with the different powers.' Expressing the same idea rather more fully, Justice Field said in *De Geofroy v. Riggs* (133 U. S. 258):

That the treaty power of the United States extends to all proper subjects of negotiation between our government and the governments of other nations, is clear. It is also clear that the protection which should be afforded to the citizens of one country owning property in another, and the manner in which that property may be transferred, devised or inherited, are fitting subjects for such negotiation and of regulation by mutual stipulations between the two countries. As commercial intercourse increases between different countries the residence of citizens of one country within the territory of the other naturally follows, and the removal of their disability from alienage to hold, transfer and inherit property in such cases tends to promote amicable relations. Such removal has been within the present century the frequent subject of treaty arrangement. The treaty power, as expressed in the Constitution, is in terms unlimited except by those restraints which are found in that instrument against the action of the government or of its departments, and those arising from the nature of the government itself and of that of the states. It would not be contended that it extends so far as to authorize what the Constitution forbids, or a change in the character of the government or in that of one of the states, or a cession of any portion of the territory of the latter, without its consent. *Fort Leavenworth R. Co. v. Lowe*, 114 U. S. 525, 541 [29: 264, 270]. But with these exceptions, it is not perceived that there is any limit to the questions which can be adjusted touching any matter which is properly the subject of negotiation with a foreign country. *Ware v. Hylton*, 3 U. S. 3 Dall. 199 [1: 568]; *Chirac v. Chirac*, 15 U. S. 2 Wheat. 259 [4: 234]; *Hauenstein v. Lynham*, 100 U. S. 483 [25: 628]; *Droit d' Aubaine*, 8 Ops. Atty. Gen. 417; *People v. Gerke*, 5 Cal. 381 (pp. 266-267).

"In *Downs, v. Bidwell* (182 U. S. 244) the court approved a former decision expressing the same idea:

The treaty-making power vested in our government extends to all proper subjects of negotiation with foreign governments (p. 294).

"Clearly, the treaty power cannot be used to destroy the Constitution or the government set up under it. A treaty which at-

tempted this would not be a proper exercise of the treaty power, but an interference with the rights of a sovereign state. It could only be imposed upon a defeated country, not under a constitutional power, but as the command of a victorious enemy. It cannot be said, however, that a treaty which limits the police power of one of the American states is therefore in conflict with the Constitution. The cases already cited are ample authority to the contrary. Furthermore, this power is only one of those granted to the United States by the Constitution. Another is the power to regulate interstate and intrastate commerce and, it is unnecessary now to argue that the police powers of the state do not stand in the way of an act of Congress passed in the legitimate exercise of its authority. The point was raised and decided by Chief Justice Marshall in *Gibbons v. Ogden* (9 Wheat 1). While a doubt was thrown upon it prior to the civil war, during the period in which the contest for state rights was being waged, it has not been questioned since the defeat of the Confederacy. Its completeness is shown by the expression of the court in *Keller v. United States* (213 U. S. 138):

While it may be a police power in the sense that all provisions for the health, comfort, and security of the citizens are police regulations, and an exercise of the police power, it has been said more than once in the court that, where such powers are so exercised as to come within the domain of Federal authority as defined by the Constitution, the latter must prevail (p. 146).

But if the police power of the states must give way before a legitimate exercise of the commerce power by the United States, why should they not equally give away before a proper exercise of the treaty power?

"Is the treaty proposed a usual subject of diplomacy? Dr. Andrews has told you how frequently labor questions have been made the subject of treaties between governments and the reasons why. The negotiations of Paris culminating in the labor clauses of the Covenant, are the latest evidence of the opinion of diplomats; the permanent labor organization included in the treaty testifies to the importance which labor treaties are about to assume in the international social order and prove that in fact international settlement of labor questions is 'a subject of negotiation' between nations.

"Pre-eminently the question is a political one, for determination by the political power of the government. If the President and

Senate decide that in justice to the interests of this country, and to the world at large the United States should enter into such treaties, their deliberate opinion would undoubtedly have great if not prevailing influence upon the court that the subject was proper for negotiation, as against the supporters of a narrow doctrine of state rights."

If the power of Congress to deal with labor matters is not sufficient to make the participation of the United States in international labor agreements effective under either of the above plans suggested, it may be necessary to consider a general amendment to the Constitution placing in the hands of the Federal government as complete control over labor matters as it has over commerce. Such a change in the Constitution would be a clear cut solution of a troublesome problem of uniformity in industrial standards which has bothered us greatly in recent years as a domestic problem before our recently enlarged responsibilities in international affairs and it would be a less revolutionary change in our constitutional system than either the prohibition or suffrage amendments.

TENTATIVE STANDARDS FOR THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN ADOPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILD WELFARE

At the child welfare conference held by the Children's Bureau in Washington, May 5-8, at which a number of foreign delegates were present, minimum standards were adopted including a 16-year age limit for children entering industry, and compulsory education up to 16 with continuation schooling to 18 for those who have not passed the eighth grade. The tentative standards adopted are in detail as follows:

1. Proper location, construction, hygiene, and sanitation of schoolhouses; adequate room space—no overcrowding.

2. Adequate playgrounds and recreational facilities, physical training and supervised recreation.

3. Open-air classes and rest periods for pre-tuberculous and certain tuberculous children and children with grave malnutrition. Special classes for children needing some form of special instruction due to physical or mental defect.

4. Full-time school nurse for not more than 1,000 children, to give instruction in personal hygiene and diet, to make home visits to advise and instruct mothers in principles of hygiene, nutrition, and selection of family diet, and to take children to clinics with permission of parents.

5. Adequate space and equipment for school medical work and available laboratory service.

6. Part-time physician with one full-time nurse for not more than 2,000 children, or full-time physician with two full-time nurses for 4,000 children, for—

- (a) Complete standardized basic physical examinations once a year, with determination of weight and height at beginning and end of each school year; monthly weighing wherever possible.

- (b) Continuous health record for each child to be kept on file with other records of the pupil. This should be a continuation of the pre-school health record, which should accompany the child to school.

- (c) Special examinations to be made of children referred by teacher or nurse.

- (d) Supervision to control communicable disease.

- (e) Recommendation of treatment for all remediable defects, diseases, deformities, and cases of malnutrition.

- (f) Follow-up work by nurse to see that physician's recommendations are carried out.

7. Available clinics for dentistry, nose, throat, eye, ear, skin, and orthopedic work, and for free vaccination for smallpox and typhoid.
8. Nutrition classes for physically subnormal children and the maintenance of mid-morning lunch or hot noonday meal when necessary.
9. Examination by psychiatrist of all atypical or retarded children.
10. Education of school child in health essentials.
11. General educational work in health and hygiene, including education of parent and teacher, to secure full cooperation in health program.

MINIMUM STANDARDS FOR CHILDREN ENTERING EMPLOYMENT

AGE MINIMUM

An age minimum of 16 for employment in any occupation, except that children between 14 and 16 may be employed in agriculture and domestic service during vacation periods.

An age minimum of 18 for employment in and about mines and quarries.

An age minimum of 21 for night messenger service.

An age minimum of 21 for girls employed as messengers for telegraph and messenger companies.

Prohibition of the employment of minors in dangerous or hazardous occupations, or at any work which will retard their proper physical development.

EDUCATIONAL MINIMUM

All children shall be required to attend school for at least nine months each year, either full time or part time, between the ages of 7 and 18.

Children between 16 and 18 years of age who have completed the eighth grade and are legally and regularly employed shall be required to attend day continuation schools eight hours a week.

Children between 16 and 18 who have not completed the eighth grade or who are not regularly employed shall attend full-time school.

Vacation schools, placing special emphasis on healthful play and leisure-time activities, shall be provided for all children.

PHYSICAL MINIMUM

A child shall not be allowed to go to work until he has had a physical examination by a public health physician or school physician and has been found to be of normal development for a child of his age and physically fit for the work at which he is to be employed.

There shall be a periodical medical examination of all working children who are under 18 years of age.

HOURS OF EMPLOYMENT

No minor shall be employed more than eight hours a day. The maximum working day for children between 16 and 18 years of age shall be shorter than the legal working day for adults.

The hours spent at continuation schools by children under 18 years of age shall be counted as part of the working day.

Night work for minors shall be prohibited between 6 p. m. and 7 a. m.

MINIMUM WAGE

Minors at work shall be paid at a rate of wages which for full-time work shall yield not less than the minimum essential for the "necessary cost of proper living."

PLACEMENT AND EMPLOYMENT SUPERVISION

There shall be a central agency which shall deal with all juvenile employment problems. Adequate provision shall be made for advising children when they leave school of the employment opportunities open to them; for assisting them in finding suitable work and providing for them such supervision as may be needed during the first years of their employment. All agencies working toward these ends should be coordinated through the central agency referred to.

ADMINISTRATION

Employment Certificates

Provision shall be made for issuing employment certificates to all children entering employment who are under 18 years of age.

An employment certificate shall not be issued to the child until the issuing officer has received, approved, and filed the following:

1. Reliable documentary proof of the child's age.
2. Satisfactory evidence that the child has completed the eighth grade.
3. A certificate of physical fitness signed by a public health physician or school physician. This certificate shall state that the minor has been thoroughly examined by the physician and that he is physically qualified for the employment contemplated.
4. Promise of employment.

The certificate shall be issued to the employer and shall be returned by the employer to the issuing officer when the child leaves his employment.

The school last attended, the compulsory education department, and the continuation schools shall be kept informed by the issuing officers of certificates issued or refused and of unemployed children for whom certificates have been issued.

Minors over 18 years of age shall be required to present evidence of age before being permitted to work in occupations in which their employment is prohibited.

Record forms shall be standardized, and the issuing of employment certificates shall be under state supervision.

Reports shall be made to the factory inspection department of certificates issued and refused.

Enforcement of Compulsory Attendance Laws

Full-time attendance officers adequately proportioned to the school population shall be provided in cities and counties to enforce the school attendance law.

The enforcement of school attendance laws by city or county school authorities shall be under state supervision.

Factory Inspection and Physical Examination of Employed Minors

Inspection for the enforcement of all child labor laws, including those regulating the employment of children in mines and quarries, shall be under the same department. The number of inspectors shall be sufficient to insure the regular observance of the laws.

Provision should be made for staff of physicians adequate to examine periodically all employed children under 18 years of age.

CHILD LABOR AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

EDWARD N. CLOPPER

An intimate relation exists between child labor and school attendance. But to understand it there must, of course, be some agreement as to what are the two things between which the relation exists. What is child labor? The merchant says that the work a child does in a department store is not child labor because it is light, offers fine opportunities for vocational training, and the earnings are a welcome addition to the family income; the circulation manager of a newspaper says that newspaper selling in the streets is not child labor, because it is light work, offers fine opportunities for business training, and the earnings are sorely needed at home; the housewife says that the work done in her kitchen by the child from the orphan asylum is not child labor because it is light, offers fine opportunities for training in domestic service, and the earnings, if any, form a much needed nest-egg; the farmer says that the work a child does in agriculture is not child labor, for it is done out of doors, it is splendid vocational training, and is indispensable to the general family well-being.

We might cite such examples indefinitely, for nobody looks upon his own form of child employment as exploitation, and we are all in the habit of confining child labor within the four walls of a spinning-room in a southern cotton mill. That is, all but the southern cotton mill men—they say that the work children do in the mills is light, the conditions are good, the earnings are needed, and they point the finger of scorn at the mountain life from which their workers came. It depends a good deal upon the viewpoint. The United States Census, however, includes in the term any kind of work done by children which contributes substantially and regularly to a general undertaking—domestic service and farm work as well as the more commonly recognized forms. Indeed, the census tells us that nearly three-quarters of all the child laborers under 16 years of age in the United States are farm laborers; not merely children who do chores, but who do an appreciable amount of the general work of the farm.

So we may venture to define child labor as the work done by children under 16 years of age, with or without pay, under direction or independently, which deprives them of their normal measure of play, schooling, rest and healthy development.

There are occupations which are helpful, which to a certain extent are recreation, which assist in training and are necessary to the discipline of the child, and these are to be encouraged. But nobody means these forms of activity when he speaks of child labor. Child labor is one thing, child training is another thing. The reason we have child labor in this country is because this distinction is not observed, because every employer of children thinks his kind is the beneficial kind, because people are blinded by their selfishness. The reason the merchant does not consider the work a child does in his department store as child labor is because he has his thoughts on the balance sheet; the reason the newspaperman does not consider the work done by newsboys in the streets as child labor is because his mind is busy with thoughts of increased circulation; and the reason the farmer does not regard the work children do in the fields as child labor is because he has his mind upon the volume of his crops. We are all after results and are so wrapped up in their pursuit that we not only seize upon every aid that comes to hand but stanchly justify that aid. We are more interested in the end than in the means to the end, and so we find southern cotton mill men insisting that children are better off in the spinning room than outside, just as all other employers of child labor glorify the peculiar benefits to be derived from devotion to their interests.

School attendance is, of course, the *sine qua non* of education. No matter what the school facilities may be, no matter how much money the community may spend for buildings, equipment, and teachers, if they are not taken advantage of there can be no results. The provision of schools presupposes some plan of education, some course of study, some object to be attained, but this plan can not be realized unless the attendance is fairly constant and the child thereby acquires knowledge in its several parts, recognizes the relation among these parts, and later applies this knowledge to his effort to make a place for himself in the world.

Generally speaking, child labor and school attendance are conflicting terms, for the one excludes the other. If the child spends his time at labor, manifestly he can not attend school, and if he goes to

school he has not time in the ordinary course of affairs to engage in a regular occupation. Of course there have been instances in which the two have been combined without entailing injury, but these are extreme cases, and the effects of such a double load under modern conditions are almost invariably unfortunate. The object of all child welfare work is to secure to children a normal home life with all the advantages this carries with it. Their health must be safeguarded, ample recreation afforded, and schooling assured. These three—health, play, and schooling—in a good home form the triad of normal childhood. Whatever else is introduced into the life of a child must be of such a nature as not to interfere in any way with his getting the full benefit of these three requisites to happiness. In such a childhood, labor, as we have defined it, has no proper place.

Curiously enough, in this land where we so much exalt public education, we commonly ignore the denial through child labor of the schooling which the state provides for children at public expense, for one of the worst counts in the indictment against child labor is that it interferes with school attendance, and this interference occurs, of course, no matter what form the labor takes, no matter how apparently useful it may be. The work of a child on a farm in the school term breaks up his schooling just as much as the work of a child in a factory, and it is becoming notorious that rural school attendance suffers more by reason of the demands of farm work than from any other cause. The National Child Labor Committee has found that the work boys and girls do in and out of doors on the farm is responsible for as much absence as illness, bad weather, bad roads, distance of home from school, poverty, and all other causes combined. When sugar beets are to be thinned in the spring and harvested in the autumn the children are taken out of school to do the work. Everybody in the community looks upon this practice as a matter of course. The agricultural needs of the moment take precedence over the best interests of the child. No state prohibits child labor in agriculture but nearly everywhere the child under 14 years is required by law to go to school, yet when the farm calls, this item in the children's bill of rights is promptly swept aside. So it is in the onion fields of the middle states, in the cotton fields of the South, in the fruit-growing regions of California, in the tobacco fields of Kentucky, in cranberry bogs, in strawberry fields, in truck gardens everywhere. The schooling of the child may be stopped but the crops must be tended—the onions must not perish! Indeed,

the state of Vermont has this year gone so far as to authorize state officers to revoke the restrictions upon work hours of women and children in canneries, because it is more mindful of the danger to the fruit and vegetables than of the effect upon the workers in robbing them, even for a time, of their guarantees of health, play, and schooling.

The line between school attendance and child labor is more closely drawn in cities than in the country, because in the cities are found the industries to which the child labor laws apply, there are more elaborate school systems, and there are officers to enforce the laws. Labor inspectors go into the factories and stores, the hotels and restaurants, to see that the child labor law is observed, and the truancy officers go into the homes to see that the children attend school. But the standards in the child labor and school attendance laws of the several states are so different, there are so many omissions and loopholes, and in many instances the provisions of even one state are so conflicting as hopelessly to confuse anyone who examines this general hodge-podge in search of a national standard. In this field we have no national standard. The United States is a mixture of peoples entirely befuddled by laws. Nor are the so-called children's codes succeeding in harmonizing the child welfare laws of one state with those of other states.

All this confusion, all this failure of the states to fix standards and to coordinate the standard in one field with the standard in a related field, has brought about the conviction that only through action by the federal government can uniformity be attained. The trend in social welfare effort is toward the setting up of minimum standards by the nation and the current has set in rapidly in that direction. The states are free to go beyond such standards but they may not fall below them. In the field of health we now find the agents of the United States Public Health Service operating throughout the country. In the field of labor there was, both during and prior to the war, a significant development in federal control over conditions affecting children. Three years ago Congress passed a bill barring from inter-state commerce the products of mines, quarries, and factories in which children were employed below certain specified standards. This action was admittedly based upon a new interpretation of the inter-state commerce clause of the Constitution, for until then this clause had never been used to control the conditions of employment within the states. The belief was quite general,

however, that such an interpretation was justifiable, and confidence was nearly everywhere expressed that the constitutionality of this first federal child labor law would be upheld. Just a year ago, however, the Supreme Court by the narrow vote of 5 to 4 declared that such use of the inter-state commerce power to control what the court held to be a purely local matter was repugnant to the spirit and intent of our fundamental law. Following upon the heels of this decision there came a great demand for labor and children needed protection more than ever—so the War Labor Policies Board issued an order that in all contracts for the production of goods for the government, directly or indirectly, it should be specified that the standards of the nullified child labor law must be observed. This gave opportunity for the maintenance of these standards by government agents during the war. With the signing of the armistice, however, conditions changed, and it became necessary to reestablish them upon some other basis. The question was, which of the remaining powers of Congress could be, with the brightest prospect of success, chosen as the means to this end? After long study and conference, the taxing power was selected, and Congress wrote into the War Revenue Act a clause levying upon factories, mines, and quarries employing children under the standards formerly fixed, a tax of 10 per cent upon their net annual profits. This took effect in April and the Treasury Department is now at work seeing that these standards are observed or that the tax is paid. A test case was at once brought in North Carolina by the cotton mill interests, and the United States District Court at Greensboro held the law to be unconstitutional; an appeal has been taken to the Supreme Court, where the case is now pending for final decision.

Here we have a determined effort to set up a minimum federal standard for the employment of child labor in productive industry throughout the country, for this tax is not limited to the shipment of goods in inter-state commerce, but applies to the work of children in any factory, mine or quarry no matter how restricted to a given locality the business of that establishment may be. The manufacturer who disposes of all his goods in his home town is just as much subject to the tax if he employs children as the manufacturer whose business is world-wide. In this instance, federal control penetrates into the most isolated parts of the country.

But not only in the labor field is federal power being developed but also in the field of education. Indeed, the federal government has

followed consistently the policy of aiding education from the time of the very foundation of the republic. Through grants of public land and moneys to the states Congress has contributed largely to the growth of our public school system. The passage of the Smith-Lever bill a few years ago encouraged the development of agriculture and the quickening of young people's interest in agricultural training. Later, the Smith-Hughes Act, by grants to the states of money for the purpose of promoting vocational education, especially through the payment of teachers' salaries and for the training of teachers, extended the area of federal activity. But, of course, this money is not granted by the federal government without the laying down of certain conditions which must be met by the states. They must match dollar for dollar, and they must conform in other ways to the federal standard.

Now it is proposed to extend this principle of federal aid to general education and recreation. The Towner bill, already introduced into the new Congress, would provide assistance to the states out of the federal treasury for the purpose of improving the quality and enlarging the scope of their educational work. It provides for an annual federal appropriation of \$100,000,000 which would be distributed among the states for certain specified purposes in the ratio which each state's population to be immediately benefited bears to the total of such population in the United States.

Three-fortieths of the total, or \$7,500,000 would be allotted to the states for the instruction of illiterates 10 years of age and over;

The same amount, to teach immigrants 10 years of age and over the English language and their duties as citizens;

One-half of the total, or \$50,000,000, would be devoted to lengthening school terms and to improving the elementary schools, especially in our rural districts;

One-fifth of the total, or \$20,000,000, would be used for promoting recreation, physical education, medical inspection, the employment of school nurses; and

Three-twentieths, or \$15,000,000, would be used for the training of teachers.

This aid, if the bill be adopted, will be granted to the states only if they agree to abide by the conditions imposed by the federal government. Such conditions may well include compulsory school attendance with an adequate force of truancy officers, medical inspection of school children, minimum standards for courses of study

and minimum salaries for teachers. It is inconceivable that the nation should pay over this money to be expended by the several states without taking such measures as will secure the uniform observance throughout the land of those minimum standards which the experience of the people has shown to be indispensable. The federal government through its restrictions upon immigration forbids the entry into this country of an unaccompanied child under 16 years of age unless the persons here to whom the child is going agree that he will be kept in school until he becomes 16 years old. This amounts to a federal standard for school attendance although of limited application and if the federal government sees fit to set up this standard in the field of education for the newly arrived foreign child, why not for the children of our own soil?

The nation is recognizing the relation between child labor prohibition and school attendance, for as Congress persists in its effort to find a way in which federal control of child labor may be assured, so it is thinking of measures for helping the states more adequately to meet their educational duties. The federal government says child labor must be prohibited, but it is also about to say that with that prohibition must go the requirement of school attendance and the guarantee of facilities for a more complete schooling open to all the children, to those of our remote regions as well as to those in our great urban areas.

This movement for minimum standards and their coordination is not confined, however, to our nation nor is it the distinctive policy of any one political party or government. It is characteristic of the new spirit in international relations, and it finds expression in the community of interests among the progressive peoples of the world. The provisions of the pending treaty of peace vividly illustrate this searching after fundamental bases for the general welfare and among them there is a clause which, if it remains unchanged, will commit the signatories to the policy of prohibiting the employment of children under 14 years of age in commerce and industry and of requiring at the same time the attendance of children between 14 and 18 years at full-time or part-time schools where they may have the advantages of general or technical courses.

So it is that suitable child welfare standards in the correlated fields of labor and education are about to prevail in both a national and a world-wide way.

CHILD HEALTH PROGRAM IN OHIO

JOHN A. LAPP

It may be thought a far cry from health insurance to child welfare, but the connection is really so close that the Ohio Health and Old Age Insurance Commission considered that one of its most important duties was to study the provisions made for the health of children and to recommend measures for improvement. Considerable attention was, therefore, paid to medical inspection of school children, the care of children in children's homes, the physical care of the children going to work and prenatal and maternity care.

After a careful study, the Commission recommended that health supervision of schools be made compulsory in all parts of the state; that public health nurses be provided in every county, and that children making application for working certificates must be examined as to their physical fitness for the work which they were expected to do.

In its recommendation for health insurance the declaration was also made favorable to maternity insurance, particularly to provide adequate medical care.

The program outlined was only partially enacted at the session of the legislature this year, but this was to be expected. Measures of far-reaching importance in public health were pending and it was not deemed advisable to attempt too much at one time. The foremost need of Ohio was the creation of all-time health officers to take the place of the 2,100 local health officers selected by townships and municipalities. This measure was enacted and gives to Ohio the most complete system of public health protection to be found anywhere in the country so far as legislation can make it. Each health district, which corresponds to a county, and to the larger cities, must provide for a full-time health officer, to be appointed after civil service examination and with the approval of the State Department of Health. The state is also divided into eight districts, over each of which is a deputy of the State Department, whose duty

will be to supervise the public health work of his district, subject to the control of the State Department.

In each one of the health districts at least one public health nurse must be provided, and also such clerical assistance as may be necessary. This provision makes it certain that in the remotest county of the state at least one visiting nurse will begin the task of reaching the people—particularly the children, in their homes.

The law does not provide for compulsory health supervision in schools to the extent of requiring such supervision to be given and medical examinations to be made. It does give the authority to the State Department to carry on health supervision work, but does not make examinations compulsory. In fact, a provision was inserted which prohibits the enforcement of medical care upon children.

A companion bill, which would have made medical supervision compulsory under the supervision of the health authorities, was not pushed for passage. It was thought best to get the machinery of public health well organized before undertaking the next logical step. The bill providing for medical examination of children going to work was also left in abeyance.

During the year the friends of health insurance in Ohio believed strongly that it was necessary to clear the way by establishing adequate health machinery before health insurance should be established, and in consequence no effort was made to enlarge a program which in its complete scope includes under the insurance provisions adequate medical care for the worker and his entire family.

An excellent provision of the Ohio Act, which is new in this country, is that it puts in the hands of the health authorities of each district the care of all sick persons who are unable to pay for treatment. This in itself should go a long way toward enabling social workers to obtain the medical care for children which has heretofore been impossible.

SCHOOLBOY HOWLERS

RAYMOND G. FULLER

When a schoolboy, in answer to an examination question, wrote, "The press is the mouth-organ of the people," he might not have said what he meant or known exactly what he did mean, but he furnished a good text for an article on modern journalism. However, our present theme is not modern journalism, but schoolboy* howlers, products of such confusion (or collision) of ideas as the quotation exemplifies.†

Let us, to begin with, look over the papers of the class in General History. We learn from so doing: "Romulus obtained the first citizens of Rome by opening a lunatic asylum." "Pompeii was destroyed by an eruption from the Vatican." "There were no Christians among the early Gauls, they were mostly lawyers." "The pagans were a contented race until the Christians came among them." "Louis XVI was gelatined during the French Revolution." "Three Spanish explorers were potatoes, tobacco and corn." In mythology we have the following: "Achilles was dipped in the river Sticks to make him normal." "The Gorgons were three sisters that lived in the islands of the Hesperides, somewhere in the Indian Ocean. They had long snakes for hair, tusks for teeth and claws for nails, and they looked like women, only more horrible."

The class in English History furnishes some interesting material for this collection: "My favorite character in English history was Henry VIII. He had six wives and killed them all." "The chief clause in the Magna Charta was that no free man should be put to death or be imprisoned without his own consent." "Edward the Third would have been King of France if his mother had been a man." "The King was not to order taxis without the consent of Parliament." "The Pope called Henry VII, Fido the Offensive." "James I claimed the throne of England through his grandmother,

*And schoolgirl.

†Absence of ideas is sometimes present.

because he had no father." "Henry the First's son William was drowned in the White Ship and never smiled again." "It was said of William Rufus that he never smiled again. He did this after he was shot by an arrow with an apple on his head." "The attempts at colonization in Elizabeth's reign were that Raleigh brought smoking into England and had a bucket of cold water thrown on him, and Drake discovered potatoes round the world and planted them in Lancashire." "In William II's reign Dysentery got permission to worship." "The Black Death was terrible for the laborers, because they were forced to do all the work left by the thousands that died."

American history on several counts is quite as interesting, however, as English: "The cause of the Revolution was that the colonists wanted room to pasture their cattle." In the Civil War "the colonists had to deal with vicious characters, and I think this is why this is called the Civil War, because after the war the different races of people were more civilized." "The Monroe Doctrine led to the Civil War." "America was discovered by the Spinach." "Georgia was settled by people who had been executed." "In 1620 the Pilgrims crossed the ocean and this is known as Pilgrim's Progress." "The reason Taft was not elected in 1912 was that the Republican party separated him." In answer to the question, "What were the relations of Captain John Smith to the Indians?" one youngster replied; "He was related to the Indians because he married Pocahontas."

From the history papers we derive various bits of biography: "Lord Raleigh was the first man to see the Invisible Armada." "Queen Elizabeth rode a white horse from Kenilworth through Coventry with nothing on, and Raleigh offered her his cloak." "Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1588 and died in 1560. She did not have a long reign." "Thomas Becket used to wash the feet of leopards." "Henry I died of eating Palfreys." "Benjamin Franklin was the founder of electricity." "Benjamin Franklin produced electricity by rubbing cats backward." "Caesar was a king and went high up on a mountain." "When Cicero delivered his oration he was a prefix." "Henry VIII was very fat, besides being a non-conformist." "Andrew Jackson was called Old Hickory because when he was a boy he was a little tough." "George Washington married Mary Curtis and in due time became the father of his

country." "If George Washington was so good as to never tell a lie he would never been President." "Lincoln had a woman make him a suit of homespun from rails which he had split. They were hickory rails, hence hickory shirts." "Patrick Henry aided Columbus on his voyages." "The Puritans drove Roger Williams out of Massachusetts because he would talk about God." "Pocahontas was a Dutchman. She saved John Smith's life and then married John Rolfe."

Biographical notes are also derivable from the papers in English literature and other subjects: "Shakespeare founded 'As You Like It' on a book previously written by Sir Oliver Lodge." "Tennyson wrote 'In Memorandum'." "Ben Johnson is one of the three highest mountains of Scotland." "George Eliot left a wife and children to mourn his genii." "Walter Scott was imprisoned in the Tower because he could not pay his debts, while there he wrote the Waverly Novels, but he was afterwards burned alive. He also brought tobacco from Virginia, so called after his beloved mistress, Queen Elizabeth."

Civics and civil government form an important field of schoolboy knowledge: "I don't know anything about the Constitution as I was born in Kansas." "The minority is composed of minors." "The spoils system is the place where spoiled things and waste are kept. The board of health has largely taken the place of this." "An ex post facto law is one that gives officers a right to go to foreign countries and get criminals, dead or alive, and take them back to the place where the crime was committed. It is a law where the crimes of the father descend to his children; they are punished for him." "The President takes the yoke of office."

Geography to schoolboys is "joggafry" indeed: "The Rhine is bordered by wooden mountains." "The Pyramids are a range of mountains between France and Spain." "Panama is a town of Columbo, where they are trying to make an isthmus." "Gibraltar is a ledge of rocks and is generally used by insurance companies, corporations, and others in denoting their strength safety." "The principal products of Kent are Archbishops of Canterbury." "Waterloo is in Ireland, Gotham is in Belgium."

Mathematical prodigies are by no means absent from the ranks of school children: "Algebra was the wife of Euclid." "Algebraical symbols are used when you don't know what you are talking about." "Geometry teaches us how to bisex angels." "The line opposite the

right angle in a right-angled triangle is called the hippopotamus." "Parallel lines are the same distance all the way and can not meet unless you bend them." "A circle is a round straight line with a hole in the middle." "A curve is a straight line that has been bent." "Sixty gallons make one hedgehog."

Science, natural and unnatural, outdoes all mysteries and miracles: "Horsepower is the distance one horse can carry a pound of water in an hour." "Gravitation is that which if there were none we should all fly away." "A vacuum is a large empty place where the Pope lives." "To kill a butterfly you pinch its borax." "A ruminating animal is one that chews its cubs." "The earth is an absolute spheroid." "The Zodiac is the Zoo of the sky, wherein lions, goats, and other animals go after they are dead." "If a schoolroom is without ventilation how are the pupils to study with the fowl air pressed down upon them; it makes them oftentimes sick and inclined to laziness." "Reflex action is when anything is turning in one direction and it turns in the other." "Plants take in oxygen occasionally but always take in nitrogen at night." "The amount of rainfall required for general agriculture is 16 feet." "The life of the bees in the hive is indeed a communal one, for they communicate all the time by buzzing and rubbing their antennae together." "Diffusion of gasses is the odor in an icebox." "That the earth is round was discovered by John on the Isle of Patmos." "Mountains are made of shoes, tin cans and a sort of old rocks." "Beverages are diseases that catch." "Typhoid fever is prevented by fascination." "The climate is caused by hot and cold weather." "Longitude and latitude are imaginary lines on the earth which show which way you are going."

Our human bodies are fearfully and wonderfully made, as the class in physiology fully appreciates: "The Eustachian tube is so you can hear yourself talk." "The blood vessels are the veins and artillery." "The digestive system consists of the artillery canal." "The brain is a soft bunch covered with wrinkles." "The bones of the head are the cerebrum, the cerebellum and other small bones." (Speaking of boneheads!) "The eyes are located in the obituary cavity." "The body is made up of sugar, fat and ministers." "The esophagus is a thing that puts us to sleep." "By eating slowly food is digested before it is swallowed and thus enriches the blood, which goes down one leg and up the other."

If it be supposed that difficulties with the English language are a contributing factor in the making of schoolboy howlers, the following proof of grammatical and rhetorical and literary erudition will remove all doubt: "An abstract noun is something you can't see when you are looking at it." "The masculine of vixen is vicar." "A clause is a group of words distinguished as to sex." "Inflection is to cast a shadow on a syllable." "Etymology is a man who catches butterflies and stuffs them." "Gender shows whether a man is masculine, feminine or neuter." "Corpse is a noun in the passive case because it denotes passion." "Two negatives make an infirmative." "The author of a story must frequently insert a pleasant description in order to pacify the reader." "McBeth was a romance of noble people. Lady McBeth was of common or undertone. Thus great sadness arose and all interest died." "There was no such man as Hamlet. He lived in Denmark." "The names of five Shakesporean plays are Macbeth, Quo Vadis, Mikado, San-Toy and the Sign of the Cross." "Shakespeare was a great writer, only he used too many familiar quotations." "At first Dryden and Pope were friends, when one day they became contemporaries." "Lewis Carroll wrote the Star-Spangled Banner." "Poetry is a thing you make prose of." "The closing of a letter is the manner in which you excuse yourself." "The parts of a business letter are: 1, date; 2, introduction; 3, body; 4, signature; 5, postscript and place for other sentences."

Definitions of this and that: "A working drawing is one that pictures a person at work." "A renegade is a man who kills a king." "A lie is an aversion to the truth." (Note the epigrammatic quality here.) "A deacon is the lowest kind of Christian." "The Salic law is that you must take everything with a grain of salt." "The Pharisees were people who liked to show off their goodness by praying in synonyms." "A blizzard is the inside of a hen." "The Boxers were Corbett, Fitzsimmons and Bill Johnson." "A saga was a pitiless warrior but a kind and loving husband." "A saga was made of wood and brass, held on the left knee and played with the right hand." "A brute is an imperfect beast; man is a perfect beast." "Bi-monthly means the installment plan." "An ibex is where you look in the back part of the book when you want to find anything that is printed in the front part of the book." "The Sublime Porte is a good wine." "Adam's ale is a drink that was made early in human history, in the Garden of Eden." "Adam's ale is the lump in a man's

neck." "A man who looks on the bright side of things is called an optimist, but a pianist looks on the dark side." "Conscription is what is written on a tombstone." "A hyphenated American is one that talks in short sentences."

Miscellaneous: "The salaries of teachers are paid from the dog tax." "One great modern work of irrigation is the Panama Canal." "In India a man out of a cask may not marry a woman out of another cask." "The cavalry swept over the eyebrow of the hill." "May Day commemorates the landing of the Mayflower." "Modern conveniences: Incubators and fireless telegraphy." "B. Sc. stands for Boy Scout." "The moon rose over the treetops and trans-fixed the night into day." "The whole of North America speaks English except Chicago and New York." "It was the cleanest dairy I have ever seen or ever expect to see, and each cow stands in a little stall of its own." "A Mr. Newton invented gravity with the aid of an apple." "The speaker did not expect ironclad cheers." "The laws are made by Lloyd George or else by a policeman." "Things which are impossible are equal to one another."

And now, gentle reader, forget not that while schoolboy howlers are comical, they signify a pedagogical tragedy. So much of the teaching and the learning in our public schools is text-book teaching and text-book learning that, generally speaking, the teacher doesn't half teach and the learner doesn't half learn. But don't blame the teacher too severely, or the learner; they are both victims of big, cumbersome, inflexible machinery—the school system—and of machine methods of education.

A FORECAST OF THE SUPREME COURT DECISION ON THE CHILD LABOR TAX LAW

DAVID BRADY

The importance of the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of the United States v Doremus (U. S. Sup. Ct. Adv. April 1, p. 282), in which case the court upheld the constitutionality of section 2 of the Harrison Anti-Narcotic Act (38 Stat. L. 785), can not be over-estimated in its possible bearing upon the Child Labor Tax Law, (Act of Feb. 24, 1919, Title XII) recently declared unconstitutional by Judge Boyd of the Western District of North Carolina.

By a vote of five to four the Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality of the Harrison Anti-Narcotic Act, holding that Congress has the power to lay excise taxes and that tax legislation is not invalidated by reason of the fact that the same business which is regulated by the taxing power of Congress is also regulated by the police power of the states, nor is the act unconstitutional because its *supposed motives* may look to another end than to the raising of revenue.

Section 2 of the Harrison Act contains regulations restricting the sale of narcotics to patients on the prescription of a physician "in the course of his professional practice only." Section 9 of the Harrison Act imposes a severe penalty for the violation of any of the provisions of this act. The district court of the Western District of Texas declared this section unconstitutional for the reason that it was not a revenue measure, and was an invasion of the police power reserved to the states.

Justice Day, in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court—it will be remembered that Justice Day also delivered the opinion of the Court declaring the Child Labor Law of 1916 unconstitutional—said:

"This statute purports to be passed under the authority of the Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 8, which gives Congress the power 'to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the

common defence and the general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.'

"Of course, Congress may not, in the exercise of federal power, exert authority wholly reserved to the states. And from an early day the Court has held that *the fact that other motives may impel the exercise of federal taxing power does not authorise the Court to inquire into that subject. If the legislation enacted has some reasonable relation to the exercise of the taxing authority conferred by the Constitution it can not be invalidated because of the supposed motives which induced it* . . .

"Nor is it sufficient to invalidate the taxing authority given to the Congress by the Constitution that the same business may be regulated by the police powers of the states.

"The act may not be declared unconstitutional because its effect may be to accomplish another purpose as well as the raising of revenue. If the legislation is within the taxing power of Congress—that is sufficient to sustain it."

Concurring in the decision of Justice Day were Justices Holmes, Brandeis, Clarke and Pitney. Those dissenting were Chief Justice White, Justices McKenna, Van Devanter and McReynolds. The dissenting justices held that the act of Congress in attempting to regulate the distribution of narcotics beyond the point of assisting in the collection of revenue was unconstitutional as an exercise of power not delegated; that is, the reserved police power of the states.

This advanced position taken by the Court is all the more interesting because it follows closely on the decision of the United States v Blunt (255 Fed. 332), in which the Circuit Court of Appeals, speaking through Judge Mack, delivered an able opinion declaring section 2 of the Harrison Act unconstitutional. Therefore, the Doremus case may be looked upon as a forerunner of judicial action on the Child Labor Tax Law (*supra*) which will be considered by the Supreme Court in the next few months.

Furthermore, the Doremus Case is of vital importance because the Child Labor Tax Law is practically a re-enactment of the Keating-Owen Child Labor Law, declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court (38 Sup. Ct. Rep. 529) in the case of Hammer v Dagenhart. However, the Child Labor Law was passed under the interstate commerce powers of Congress; the Child Labor Tax Law of 1919 was enacted under the guise of a tax measure.

The positions taken by the justices of the Supreme Court with regard to the extension of federal power are noteworthy when taken in connection with the probable action of that Court upon the

Child Labor Tax Law. Justice Day, who, in reading the majority opinion of the Court in the Dagenhart case emphatically said that the powers of the states to regulate their purely internal affairs can not be interfered with by the federal power, urged with equal vigor in the Doremus case that so long as legislation enacted has some reasonable relation to the taxing power, it cannot be held unconstitutional.

Justice Holmes, who so strongly dissented in the Dagenhart case, agreed with the majority opinion in the Doremus case that the Harrison Act is no more than a proper extension of federal power. Justice Brandeis and Justice Clarke, both friends to the Child Labor Law, sustained the majority view in the Doremus case in a liberal construction of federal powers.

But Justice McKenna, a friend to the Child Labor Law, has taken the position of a strict constructionist of the taxing powers of the federal government. On the other hand, Justice Pitney, who opposed the extension of the interstate commerce powers of the federal government in the Dagenhart case, has taken the broader view of the taxing powers of Congress and voted with the majority in the Doremus case.

Chief Justice White, Justice Van Devanter and Justice McReynolds, in line with their former position in holding the Child Labor Law of 1916 unconstitutional, in the Doremus case insisted that the Harrison Act also was unconstitutional.

Upon practically the same grounds given in the Dagenhart case, Judge Boyd recently declared the Child Labor Tax Act unconstitutional. But, if the decision in the Doremus case is followed, when the Child Labor Tax Law is presented for the consideration of the Supreme Court—probably next October—that Court will certainly hold that Congress can do under its taxing power what that same Court about a year ago held that Congress could not do under its power to regulate interstate commerce.

LOBBYING FOR AN IDEAL AT JEFFERSON CITY

LUCILLE B. LOWENSTEIN

Cut into the marble above the entrance of the House of Representatives in the magnificent new Capitol at Jefferson City, are the words "Progress is the Law of Life." Inside the Senate in the white space topping the pillars which extend around the gallery and stand behind the President's rostrum, are these words: "Free and fair discussion is the firmest friend of truth." In the lower rotunda is the prophetic caution: "Where there is no vision the people perish."

It was difficult to believe that the members of the 50th General Assembly, the first to occupy these halls, would fail to grasp the significance of the building in which they were assembled. I had seen the 49th General Assembly at work in 1917. They met in a temporary structure, hastily and crudely built after the fire of 1911 had destroyed the old Capitol. The temporary stucco building was unsightly, unclean and entirely inadequate in capacity. One felt no inspiration in the environment.

But the new Capitol is significant of the times. The great war has forced upon us a realization of the need of changes in our social, industrial and political life. As the state needed a new home after 1911, so the state needs to-day a new structure to meet conditions of the new world now being created.

With war experiences fresh in their minds and with a vision of a new idealism before them, the people of Missouri set a high standard of accomplishment for the legislature which convened at Jefferson City on January 8, 1919. An unusual number of important measures were submitted. It was, first of all a revision session calling for a general overhauling of the statutes. The call for a constitutional convention, the ratification of the federal prohibition amendment, tax-reform, workmen's compensation, changes in the election laws, improvement of rural schools, woman suffrage, reform in judicial procedure, road laws, were only a few of the more important matters considered by the body.

No measure submitted to the 50th General Assembly, however, was so important to the state, morally, materially and spiritually as the children's code, for, as Judge Lindsey declared in his address to the legislature in its support, "The child is the state."

This set of bills, 51 in number, was drawn to secure extensive revision of the laws relating to the children of Missouri. It was the product of four years' careful work on the part of the Missouri Children's Code Commission, originally appointed by the Governor in 1915 and reappointed in 1917, when the 49th General Assembly had failed to enact the full set of measures. Considerable progress had been made at that session. An act creating juvenile courts in the smaller counties of the state (the six largest counties were already covered), one establishing mothers' pensions throughout the state, one requiring court decree for adoption of children, one providing for the treatment of incorrigible minors over the juvenile court age, and several other measures were enacted. That had been only a beginning, however; the greater part of the work was uncompleted.

The Commission submitted the remainder of the measures to the 50th General Assembly in 1919, confident that the lessons learned from the war would, among other things, influence the legislature to create higher standards for the education and protection of children.

But those of us who looked for great progress in this movement at the 1919 legislature encountered many disappointments. We saw both Houses reject the bill to prohibit the marriage of insane and feeble-minded persons. We heard the House grow eloquent over the discussion of a bill to license dogs and then we watched it defeat the measure to safeguard children employed in street trades in the crowded cities. We grew uncomfortable when the Senate passed the bill to create a "Boxing Commission" to permit pugilistic matches, and then killed the bill forbidding men to call little children from play and place them at hard labor. We grew impatient when the St. Louis and Kansas City delegations blocked the passage of a bill to prevent hasty marriages because of a possible loss in revenue. We became discouraged when we heard men oppose raising the age marriage for girls from 12 to 15 years. Day after day of the four months we read and pondered: "Where there is no vision the people perish."

Thirty-nine of the 51 bills finally passed the House and were sent to the Senate for final action. There, delay after delay was met until the closing days of the session. On the day set for adjournment a 4-hour filibuster, led by Senators Casey of Kansas City, McGruder of Pettis County and McCullough of Knox County against the keystone bill of the code (permitting the county court to appoint a county superintendent of public welfare) not only killed this bill but carried 14 other code bills to defeat. The right of way was given local bills and salary increases. The Senate adjourned too busy to consider measures designed to protect America's future citizens. And as we left the Capitol, we read again: "Where there is no vision the people perish."

The following 25 of the Children's Code bills passed both Houses. Five were vetoed by the Governor, as indicated; the remaining 20 have become law.

EDUCATIONAL MEASURES

(1) Compulsory school attendance act, requiring full-time attendance throughout the state for children between 7 and 16 years of age, unless they have completed the eighth grade; the act applies to feeble minded, deaf, blind and crippled children where special classes have been established as provided in House Bill 48 which was enacted into law; requiring attendance of children between 14 and 16 years of age in continuation schools for at least four hours a week between the hours of 8 a. m. and 5 p. m. and requiring all children under 18 years of age who have not completed the eighth grade to attend these schools for the same length of time, The county superintendent of public schools shall appoint a county school attendance officer who shall have the power of Deputy Sheriff in the enforcement of the school attendance law.

(2) An act establishing special classes in the public schools for deaf, blind and feeble-minded children in any school district in which there are ten or more such children of each type. In districts in which there are less than ten children in any of these classes of defectives, boards of education in adjoining districts which collectively have ten such children in need of instruction may establish these classes. These classes must be approved by the state superintendent of public schools and state aid to the amount of \$750 a year for each teacher employed in the instruction of these pupils shall be granted. The act further provides that in districts in which no special classes have been provided the State Board of Charities is authorized to take charge of and provide for the training of feeble minded, deaf and blind children under the age of 16 years who have not attained the eighth grade. In case the parent is unable to bear such expense the same may be charged to the county in which the child resides.

(3) *Placing the supervision of the educational work in the reformatories for children in the state superintendent of public schools and requiring certificates for the teachers of these institutions.

CHILD LABOR

(4) Prohibiting the employment of children under 14 years of age in any gainful occupation in the state, except that, during the hours when the schools in the district are not in session, such children may work in agricultural pursuits and domestic service; notice of the hours of work for children under 16 years of age must be posted in every establishment employing such children.

(5) No child under the age of 16 shall be permitted to work at or in connection with dangerous machinery or in any mine or underground work; no girl under the age of 18 years shall be employed in carrying telegraphic dispatches or in messenger service.

FOR DEFECTIVE CHILDREN

(6) *An act providing for the mandatory commitment and discharge of dependent, delinquent and immoral feeble-minded persons after a process of petition, hearing in the courts, certification by competent examiners.

(7) An act authorizing the establishment of out-door camps for the employment of feeble-minded in connection with the institution at Marshall; to segregate the feeble-minded and epileptic at the institution.

FOR DELINQUENT CHILDREN

(8) *The separation of the Training School for Boys from the Reformatory at Boonville.

(9) Prohibiting the commitment of dependent and neglected children to the state reformatory and placing the jurisdiction of cases of commitment in the juvenile court.

(10 and 11) Revision of the statutes relating to the commitment of girls to the Industrial Home at Chillicothe and at the home for negro girls at Tipton to permit the commitment of girls up to 21 years; prohibiting the commitment of dependent and neglected girls to these reformatories; providing for the appointment of women attendants to accompany the girls committed to the institutions.

FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

(12) *Establishment of a State Home for Dependent Children for their temporary care pending placement in family homes. An appropriation of \$30,000 is made.

*Vetoed by the Governor.

(13) Making the statute relating to abandonment of children apply to the child born out of wedlock.

(14) Providing a fund of \$2,000 for the extradition of wife and child deserters in St. Louis.

GENERAL MEASURES

(15) Creation of a Division of Child Hygiene in the State Board of Health, having the following duties: educational campaigns on the care of the baby and hygiene of the child; study of the causes of infant mortality; prevention of the diseases of childhood, supervision and regulation of the physical inspection of school children and of the sanitary conditions of public schools.

(16) Prohibiting the employment of women three weeks before and three weeks after childbirth.

(17) *Making it a duty of the State Board of Charities to see that proper accommodations are made for dependent, defective and delinquent negroes in state or county institutions.

(18 and 19) Establishing the age of marriage for girls at 15 years. And six revision bills to harmonize the statutes relating to children.

*Vetoed by the Governor.

STREET TRADING IN OHIO

WILMA I. BALL

"Paper! Paper! All about the big"—and the boyish voice breaks into a shrill falsetto that fills the ears of the passerby with noise instead of news. Anyone visiting the leading cities of Ohio, has heard the lusty cry of the street boy on all sides, and has seen his intense face, with its roving, calculating eye, his ever open mouth, with lips distorted for the next call, and the experienced gesture of the dirty little hand held up for pennies.

To the eye of the casually observant purchaser such a child is the "enterprising little fellow" getting his first business training, or he is the "poor little fellow" who needs the help that pennies will give him. If he is an especially young child, then so much the more does he gain their sympathy—and their pennies. To the eye of the thoughtful observer however, such indiscriminate business training is not to be wholly admired, nor is the boy to be pitied and then purchased from; rather is he to be pitied and then sent home—and if the home is not a fit place for the child, then something further is to be done, and if the home cannot support that child, then something still further is to be done about him. At any rate, the little fellow from 7 to 13 or 14 should not begin his business career on the down-town streets at all hours of the day or night, nor should he have the streets offered to him as the only alternative for an unfit home, nor should he be expected to bear the burden of the family's financial emergencies.

Yet we have found in Ohio in our work for the regulation of newspaper selling, that it was this type of public opinion which it was the hardest to combat. The public is bound to laud the boy as a "manly little fellow" who "sells papers so he can support his widowed mother," and this public is wholly blind to the consideration that neither the mother nor society has the right to make such a demand of a child, that the state itself should take care of the situation.

In Ohio there are three large cities, Cleveland, Cincinnati and Columbus, and several smaller ones, Akron, Dayton and Youngstown, which in their down-town sections have large city conditions. Both Cleveland and Cincinnati have these conditions in several secondary centers. These larger cities all publish one or two morning dailies with a Sunday edition, and one or two evening papers, a large number of which are controlled by the Scripps-McRae League. For the rest, Ohio is made up of small towns, which receive daily editions of city papers or publish small editions of local papers. In these lesser places it is probable that selling conditions are not injurious to the boy, but in the small and the large cities they are highly unfavorable and have been so for many years.

Cleveland and Cincinnati are the only two cities which have ordinances of any kind regulating street selling. The first street trades ordinance for Cincinnati was passed in 1911 and prohibited boys under 10 and girls under 16 from selling newspapers and merchandise or working as bootblacks, and also specified that every boy under 14 should wear a permit and badge which was to be issued to him by some one authorized by the mayor when such person was "satisfied" that the boy was 10 years or upwards. No boy wearing a badge could sell before 6 a. m. or after 8 p. m. In 1913 the selling age for boys in the business districts was raised to 12 years, the permit age to 18 years and the age for night work to 15 years. This ordinance which now stands has done much for the newsboys in Cincinnati, and yet it has serious defects. In the first place, requirements for the proof of age are left to the discretion of the person administering the law. To be logical, the same proof of age should be required of a boy who wishes to sell papers, as is required of a boy when he goes into a factory. It would seem much wiser too, to place the administration of the law in the hands of the Board of Education, which has all the facilities for judging the effect of the occupation upon the child's mental, physical and moral progress.

In January, 1919, the Trounstine Foundation in Cincinnati published an intensive study of the newsboy situation there. This study was made by Maurice B. Hexter, Superintendent of the United Jewish Charities. It throws the light of shameful facts upon the truancy, health, retardation in school and delinquency of newsboys, and the character of many supply men, and points out the weakness

in the present method of distributing newspapers to the boys. It is a report which is a combined map and compass to anyone venturing to study the same problem in other communities.

The Columbus Associated Charities has lived through a diverse drama of struggle with the situation. More than a year ago it collected the best material and experience available on the handling of this type of selling, and drafted an ordinance. The Board of Education indicated its willingness to be responsible for the issuing of badges but the members of the City Council, although apparently approving the ordinance did not want to rouse the antagonism of the newspapers. The Charities therefore went to the newspapers and endeavored to secure their approval of the ordinance. It is reported that the newspapers "seemed interested and eager to keep girls and small boys especially out of the down-town sections of the city" but when it came to setting their hand and seal to a 12-year age limit for boys and an 18-year age limit for girls, their conviction for some reason did not carry so far. It was next suggested that the matter came under the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court which already had authority to prevent small boys from engaging in street trades under dangerous conditions on the theory that when a parent or guardian permits a child of tender age to pursue such trades, he is contributing to the child's delinquency. Here the matter was left with the result that begging in the guise of selling papers or chewing gum was done away with; but the small boys and girls still roam at large about the capitol building, and around the square and business streets of Columbus.

Although the Juvenile Court cooperated in Columbus, this would never serve as a state-wide method of solving the problem because the standards of the Juvenile Courts vary with their judges. In one of the smaller cities, for instance, the judge of the Court of Domestic Relations recently said, "Then there is the boy who is assisting in supporting his family when the meager wages of the bread-winners are insufficient to supply the necessities of the family; he cheerfully assumes the responsibility and learns early the duty owed to the persons depending on him for support. Boys of this class are not found in Juvenile Court, but by legislative enactment we attempt to deprive him of the mental, physical and financial opportunity because a small percentage of urchins engaged in selling papers are found stealing, gambling and begging." Yet the proposed legisla-

tion to which this referred, attempted only to prevent the boy under 12 from selling. It is extremely difficult to understand the point of view that would approve of a boy under 12 assuming even partial support for a family, or would regret the withholding of a "mental, physical and financial opportunity," questionable at best for the boy under 12. Boys of 10 or 11 should earn their spending money in the neighborhood, under the supervision of parents or friends, and certainly no parent is worthy of the name who solves his financial difficulties by the inhuman method of passing them on to the little children. An adequate income, earned by the adult members of the family is the only basis for a normal family life; and if for explainable reasons this fails, parents or guardians should call first upon the state for aid—not upon the child.

Cleveland has an embarrassment of riches in ordinances, there now being on the statute books one written in 1910 and another in 1912. Their provisions are entangled to the distraction of everybody, though by careful examination it can be discovered that no boy under 10 or girl under 18 shall at any time pursue any trade upon the streets of the city, and that if a minor wishes to engage in street trading he must wear a badge, and that no boy under 16 shall sell before 5 o'clock in the morning or after 8 o'clock at night. But these ordinances were never enforced, and the situation they were designed to improve, has with the great increase in population, grown steadily worse.

In December, 1915, Newton D. Baker, then mayor of the City of Cleveland wrote to Miss Myrta Jones, President of the Consumers' League the following letter:

"I have been very much agitated recently about the wasteful effects of street trades for boys, and have wondered whether our local Consumers' League could not examine into that situation for the consumer's point of view and both find out some interesting data and perhaps constructively agitate for better conditions. The more I think of it the more distressed I am at the wide-spread evil which an occupation like this effects among these boys. Every now and then we hear of some merchant prince who used to sell newspapers, but he, of course, is always one out of many thousands and is rather a brand plucked from the burning than illustration of the normal working out of the newsboys' occupation. These boys, of course, ought to be in school, or if they are at work they ought to be at the bottom round of a ladder which leads to somewhere rather than on the top round of a ladder which has but one round. I need not discuss the obvious disadvantages of down-town street associations with children, but there is

an incidental advantage in the European system of turning the vending of newspapers over to elderly men and women in the fact that the unseemly noise of the newsboys disappears and this agitation would be popularized by its anti-noise aspects among those who would not be stirred to the remoter but more real advantages of an effort to rescue child life from temptation and arrested development because of the nature of the trade."

The Consumers' League then made an investigation which emphasized the extreme youthfulness of the boy sellers in Cleveland, their retardation in school and the heavy truancy score against them. A report on this investigation was published in the Consumers' League Bulletin and was widely circulated in the hope of creating an enlightened opinion about newsboys. The Cleveland Settlement Union also contributed to the publicity.

In the summer of 1918 as a part of the activities of the Children's Year Committee, the Consumers' League of Ohio and the Cleveland Committee on Women and Children in Industry of the Council of National Defence, in desperation employed a police woman to enforce the ordinance. Her duties were to make arrests, issue warnings, take second offenders to the Juvenile Court, and cooperate with the truancy department of the Board of Education. The Consumers' League meanwhile began agitating for the necessity of some state provision. It was pointed out that the city ordinance plan was not a good one because it is so irregular, not only because some cities of a state may have it, and others not, but because much irregularity in protection of child life does not reflect credit to the state. When it comes to state legislation Ohio has exceptionally good laws. They provide that no boy may go to work until he is 15 and no girl until she is 16, and that boys between 15 and 16 and girls between 16 and 18 must have employment certificates. Street traders may certainly be classified as child laborers, and should logically be included in state protection. The Consumers' League therefore drew up a bill to regulate street trades by legislative enactment, correlating its provisions with the compulsory education laws and the child labor laws of the Ohio Code. Organizations interested in child welfare in almost every large city in the state, as well as the Industrial Commission and other sociological and legal experts had a voice in the framing of this bill, so that it represented the opinion of those whom society consults regarding the protection of children. This bill was introduced in the Senate by the leader of

the majority party. The first hearing was shortly called and was attended by representatives from the Consumers' League of Ohio, the Consumers' League of Toledo, the Newsboys' Association of Toledo, the Consumers' League of Cincinnati, the Juvenile Protective Association of Cincinnati and the Committee on Women and Children in Industry, Council of National Defence, all of whom spoke for the bill. There were no newspaper representatives at this meeting. Letters from endorsing organizations representing thousands of buyers of papers were read, and they all unhesitatingly endorsed the bill. The Committee on Labor therefore voted the bill out of committee unanimously, and its friends rejoiced.

After this a brief period passed, and then the newspapers rose to audibility, and asked for another hearing, on the ground that they had not been notified of the first hearing and were therefore not represented, and their side of the case had yet to be heard. A second hearing was called, and at this hearing the committee wobbled in the presence of the newspaper delegation which was large and impressive and at last convincing. And the ground on which they were convincing was that no state law was necessary, because the papers themselves were blocking out a permanent plan to "clean up" the situation. It is interesting to note that one of the technical elements which defeated the bill was that in Ohio there is no constitutional definition of cities of the first, second or third class. The bill therefore had to say merely "in any city" and this included the smallest town and village; no way could be found to get around this. Another consideration which entered into the defeat of the bill was that in the larger cities the number of employers was comparatively small. In the first place morning papers were for the most part not the offenders, and when the circulation managers of the evening newspapers asked that they be given the opportunity of taking care of the situation themselves, before legislation was brought to bear. The Senate committee acquiesced. It was an easy solution for the committee but it is going to be a difficult one for the newspapers.

The first steps toward this state-wide regulation by the papers themselves have already been taken. An agreement governing street trades has been drawn up by the Scripps-McRae League of Newspapers, and signed by the three Toledo papers; other syndicate and non-syndicate papers in other cities are being approached one by

one. The agreement which they are asked to sign provides an 11-year age limit for down-town sections, and states that no boy under 12 years of age shall be allowed to sell before 7 a. m. or after 7:30 p. m., during the baseball season (which is defined as approximately from April 23 to October 10), or after 6:30 p. m. during the balance of the year. Up-to-date, indexed records of the names, ages and addresses of all down-town street sellers between the ages of 11 and 14 are to be kept, and every circulation department employee will be instructed to report violations to his superior. The papers further propose to use every precaution in selecting the personnel of their circulation departments so that the character of the newspaper employees who come in contact with the boy street sellers and carriers will be above reproach. Cooperation with all the constituted authorities in the prevention of truancy and other forms of juvenile delinquency will be solicited and constantly maintained. "We recognize the fact," the agreement finally states, "that each newsboy and carrier is a respectable citizen of the commonwealth and that our first duty is to conserve the spiritual, mental and physical welfare of the youth of every community."

The newspapers thus voluntarily assume the burden of remedying the situation, and it is earnestly hoped that this new method of self-supervision may not fail with the failure of the individuals delegated to carry it out, but may become a concomitant part of the newspaper organization.

When the present intolerable conditions among the sellers shall be regarded by the papers as a "sore spot" in the circulation department and eliminated on that basis, just as other poor business methods in other departments are eliminated, then a long step will have been taken toward the "spiritual, mental and physical" well-being of the sellers.

A SUGGESTION FOR HOME SERVICE IN CHILD WELFARE WORK

W. H. SWIFT

In order that every American child may be brought to his fullest and best (we as Americans can be content with nothing less), different forces must be brought to bear to the same good end, and many agencies must be brought into active cooperation. Care must be taken that these forces act in harmony and unite through the agencies into a complete system. Good laws must be enacted and proper and sufficient agencies must be created to enforce and carry out their provisions. It is one thing to write laws; it is another and quite a different matter to carry them out effectively.

Most American children requiring special attention live in the country. Somehow the city child manages to get rather careful attention. The active social agencies are in our cities. It follows then that in our thinking for social construction (I purposely avoid the word reconstruction) we must give most attention to the problems gathering about the rural child.

In most rural counties there are not sufficient available funds for the employment of a county truant officer, a probation officer, and still another officer to have the oversight of the public welfare of the county. He who will formulate a plan for a combination officer or office for all this work and will arrange the plan so that it will work without destructive friction will confer a benefit upon rural American life. Something of this sort will have to be done if we are to get on. Whoever studies these questions finds this need.

The working out of this combination agency for social work, the enactment of a proper and complete system of laws for the conservation of children and the creation of all agencies necessary for child welfare is the work of the National Child Labor Committee and other related organizations. The National Child Labor Committee, the Children's Bureau and other national organizations working in cooperation with state organizations have aroused in the minds of the citizens of every state a deep interest in the

enactment of proper laws and in the creation of proper administrative agencies for the care and development of every child.

The increasing interest which legislatures are showing in child welfare matters and the steps which are being taken in many states looking to the making of children's codes are evidences that this part of the work is being done well in that it is being done both generally and constructively. We may trust these organizations to look out for the law and the administrative agencies.

In all probability this is all that these national and state organizations will undertake to do. Certainly it is all that they will attempt for a long time. They will be busy enough in the work to which they have already set their hands. It would be a great mistake for any of them to undertake to do more than to secure proper laws and good and sufficient machinery for enforcing the law and applying legal remedies in proper cases. While there is a great tendency toward completer systems and a very clear demand for a more perfect organization of the state legal machinery for social service, the laws of most states are still unsystematized and even unrelated. Not infrequently a child is taken out of the shop but left on the street. The child labor law is one act of legislation; the compulsory education law is another. No one until recent years thought about fitting them up together. The law books are full of such cases, and it will be no small job to straighten them out.

But even if in time this task is completed, there will yet remain much to be done. Laws may be dead letters. Officials and state agents often do little but draw pay. For efficiency and perfect functioning we must look to another source. Local public sentiment will always be a very strong factor in the solution of the many problems which will arise. In fact until the people in the community know conditions and demand that something be done, not much will be done. The community forces must be brought into play.

In almost any community, certainly in most communities there are those who are ready, willing and able to bring the aid required for any social condition. A majority of the people want to see the law bear its full fruitage and the agencies created to promote constructive conservation function freely. They want the best that is to be had and are willing to pay for it in time, effort and cold hard money. But they are for the most part unorganized. Even when

they are organized it is into little groups working in a haphazard sort of way—here a little and there a little. Their forces need to be united.

We have learned what can be done by a national organization when it works for the public good. The Red Cross has taught us this most effectively. Our people have learned the joy of helping and are now looking for something to do. This enthusiasm must be directed to definite ends and kept in a self-renewing state—or else it will die. The war is over and the Red Cross will find its war work growing less and less.

In view of all these matters and for the sake of the American child I suggest that the Red Cross through its Home Service Department undertake to organize the local forces in every community and to do the local case work. The Red Cross knows how to do this work, and can do it. If the Red Cross does not do the work, it will, in my opinion, go largely undone and numbers of American children will continue to suffer neglect.

HOW OUR COURTS INTERPRET CHILD LABOR LAWS

TERESA WOLFSON

Up to date much of the energy expended by the social worker on the child labor problem has been in the field of legislation. It was taken for granted that the only way to prevent the improper employment of children was to enact a law against the evil and that since the industrial field would thus offer no opportunity to the child worker, the child would of necessity step into the realm of books and knowledge. Little notice is taken even by the interested public of the fact that courts declare laws unconstitutional—that no law is so drawn as to make it immune to legal attack—and that no law will accomplish anything unless it is heartily endorsed and enforced by public opinion.

The United States Department of Labor issues each year a compilation of the decisions of courts affecting labor. These are the decisions of higher courts—courts of last resort for cases on appeal. Twenty representative cases involving the interpretation of the child labor laws of various states, and covering a period of three years—from 1915 to 1917 inclusive, were used as the basis of this article.

The uniform child labor law fixes the age at which a child may be employed and the hours of labor, and makes special provisions for employment in dangerous occupations. These three phases furnish the points of contention for the majority of cases brought to court. Eight out of 20 cases were concerned with working children below the legal age who had received injuries of some sort while thus illegally employed.

Fifteen year old Fannie A. brought action against a New York laundry for the loss of her right hand through an injury received while in the employ of the company. She was placing a napkin in a steam mangle, the article being first placed upon a convex brass table and pushed under a felt-covered roller two inches in diameter whence it emerged to be taken up by the ironing rollers. The felt roller revolved so as to carry the napkin forward between the iron-

ing rollers. The general manager testified that the purpose of the smaller roller was that of guard. The court held that the roller was only incidentally if at all intended as guard and that it was not a proper guard under the statute. The local court awarded the girl \$12,000 but the higher court reduced the amount to \$9,000 because of the fact that the girl had only been earning \$4.50 a week.

In this case the girl was working illegally at dangerous machinery, since the minimum age in New York at which a girl may work in such hazardous occupation is 16 years.

Another suit involving similar points of contention was brought up in Pennsylvania. A coal company brought action against an insurance company for the amount paid by the former as damages to an injured minor. The latter company made answer that the injury was caused by a minor under 18, employed contrary to the statute which forbids the employment of such minors at switch tending, and as brakemen, engineers and motormen upon railroads. The coal company contended that the boy was injured while working on a private narrow gauge railroad, not a public carrier. The lower court rendered a decision in favor of the insuring company. The higher court upheld this decision, the interpretation being, "the legislative thought was to protect minors under 18 years of age against dangers incident to switch tending and the operating of engines on railroads."

All of the eight final decisions were in favor of the minors involved. Several were reversals from the decisions of the lower courts. One reduced the amount of damages awarded.

COMPENSATION

Under the problem of compensation for injuries received, two factors are considered, first, the question of the application of workmen's compensation, second, the right of the parents to sue for the loss of the child's earnings. Nine cases involving compensation were among the decisions studied. One, involving a question of validity of contract between an employer and an injured minor, 13 years of age, was decided in the lower court of New Jersey in favor of the child. An appeal to a higher court reversed this decision by declaring that the workmen's compensation provision could not apply when the child was employed in violation of the law regu-

lating the employment of children. The boy was given the right to sue through his guardian for damages.

Another suit involved the legal employment of a 14-year old boy who was injured while doing work of a hazardous nature for which he had not been engaged. It was held that the boy could assume the risk of employment.

The Wisconsin Court decided that a boy legally employed and injured at that occupation could not bring liability action against his employer. "He is considered competent to contract as regards subjecting himself to the provisions of the workmen's compensation law, as fully as an adult person."

The Supreme Court of New Jersey affirmed a compensation decision in favor of the company. An injured minor brought suit to recover damages for personal injuries. The defense set up was that the compensation provisions are applicable unless there is a written statement to the contrary in the contract or notice has been given by or to the parent or guardian of the minor employed. On behalf of the plaintiff it was argued that this provision sought to bind minors without their consent, and is invalid in denying them the equal protection of the law. Judgment in the Supreme Court had been for the company, and this was affirmed by the Court of Appeals.

A somewhat similar action with a contrary decision comes from the same state. A minor brought action for personal injuries due to the company's negligence. The company answered upon the ground that the matter was governed by the compensation act. It developed that it had printed on the boy's pay envelope a warning that the provisions of the compensation act were not intended to apply to him. The envelope was handed over to the boy's father. This acted as the written notice of election to avoid the compensation act—therefore, the minor had the right to sue at common law.

Six of these cases were decided in favor of the minor and awards made.

HOURS OF LABOR

Only one case involved the factor of illegal hours of labor. A suit was brought against a cotton oil company of Oklahoma by a 15-year old lad, who was injured while adjusting the belt of one of the machines. The occupation which was in itself illegal because of the hazardous nature was further complicated by the charge of

"negligence contributing to the injury." The boy was employed from 7 p. m. to 6 a. m. making 12 hours of night work. The company alleged in defense that it was misled as to his age, since at the time of the boy's employment his mother stated that he was over 16. The trial rendered judgment for the plaintiff which was affirmed by the Supreme Court in a statement that "negligence upon the part of the employer is not sufficient. The statutes prohibiting the act from being done, must be complied with strictly, and if violated the same constitutes negligence upon the part of the employer." The employment of a child under 16 in a factory to do work in violation of the provisions of the statute, was held to be evidence of negligence.

MISCELLANEOUS

A series of miscellaneous cases in which two of the decisions were adverse to the claimant and two in favor are next considered. In one a 16-year old boy employed as water boy had his right hand caught in the gears of a stone crusher. Compensation was paid him for several months. He then returned to work at his regular wages of \$9 a week. The Massachusetts court found that his right hand was permanently disabled and awarded compensation accordingly. Later the decree granting compensation for total disability was reversed, with instructions that the boy did not suffer a total loss of wage-earning ability and should therefore be given an opportunity for further hearing for such compensation as he was legally entitled to.

Another suit upheld the right of a father to sue for loss of income of a minor son who had been injured. The Nebraska Court sustained an award made to an injured minor who after having his foot crushed received compensation. During the period of convalescence he attended business school. He returned to work with the same company and was able to command a higher salary. At the time of hearing he was earning \$15 a week which was \$8 more than he received when injured. The award was made upon the basis of the former salary.

INTERPRETATION OF THE FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LAW

The cumulative energy and efforts of years resulted in the passage of the federal child labor law in September, 1916. It is of

great interest to note the five judgments given by various federal districts in the enforcement of this law before it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court on June 3, 1918. In Nebraska a broom factory was found guilty of employing three children under 14 years of age, and ten children between the ages of 14 and 16 for more than 8 hours in one day. In Oregon a box factory engaged in interstate commerce, was found guilty of a similar offense—employing a child of 15 for 10 hours a day. A cotton goods firm of Maryland was likewise found guilty. A cooperage company in Oregon employed a boy under 16 for more than 8 hours a day. Another firm operating a cannery in Maryland, was found guilty of employing seven children under 14 and four children between 14 and 16 for more than 8 hours in one day. The courts imposed fines varying from \$50 to \$160. There is no doubt that the law was beginning to be interpreted and enforced in the spirit in which it was construed.

In 1919 a new federal child labor law was passed as an amendment to the Revenue Act. Judge Boyd of the Western Federal District of North Carolina has declared the law unconstitutional, and the case has been appealed to the Supreme Court. This is the decision upon which attention is now centered. How will the second federal child labor law be interpreted?

IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS IN CHILD WELFARE WORK IN NORTH CAROLINA

ROLAND F. BEASLEY

The North Carolina legislature of 1919 enacted far-reaching measures for child welfare in the state. These may be summarized briefly as follows:

(1) A juvenile court law for the whole state. There are 100 counties in the state. Each county has a clerk of the superior court resident in the county who is the local clerical official for the 20 superior court districts embraced in the state, with rotating judges. This official was made ex-officio judge of each county juvenile court. These men are laymen of good sound judgment, representative men of their counties, elected by the people for 4-year periods for important positions, and make up a body of 100 men who are perhaps as well qualified to become judges of juvenile courts as any other group that could have been selected.

The new juvenile law is thoroughly modern, containing all the provisions usually contained in such laws. To these juvenile court judges is given exclusive jurisdiction of all children under 16 who may be delinquent, dependent or neglected.

(2) A county superintendent of public welfare must be elected in each county by the commissioners and the county board of education, and paid a salary and expenses from the public funds of these boards. These officials are the chief probation officers of the county and the chief school attendance officers; a sufficient number of assistants is to be provided when needed. While elected and paid as above stated, the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare possesses a check over them by reason of a provision requiring a certification of efficiency from the State Board before they can draw salaries of any kind.

(3) The State Board of Charities and Public Welfare is given the power to appoint three persons in each county who will act as an advisory county board, and as an intermediate agent between the state and county authorities in seeing that the social work generally,

especially that relating to children, is well carried on. We are thus enabled to have in each county three public-spirited citizens, who serve without pay and from a sense of social responsibility, to help in inaugurating and guiding the work generally, under state oversight.

(4) A combined compulsory school attendance and child labor law which is designed not only to prevent children under 14 from engaging in harmful employment and to see that all children between the ages of 8 and 14 are in school not less than six months in the year, but to act, in connection with the county superintendent of public welfare, as a general child welfare agency.

(5) The establishment as a state institution of an orthopedic hospital sufficient to offer surgical treatment for crippled children and special lines of education, when needed.

(6) The enlargement of the school for delinquent girls, already an important institution run according to the suggestions of Mrs. Martha P. Falconer of Sleighton Farm.

(7) The doubling of the capacity of the institution for the feeble-minded, which, when the new buildings provided for are erected, will be able to take care of 400 persons, principally boys and girls.

(8) A slight enlargement of the training school for delinquent boys.

(9) An act extending aid to parents who are unable by reason of poverty to send their children to school when such is ascertained by the juvenile court to be the fact.

(10) Sufficient support for the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare to enable it to create and maintain a special department for delinquent, dependent and neglected children. This work will consist principally in securing sufficient information upon which to base future acts of legislation and policy, and to enable the local officials to have expert advice in case work, and help in favorably disposing of children who come under their care.

I do not believe that any state has accomplished more thorough-going legislation at one sweep than this. Of course this gives us merely the legal machinery. Its realization must be worked out. The State Board of Charities and Public Welfare has ample authority over and contact with the public and private agencies, and must license and inspect all child-caring agencies. Among the private

agencies already in existence are 20 private orphanages and one child placing agency. The counties range in population from 10,000 to 60,000, 60 having a population under 25,000, and 40 over that figure. Most of the counties are rural. We have succeeded in putting every child, whether rural or urban, under a uniform juvenile court and probation law, and my conviction is that North Carolina is well under way to a well developed, well balanced, state-wide system of child welfare work, in which the influence of the general and local agencies will be properly coordinated and made to fit.

THE WORK OF THE CHILD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

LUCY WOOD COLLIER

A campaign for the health of school children has been launched during the past year that promises to put the vital teaching of health habits into every schoolhouse in the country.

The draft rejections for physical defects revealed a tragic failure in the schools of yesterday. Alarmed by this appalling count of physical defects in the young men of the country, public health men and educators turned with keen interest to the health problems of the present generation of children. The amazing discovery was then made that little was known about the health of American school children. From the statistics of school medical inspection and special studies made in rural districts, it was estimated that 15,000,000 children in the United States are suffering from some physical defect that might be prevented or corrected.

Public attention was at this time drawn to an index of child health, so simple that the child himself could apply it. At the two pioneer nutritional clinics under the direction of Dr. William R. P. Emerson in Boston and Dr. Charles Hendee Smith in New York, it was demonstrated that for a given height and age there is a standard weight. This so-called standard weight is an index of nutrition which is the best sign of health, and wide deviation from which is a danger signal that all is not well. Children 10 per cent or more under weight for height are to be regarded as improperly nourished, and should be classed in the group known as "malnutrition." Such children are usually lacking in physical vigor. They should be regarded as children in danger, fit subjects for tuberculosis or other chronic diseases.

In these clinics, children were taught and studied in groups, in order to interest the children themselves in building up their health. With the scales keeping the score, and the doctors giving the rules, the pursuit of health became a competitive game, in which keen rivalry was developed as to who could climb over the top first.

It was shown that there was always a reason for underweight that could be found and corrected. Food, while the most important, was only one of the factors. Decayed teeth, constipation, insufficient sleep, lack of fresh air, and exercise, bad habits of eating are some of the other causes.

Astonishing facts about the lack of health habits among school children were revealed by this nutritional work. It was found that many children went to school without any breakfast, or that the usual breakfast consisted of bread with tea, or coffee. Milk, cereals, green vegetables, and fruit were little used, the diet consisting too largely of starches, meats, thin soups and sweets. Almost all the children were suffering from constipation and too few hours of sleep.

Health studies made later in various parts of the country show that this dangerous lack of proper health habits exists in city and country schools, and is by no means confined to children of the so-called ignorant classes. From these studies, it was estimated that approximately 6,000,000 children were suffering from malnutrition in the United States. The nutritional clinics had shown that health could be made a game that every child could play. The experts said that the health of the children was in danger. The question naturally arose, "Why not play this new health game in every school of the land?"

In June, 1918, the Child Health Organization was formed for the purpose of interesting the schools throughout the country in the use of the scales as an index of health, and in the daily teaching of health habits. The organization realized that only through existing agencies and groups could it hope to wage a nation-wide campaign for child health. At the request of Secretary Lane, of the Department of the Interior, the Child Health Organization created a special division within the Department of School Hygiene of the Federal Bureau of Education. The Director of Field Work served on a dollar-a-year basis, directing this work of stimulating interest in child health through the schools of the country. Literature prepared by the Child Health Organization has been printed on the government presses and sent out upon request, free of charge, to the teachers of the country. As a result of this government work alone, it is estimated that over 10,000,000 children in thirty states have kept monthly weight records and are being taught health habits.

In addition to this government cooperation more than 800 public health, social and educational groups are now pushing in their own communities our program for child health. Because of our advocacy of monthly weighing of school children, three of the largest cities in the country have already put a pair of scales in every school. Many others are following their lead. Over 29 normal schools have requested and received help in training their students in the methods of teaching health habits. Public health workers have asked for literature and guidance in Alaska, Brazil, Canada, China, France, India, Japan, Norway, Spain, Switzerland, Egypt, Hawaii and Bohemia.

One reason for the remarkable growth of this child health campaign has been the simplicity and directness of its program. The following brief appeal, printed on a hand bill enclosed in every letter sent out by the organization has convinced many a school superintendent of the practicability of introducing health work in his school.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO GIVE EACH CHILD A CHANCE AT HEALTH

See that A Weighing Scale is placed in every school.

See that Time is allowed every school day for the teaching of health habits.

See that A hot school lunch is available for every child.

See that Teachers are trained in all normal schools to teach health habits.

See that Every child's weight record is sent home on the monthly report card.

These are some of the *first* things to do for your schools.

A special feature of the child health campaign has been the development of literature and other methods of teaching that appeal directly to children. The Child Health Alphabet, written by Mrs. Frederick Peterson, has carried the health message from the school into the home. The older children learn the verses by heart, and the attractive pictures tell the story to the grown-ups, as well as to the younger children

A verse like the following most effectively impresses upon the child's memory the teacher's talk upon the use of the tooth brush.

"There was an old man with a tooth
That ached till he said it's the truth
I neglected 'em young, and now I am stung;
How I wish I had brushed 'em in youth!"

The interest of boys, little and big, is caught by the following:

"There was a boy in our town, whose mother was not wise;
Coffee and tea he used to get, and grew up under size,
But when he failed the foot ball team because his size was small,
He cut out both, and took to milk, and grew up very tall."

Health teaching may be made to vie with the movies and the Hippodrome. The latest addition of the Child Health Organization to its staff is a professional clown, christened Cho-Cho after the initials of the organization. He has proved a great success in schools and playgrounds in administering health facts, sugar-coated, as it were. He discloses real truths in jesting form, and proves that the process of getting health and strength can be made a happy thing to children, instead of a series of stupid tasks, to be performed as often as not as a punishment.

In the old days, learning was a painful process. "Reading and 'riting and 'rithmetic, taught to the tune of the hickory stick" was the rule, and many a teacher followed the motto of the old schoolmaster: "If you see a sma' boy, gi'e him a crack; if he is not coming fra' mischief, he is going to it."

The learning of health habits still remains to the average child a task to be accomplished at the whim of some grown-up. Habits of health have been taught as a series of rules, to be learned in with didactic "do's and don'ts," but the Child Health Organization believes that health and joy go together, and that learning the rules of health can be made a game, in which children take real delight.

RULES OF THE GAME

1. Drinking as much milk as possible, but no coffee or tea.
2. Drinking at least four glasses of water a day.
3. Eating some vegetables or fruit every day.
4. A full bath more than once a week.
5. Brushing the teeth at least once every day.
6. A bowel movement every morning.
7. Play part of every day out-of-doors.
8. Sleeping long hours with windows open.

WHAT CALIFORNIA DID IN 1919 FOR CHILD PROTECTION

MRS. BERT SCHLESINGER

The intensive educational campaign, during the past decade, concerning the waste caused by child labor has resulted in increased legal protection for working children. In California this year our protective legislation was interesting particularly as an attempt to coordinate the laws relating to child labor and education. The child of school age who is at work is recognized as an educational problem. The responsibility for this child is placed with the educational authorities of the state, instead of with the labor authorities as formerly.

Briefly, the compulsory school law has been amended by adding to it all sections relating to work permits. The enforcing power is now vested in the authority which has always issued working permits, the educational department of the state. A new child labor law has been enacted covering the subjects of places, hours, occupations, and conditions of children's work. The subject matter, in ten sections, is arranged in logical sequence and in this respect is a great improvement over the old law in which related subjects were often widely separated. Reports are to be interchanged semi-annually between the state educational group and the bureau of labor statistics. This dovetailing of the laws will bring about an understanding which must result in cooperation.

A questionnaire was sent out throughout the state in an effort to have all those interested take a share in framing the new bills. The questions asked were:

1. In what respect is the child labor law defective?
2. In what respect is the compulsory school law defective?
3. Have any efforts been made to secure exemption regarding Questions 1 and 2 because of war conditions?
4. How great is the need of assistance to enable children to stay in school?
5. How many prosecutions in the child labor law were made in your community during the year? How many convictions secured?

Answers to Question 5 brought out some interesting facts regarding enforcement, about which we have not hitherto had many data. The answers to Question 1, ranging from personal hobbies, such as, "Make some provision for longer hours for emergency harvesting, preserving and packing food season," through general statements, such as, "Law not far-reaching enough," to sound recommendations, such as, "Educational forces should take enforcing power"—indicate very evidently a large field for educational propaganda.

For the first time, the education and the labor officials "put their feet under the table" with laymen interested in this work for the children. We are fortunate in that the newly elected state superintendent of public instruction is a man of vision who saw that many laws in his department needed to be rewritten and that quite a number touched the child labor field. Realizing the need of coordinating the two sets of laws, Mr. Will Wood worked directly with us in re-framing the child labor and the compulsory school laws. We expect interesting developments from the newly passed law which requires registration of all minors. This will, without doubt, bring to light many violations of both these laws, and within the year we should know the extent of our problem in California.

The shortcomings of our law are fully appreciated. However, it was deemed wiser not to attempt too much and fail—better to expend our energies in the direction where we could hope for success. The way is now open for later amendments. Many will question our decision to compromise with our ideals for the sake of expediency, but experience with the legislatures of 1915 and 1917 brought the realization that it is better to make haste slowly. Legislators are not child labor specialists, they are so-called "practical" men—the bulk of them being farmers, not notably over-burdened with a community spirit. Public sentiment is aroused slowly. Reliable information must be gathered and then presented, so that it becomes part of the brain fibre of the community. Only as public demands change do we progress.

As early as July, 1918, the Juvenile Protective Association of San Francisco called a meeting of the state officials from the Departments of Education, Labor Statistics, and Industrial Welfare, together with representatives from the Child Labor Committee of Northern California, the State Federation of Labor, the local Labor

Council, and the Juvenile Protective Association. The Bureau of Labor Statistics agreed to eliminate sections covering work permits for children of school age from the child labor law, and the educational authorities incorporated these sections into the school law.

The child labor bill was framed by a lawyer, sponsored by the Federation of Labor, introduced by a labor assemblyman, referred to the Committee on Labor and Capital of the Assembly, read out of that Committee to pass, and amended with higher provisions than those in the original bill, despite the lobby maintained at the Capitol by certain newspapers to fight all changes in the bill. This lobby combined with the agricultural interests. They promised, and lived up to their promise, to retire if these amendments were dropped. Thus the original bill passed without opposition.

The following is a digest of California's 1919 child labor law:

Sec. 1. No minor under 16 years shall work. Exemptions: (1) with work permit. (2) Street trades. See Sec. 3½. *Gain*; Age raised from 15 to 16.

Sec. 2. No minor under 18 years shall work more than 8 hours a day or 48 hours a week, or before 5 a. m. or after 10 p. m. Exemptions: See Sec. 5. *Gain*; The straight 8-hour day. The old law permitted a different apportionment of hours to make a shorter day's work one day a week. In other words a half holiday was no holiday, as extra time could be added to the 8 hours on other days.

Sec. 3. Covers messenger, telegraph and telephone service.

No boy under 16 years may work during the day.

No boy under 18 years may work after 9 p. m. or before 6 a. m.

No girl under 18 years may work day or night.

Gain; For boys and girls in day service. With shortage of labor during the last two years, the number of girls entering this work caused apprehension. We have always had the night regulation.

Sec. 3½. Street Trades. No boy under 10 years and no girl under 18 years may work in cities of more than 23,000 population. This is the old law. Here we did the expedient thing. The public must help solve this problem by refusing to patronize children engaged in selling on the street. The work can be efficiently done by cripples, old persons, and those who need to work in the open air. In Oakland the newsboys themselves have established a union with a 15-year minimum for membership. We hope that the slogan "Children in the streets need your protection, not your patronage," will soon be regarded as a survival of the dark ages.

Sec. 4. Specified trades dangerous to life, limb, health or morals are forbidden to minors under 16 years. The Bureau of Labor Statistics may make additional listings. Same as the old law.

Sec. 5. This may be called the exemption section. In agriculture and domestic service minors of 16 years may work more than 8 hours a day and more than 48 hours a week during the time the public schools are not in session. Child actors with the written consent of the commissioners of the Bureau of Labor Statistics are exempted from hour and age regulations.

Sec. 6. Provides that employers shall keep a separate register for minors under 18 years. *Gain*; "Separate."

Permits are to be returned to the issuing authority five days after employment ceases. Under the old law permits were returned by the minor. Interchange of semi-annual reports between Board of Education and Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Sec. 7. Penalties. Fine, \$50 to \$200, 60 days' imprisonment in county jail, or both. Provisions concerning distribution of funds between the departments.

Sec. 8. Enforcement. Bureau of Labor Statistics shall enforce provisions of the act.

Secs. 9 and 10. Assure validity of other sections of the law if any one section is declared invalid.

In comparing the California laws with the national and international minima recently set for children of school age, we see our field of effort mapped out. Our next step should be to abolish exemptions. The point of attack will be the age exemption in the street trades law and the age and hours exemptions in agriculture and domestic service. Hours spent in school should be counted as part of the 8-hour day for children under 16 years.

In order to stimulate public interest to bring about these changes we are now trying to work out a scheme of publicity through the women's clubs, which are well organized in this state. Mothers must be made to appreciate the real conditions. Experience and common sense teach that premature work interferes with later earning capacity and with proper physical development, by depriving the child of necessary playtime. The moral dangers of street work in particular must not be overlooked.

"He who helps a child, helps humanity with a distinctness, with an immediateness, that no other help given human creatures in any other stage of their human lives can possibly give."

REVIEWS OF NEW BOOKS

RUTH McINTIRE

OUT OF THE SHADOW. Rose Cohen. Doran, \$2.00.

Rose Cohen is one of the few individuals that child labor employers can cite as a shining and successful product of what one of them has been pleased to consider an "American institution."

A Russian-Jew, coming to New York in childhood, she remained in the intensely racial atmosphere of her people through her formative years. Her gradual awakening to the other life of America, her bitter revolt against the suffering of the working people of the unskilled or semi-skilled grades, the questions she asked of herself in the Fifth Avenue workshop: "Why is there this difference between those who work and those who consume. Do they do nothing but go to dinners, teas, balls, the Opera?"—these are more eloquent arguments than anything that we have read recently against the facile classification of "immigrant" and "American," "poorer class" and "upper class."

What is of special interest to us is her picture of child labor from the inside. We see it in the little figure in the garment sweat-shops, bent over the heavy coats which warmed her in winter, but stifled her in summer, and in the miserable kitchens where she scrubbed and cooked—and starved—as domestic servant. She gives expression to the root evil of child labor: "What with the long periods of idleness after each job, the months of inactivity in the hospital, the natural apathy due to illness, the miserable conditions in the shops, I lost all taste for work, I lost my pride of independence, I lost my spirit."

The first duty of Americanization is opportunity, not instruction in English grammar. How much opportunity meets a foreign child coming as thousands do come to our shores is told by the author. "Although almost five years had passed since I had started for America it was only now (in the hospital) that I caught a glimpse of it. For though I was in America I had lived in practically the same environment which we brought from home. Of course there was a difference in our joys, in our sorrows, in our hardships, for after all this was a different country; but on the whole we were still in our village in Russia. A child that came to this country and began to go to school had taken the first step into the new world. But the child that was put into the shop remained in the old environment with the old people, held back by the old traditions, held back by illiteracy. Often it was years before we could stir away from it, sometimes it would take a lifetime. Sometimes, too, it happened as in fairy tales, that a hand was held out to you and you were helped out."

The schools to-day hold out a hand, but how many children are able to grasp it? A quarter of a million on part-time to-day in New York City alone—

thousands more unable to profit by instruction on account of illness, underfeeding, or employment outside the school. Who is to help them up? *Why do they need such help?*

THE LITTLE TOWN. Harlan Paul Douglass. Macmillan; \$1.50.

Midway between city and country, depending for life upon the latter, thinking of itself as more analogous rather to the former, lies the little town. It is the most American of institutions, but until Mr. Douglass made it the subject of special interest and study it has received only incidental attention. The little town is already a self-conscious unit, its self-consciousness being based upon business and material unity and a sense of superiority over the surrounding countryside. Mr. Douglass would promote its pride to a more ideal basis, resting upon community endeavor toward civic progress and cooperative development; his book describes the little town as it is, its institutions, its occasional notable achievements, and its tools and the uses to which they may more generally be put.

"The little town has a bad reputation as a place to bring up children," he says. "The chief vocational impulse which their environment brings is one of drifting and delaying decision as to life work. This is in sharp contrast with economic seriousness which the average country or city child alike draws from its earliest breath. There are no such extensive 'chores' on the one hand as furnish significant and appropriate labor to the farm boy and girl; and on the other hand, no massed and systematized child-labor such as the city imposes upon immature life." As for youth, "the little town furnishes a few economic opportunities, but too few, and too poorly paid. The little town can out-breed its opportunities and the city must take its surplus." The great gain registered by the little town is that on account of the very lack of opportunity to work, the young boys and girls are kept in school longer than in any other environment. "This is a great gain and permits the little town to furnish, as it always has done, a disproportionate number of the nation's professional leaders." But in order to profit fully by this tendency, the school must be expanded to minister to the child's wider needs. Recreation—more and better opportunities—is necessary; schools for special classes are needed; segregation of defectives is another necessity—for the little town puts up with the unfit.

There is always danger in defining too strictly any phase of human activity, for it is apt in a given case to leap the barriers of definition and be off upon a self-made road. The author is wise in pointing out only the tendency of the type, and the special opportunities open to the 12,000 little towns of America to make their mark in the country's life.

NEW SCHOOLS FOR OLD. Evelyn Dewey. Dutton; \$2.00.

Education as experience is coming to be the concept of modern teaching. "New Schools for Old" is the story of the regeneration of a rural school in a Missouri district. The change was accomplished with the old tools—one-room

school-house, meagre funds, low salary, almost no equipment—but to these was added an awakened community spirit and a teacher who combined definite purpose with teaching ability. This teacher, Mrs. Marie Turner Harvey of the Porter School is among the few who have tried and apparently have been successful in identifying education and experience in the lives of her pupils.

The school when she arrived was typical. The total number of children of school age in the district was 56; the number enrolled in the district school was 23; the average attendance, 13. Many of these children had to do farm work during the fall and spring and under the old grade system they naturally dropped out after a term of discouragement. Mrs. Harvey has stopped graduating pupils. There is no set time when education is finished. She gives high school courses when the pupils are ready for them, and they may continue in school as long as they are able to. The only rule she is willing to give is "Suit the procedure to the occasion."

Her problem has been largely a problem in rural life, as well as rural education. She was familiar at the start with the lives led by the country people. Her pupils, repulsed by the narrow home round, sought amusement, and finally employment in town. But an education that fits rural children only for the farm must be a narrow education at best—no better than a narrow industrial training that fits the child only for industry, and for only one industry at that. The country, however, furnishes education in experience that is priceless if properly used. The country school has not hitherto expanded to meet the increasing lack in the homes. Mrs. Harvey made school gardens the point of attack. She followed this up with pig and poultry clubs, in which even the youngest could share and have responsibility. She made use, and taught her children and their parents how to make use of all the available agencies. Through cooperating with her in an effort to give better opportunities to their children, they learned what mutual cooperation could bring.

Miss Dewey's account is especially notable because it provides an illustration of actual experience on the basis of the most modern educational theory.

THE MENTAL HYGIENE OF CHILDHOOD. William A. White, M.D. Little, Brown; \$1.35.

This is a handbook, somewhat elementary, summarizing modern thought and analysis concerning the mental development of children. The author emphasizes the fact that children have commonly been thought of as small adults, who are moved by the same impulses and controlled by the same methods. That this is now considered a false view, is evidenced by the growth of juvenile courts, by laws prohibiting the employment of children, and by the growing, if tardy, recognition of children's rights. The fact that in this country there was a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals (1823) before there was a society for the prevention of cruelty to children (1874) is significant of our whole past attitude. The battle for the rights of children is not yet won, but it is a hopeful sign that the scientists are engaged in rediscovering our lost childhood. Through them we may some day jog our faded memories to an appreciation of the longings, the needs and the fundamental rights of children.

JUNK DEALING AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. By Harry H. Gregg and George E. Haynes. 25 cents.

There is probably nothing much worse from the hygienic and the moral point of view than junk dealing, particularly when engaged in by boys and girls of 11 years upward. To be sure there are children of 2 that sell to junk dealers, but their occupation may probably be classed as sporadic to say the least. But the older children recently studied by the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago had become more or less regular. The conclusions of the Association regarding this form of child labor are summarized in a pamphlet published by the Association.

"The retail junk business in Chicago is a most serious factor in juvenile delinquency. Dealers repeatedly violate both state laws and city ordinances in their relations with children. Junk men not only readily accept the fruits of the boys' illegal acts, but frequently urge them to steal. Children are exploited through the small prices paid them for loot and by dishonest practices in weighing the material. The business as conducted is not alone a moral menace to minors, but is also fraught with grave dangers to health and physical well being. Retail junk dealers as a group are much too low in the scale of ethics and intelligence to warrant their use in any constructive plan that could be suggested." The Association is wise not to indulge in the fancy that prohibitive legislation will be enough to solve the problem. "The evils of juvenile junking, like many other social problems, go back to the fundamental question of poverty, and until relief is secured in this regard, expectations of improvement elsewhere should not be too sanguine."

The American Child

FORMERLY THE CHILD LABOR BULLETIN

NOVEMBER, 1919



"QUIT CHER BELLERIN"! LOOK WHAT I GOTTA CARRY!
LOOK WHAT WE ALL GOTTA CARRY!"

PUBLISHED BY

National Child Labor Committee

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FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

PEOPLE WHO GO TO BEETS

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

PUBLISHED BY

National Child Labor Committee

Incorporated to Promote the Interests of Children

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Pres. Charles Eliot
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EDITORIAL AND NEWS NOTES

The following resolution adopted by The American Protective Tariff League relates to a subject not unfamiliar to our readers:

**AMERICAN PROTECTIVE
TARIFF LEAGUE
RESOLUTION** *“Resolved, That the American Protective Tariff League demands that The Congress at the earliest possible date shall forbid the importation into this country of any and all competitive goods, wares, articles and merchandise manufactured or produced wholly or in part in any foreign country by children under fourteen years of age or by children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years of age, who shall be so employed at any time for more than eight hours in any day, and that the burden of proof of such non-employment of Child Labor shall be placed upon the foreign owner, or shipper, and upon the owner or importer of such foreign goods, articles, wares, or merchandise.”*

Four or five years ago the editor of *The American Child* sent to Washington an amendment to the pending tariff bill which was introduced in the United States Senate and caused some discussion. The amendment provided for the same prohibition as that proposed in the foregoing resolution but was more far-reaching.

The word “competitive” is significant and appears to indicate the point of view of The American Protective Tariff League. We are forced to raise the question whether the League proposes this legislation to protect children or to protect American manufactures. Frankly, our interest is in the former and if the League wants to get the backing of fair-minded American people we believe it must strike out that obviously selfish word “competitive” and make the welfare of the child the objective. It seems to us that it makes no difference to the little child laborer of England, Japan, or Argentine whether the goods he makes, do or do not, compete with American products.

A recent letter from the Department of Justice, Washington, says: "The case in which Judge Boyd, of the Western District of North Carolina held that portion of the Revenue Act of 1918 applying to child labor unconstitutional has been appealed to the Supreme Court. The Department of Justice will appear and endeavor to sustain the constitutionality of the law." The law is being enforced in all sections of the country, with the exception of the western judicial district of North Carolina, where the injunction against its enforcement issued by Judge Boyd last May is still in force. The extent to which the federal law has affected the number of children engaged in industry can not yet be determined. A report that "child labor has been reduced 40 per cent since the child labor tax law went into effect" has been denied by the Bureau of Internal Revenue, in whose hands the enforcement of the law has been placed. The Bureau reports, however, that while no statistical estimate can be made at this time, a marked reduction in child labor has been noted in some sections of the country, the most noticable decrease occurring in the cotton mill industries of the southern states. By far the larger number of children gainfully employed in the United States are listed in occupations other than those included in the provisions of the federal law. The federal census of 1910 placed the number of children between 10 and 15 years of age employed in farm work at 1,419,098, and those engaged in all other occupations, exclusive of mines and manufacturing establishments, at 338,420. The total number of such children gainfully employed was placed at 1,990,225, and all reports tend to show that this number was greatly augmented during the war period. The percentage of children, therefore, affected by the federal law must be small.

Once upon a time, not so many moons ago, it was argued that child labor was essential to the prosperity of the cotton mills of the south. Now the public is informed that these cotton mills have never been so prosperous as they are today—and that there never were fewer children employed. An article in the Charleston (S. C.) *News and Courier* expresses the gratification and pride felt by the employers of the Palmetto

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OF AN OLD
EXCUSE

State because of both facts. The federal and state laws that have set new standards for the employment of children are referred to with approval, the author of the article evidently reflecting the views of the manufacturers from whom he obtained his data. It is pleasant to know that child labor laws have not obstructed the industrial progress of the south and that the industrial progress of the south is doing away with one of the formerly common excuses for child labor. It is pleasant to know that some of the southern states are putting themselves in the forefront of progress in child welfare work, including the protection of children from child labor, and that in the general field of child welfare some of them are setting examples which might well be followed by some of the northern states. South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, Kentucky—these and other states are doing things that will compel the north to go to school to the south.

As regards child labor in particular, the article in the *News and Courier* contains a point the significance of which should not be ignored. Special attention is given the effect of higher wages for adults on the child labor situation. As the wages of the adult male earners of the family have advanced, the family has emerged from conditions of poverty or near-poverty and the earnings of the women and children have not seemed necessary to augment the family income. One of the prime causes of child labor is low wages. Any attack on the child labor problem that leaves out of consideration the problem of adult wages is inadequate. Very likely the highest wages for adults in South Carolina are partly due to the effects of legislation taking larger numbers of children out of industry.

The decrease of child labor in South Carolina applies not only to children below the 14-year limit set by federal and state legislation, but to children between the ages of 14 and 16. The explanation is higher wages, the substitution of machinery for cheap child labor, and an increased use of and demand for skilled workers. Better methods of production, better factory management, a stronger regard for human values, have all been potent factors. Evidently child labor can be spared from industry. Child labor is an institution that has not long to tarry.

The National Child Labor Committee's report on "Child Welfare in Kentucky" has just been issued in book form. It contains the findings and recommendations of a group of specialists who worked under the direction of Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D. The chapter headings are as follows: "Introduction," "Health," "Schools," "Recreation," "Rural Life," "Child Labor," "Juvenile Courts," and "Law and Administration." The study was made at the instance and partly at the expense of the Kentucky Child Labor Association and the State Board of Health, and in co-operation not only with these agencies but also the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Co-operative Council of Kentucky, and the Welfare League of Louisville. The report has been well received by the press and people of Kentucky and is being used as the basis for a comprehensive legislative program.

Alabama has been added to the group of southern states which joined the forward march of child welfare legislation in 1919. The creation of a Department of Child Welfare was one of several important achievements in the session of the legislature which closed in August. This department is, perhaps, the most significant part of the child welfare program of the state, since the task of enforcing and making effective the child labor and other child welfare laws of the state will be in the hands of the newly created Child Welfare Department. A child labor law which was passed provides an 8-hour day and 48-hour week for minors under 16 in any gainful occupation (except agriculture and domestic service), strengthens the work permit provisions by requiring 180 days attendance at school or completion of the 4th grade for the issuance of a permit to work under 16 years of age or under 14 outside of school hours, and extends the prohibition of night work. Other new legislation includes a school law providing for administrative changes, the establishment of a state institution for the feeble-minded, and the extension of probation service in connection with the administration of the juvenile court.

Several of the bills passed were the result of recommendations made by the National Child Labor Committee, based upon a survey of child welfare conditions and problems in Alabama by the

Committee's staff. A report of the survey, "Child Welfare in Alabama," was published by the Committee, and widely circulated throughout the state. Mrs. Loraine B. Bush, a member of the staff of the National Child Labor Committee, who was largely responsible for the success of the child welfare program in the legislature, has been appointed Director of the Alabama Department of Child Welfare. She has obtained leave of absence from the Committee in order that she may take up the directorship of the work in Alabama.

Delaware is awake to the subject of schools. That is to say, the needs of the schools and of the children who are or ought to be in school are a live issue. Unfortunately there is not DELAWARE unanimity of opinion even as to the existence of needs.

A considerable minority of the people think things are all right, indeed that they *were* all right. The Governor has been repeatedly and numerously petitioned to call a special session of the legislature for the reconsideration of the recently enacted laws. Public meetings are being held to denounce these laws. The opposition is partly political. It is supported by property owners who don't want to pay the taxes that modern educational equipment and service impose. It is supported also by farmers and others who believe in child labor or think they do. Delaware still retains the ancient system of indenture whereby children are bound out to masters until they reach maturity: the objection of the masters to the school code is that it takes the child away from them for 180 school days. The objection of the parents is the same as that of the masters.

We quote from *School Life* as follows: "For the first time in the history of education in the State of Delaware children between 7 and 14 years of age are compelled to attend school every day school is open or at least 180 days. Children 14 or 15 or 16 years of age who are not regularly employed and who have not completed the eighth grade must also attend school every day, while children of the same age, namely, 14, 15 or 16 years of age, may remain out of school until November 1, provided they are regularly employed at home or elsewhere. These children, however, beginning with November 1, must attend school for at least 100 days. In some localities there is some opposition to the compulsory school law on the ground that labor is scarce and that parents need their children to

work on the farms." In the *New York Times*, Pierre S. du Pont, a leader of the School Code forces, is quoted as saying: "For the most part the opposition is sincere. The farmer does not want to pay higher taxes, and it seems to him too costly to spare children nine months of the year from work. To meet that objection, the State Board of Education provided for exemption of pupils until November if needed for farm work, and made the parents sole judges of the case; but in spite of that we had, under the new code, during September and October, an attendance of 85 per cent, which is much higher than it ever had been before. It is apparent that even with the longer term more children will study if we have better schools."

To quiet the clamor against higher taxes needed to replace shacks used for schools, Mr. du Pont donated \$2,000,000 to be used for new buildings. He has set by sixty-three scholarships in Delaware College for the training of teachers, and to offset the objection that "the new laws tax the white man to build nigger schools," he has agreed to build every schoolhouse needed for Delaware negroes. While we gladly applaud the public-spirited gifts of Mr. du Pont, we can not help hoping that the people of Delaware before long will themselves see fit to shoulder their own responsibilities and taxes. We further hope that this good time will not have to await the education of a whole new generation of citizens in privately provided public schools.

The School Code was adopted by the Legislature of 1919, following a report by the General Education Board to a special commission created by the Legislature of 1917. It is contained in a recent publication of the General Education Board entitled: "Public Education in Delaware." Other interesting publications dealing with affairs in Delaware are two Bulletins of the Service Citizens of Delaware: "Report and Recommendations on Certain School Building of Delaware," and "Six Months of Americanization in Delaware." The latter tells the story of the carrying out of an ambitious long-term program initiated by the State Council of National Defense and now financed and conducted by the Service Citizens.

A Virginia newspaper gloats over Delaware. For Delaware has "child slaves"—children from orphanages in that and nearby states who are bound out to masters for their labor. Says SECTIONALISM this newspaper: "It may be surprising to some child labor reformers with a sectional point of view to learn that actual child slavery exists in Delaware in a form which has persisted from the earliest days of that Commonwealth." Ah, "child labor reformers with a sectional point of view"! The coat, we voluntarily asseverate, doesn't fit the National Child Labor Committee, as the National Child Labor Committee has never thought sectionalism or acted sectionalism. But we want to say this: The idea of sectionalism, so far as child labor reform is concerned, is original with certain defenders of child labor and the term is one of their rotten defensive weapons. Child labor is child labor, North or South or East or West, whether in mills, factories, coal mines, beet fields, stores, tenement houses, canneries, or streets, and the Committee proposes to keep up the fight against this national, nation-wide evil until nothing is left of one or the other or both.

When the Minimum Wage Board of the District of Columbia issued its order for a minimum wage of \$16.50 per week for women employed in the stores of the District, it likewise ordered the payment of this minimum to minors. The only difference between the ruling for an adult woman (18 years or over) and boys and girls under 18 was in the length of the apprenticeship period, which for women was seven months, and for minors one year, the latter including a "pre-apprenticeship" period of five months at a minimum of \$10, then the regular adult minimum of \$12.50 for three months and \$14.50 for four months, at which time the \$16.50 rate comes into force.

Under the Minimum Wage Law the wage for women is fixed by the Board following recommendations of a wage conference composed of representatives of workers, employers and the public. The conference had recommended the \$16.50 rate for women. The wage for minors, under the law, is fixed by the Board without any conference. The ruling of the Board in this instance was made after consultation with experts in child welfare and in accordance

with the recommendations of the International Child Welfare Conference. It rested even more directly, however, upon the necessity for protecting the women whose wages were raised by the \$16.50 order, experience in the states having indicated that minors were to considerable extent substituted for the women if the minors' rates were lower.

The merchants of the District, however, through the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, protested the ruling of the Board on the subject of minors, and asked that the minimum for minors be reduced to \$10, \$11 and \$13 per week. They asked for a hearing, which was held September 29th. At this hearing trade unions, civic societies, educators, and social workers all urged the Board to stand by its order. The merchants alone objected.

The members of the Minimum Wage Board discussed at length the statements made, at the hearing, and finally the employer member, and the representative of the public voted to modify the order affecting the minors. The women workers' representative on the Board voted to stand by the original order, but as the majority was on the other side, the order was changed. As it now stands, minors begin work at a minimum of \$10 per week, and advance at intervals of four months to \$11.50, \$13, \$14.50, then after an interval of six months to \$16.00, the last figure to obtain as their minimum until they are 18, when the minimum of \$16.50 for women becomes effective.

"Social Reconstruction" is the title of a pamphlet recently issued by the Administration Committee of the National Catholic War Council. The "Foreword" reads as follows:

CATHOLICS
ON SOCIAL
RECONSTRUCTION

follows: "The ending of the Great War has brought peace. But the only safeguard of peace is social justice and a contented people.

The deep unrest so emphatically and so widely voiced throughout the world is the most serious menace to the future peace of every nation and of the entire world. Great problems face us. They can not be put aside; they must be met and solved with justice to all. In the hope of stating the lines that will best guide us in their right solution the following pronouncement is issued by the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council. Its practical applications are of course subject to

discussion, but all its essential declarations are based upon the principles of charity and justice that have always been held and taught by the Catholic Church, while its practical proposals are merely an adaptation of those principles and that traditional teaching to the social and industrial conditions and needs of our own time."

The pamphlet deals with a variety of subjects. We quote the pronouncement on "Vocational Training": "The need of industrial, or as it has come to be more generally called, vocational training, is now universally acknowledged. In the interest of the nation as well as in that of the workers themselves, this training should be made substantially universal. While we can not now discuss the subject in any detail, we do wish to set down two general observations. First, the vocational training should be offered in such forms and conditions as not to deprive the children of the working classes of at least the elements of a cultural education. A healthy democracy can not tolerate a purely industrial or trade education for any class of its citizens. We do not want to have the children of the wage-earners put into a special class in which they are marked as outside the sphere of opportunities for culture. The second observation is that the system of vocational training should not operate so as to weaken in any degree our parochial schools or any other class of private schools. Indeed, the opportunities of the system should be extended to all qualified private schools on exactly the same basis as to public schools. We want neither class divisions in education nor a State monopoly of education."

Concerning "Child Labor":—"The question of education naturally suggests the subject of child labor. Public opinion in the majority of the States of our country has set its face inflexibly against the continuous employment of children in industry before the age of sixteen years. Within a reasonably short time all of our States, except some stagnant ones, will have laws providing for this reasonable standard. The education of public opinion must continue, but inasmuch as the process is slow, the abolition of child labor in certain sections seems unlikely to be brought about by the legislatures of these States, and since the Keating-Owen Act has been declared unconstitutional, there seems to be no device by which this reproach to our country can be removed except that

of taxing child labor out of existence. This method is embodied in an amendment to the Federal Revenue Bill which would impose a tax of ten per cent on all goods made by children."

The Massachusetts Child Labor Committee conducts an educational campaign in the right direction when, in a new fifteen-page pamphlet entitled "When You Go To Work," **"WHEN YOU GO TO WORK"** it addresses directly to the boys and girls of Massachusetts a message concerning the child labor and school attendance laws of the state. The pamphlet is designed primarily to reach those children who are about to leave school and enter employment. To enlist the co-operation of the children themselves in the observance of the state's child labor and school attendance provisions, it seeks, first, to acquaint the children with the aim and purpose of the laws regulating their employment; and over and above the state's insistent "don'ts" it presses the vital "do:"—the stay-in-school message. "The law requires a boy or girl to go to school until fourteen years old," it says, "Go as much longer as you can. It pays." And again:

"School is so important that the law fines any one who employs boys or girls under fourteen in school hours."

"Sleep and rest are so important for school boys and girls that the law fines any one who employs children under fourteen after six o'clock at night or before half past six in the morning."

"Play is so important for school boys and girls that the law leaves very few trades open for children under fourteen to work at when they are not at school."

The pamphlet summarizes the age and hour limitations for employment of minors, occupations prohibited under specified ages, and requirements for securing employment certificates. It warns against "blind alley" jobs, and urges children to avail themselves of continuation school opportunities and public recreation facilities in order that they may be better equipped mentally and physically for adult life. In thus interpreting directly to the children the laws of the state which most nearly concern their own well-being, the Massachusetts Committee performs a real service. If children

everywhere could understand that child labor laws are *for* them—not *against* them—the task of enforcing these laws would be greatly simplified. The message of “When You Go To Work” should reach every boy and girl in the schools of Massachusetts. A similar message might well be addressed to the school children of every state.

In accordance with the custom of the past 13 years, Child Labor Day will be observed in 1920. Three days, indeed, will be observed under this name:—Saturday, January 24th, CHILD LABOR in synagogues; January 25th, in churches and DAY, 1920 Sunday Schools; and Monday, January 26th, in schools and clubs. The child and problems concerning its well-being have occupied an important place in national thought and discussion in the months that have elapsed since the signing of the armistice. Besides a manifestation of new interest there has been achievement. Child Labor Day will be an occasion for review of progress and accomplishment in child welfare work as well as for formulation of a program looking toward the new standards which have been proposed as minimum essentials for the protection and education of children. It will be a day for stock-taking and for constructive thinking and planning. The National Child Labor Committee is asking churches, schools and clubs to co-operate in securing a nation-wide observance of the day and invites correspondence.

BREVITIES

The Texas Child Welfare Commission will appoint a Children's Code Commission to make a study of all state, county and municipal laws relating to children and to general conditions surrounding childhood in the state, and based upon this study it will recommend to the next session of the legislature needed changes in child welfare laws of the state.

To care for workers' children, it is reported that New South Wales has passed a bill providing that a fixed amount covering the cost of living for a man and his wife and the maintenance of his

children shall form the basis from which wage rates will be calculated. The maintenance of children of workers will be met, according to the report, by payments from a fund administered by the government.

A shortage of 38,000 teachers was reported in 3,465 school districts at the opening of this school year. To meet this shortage, it is estimated that approximately 65,000 of the teachers now employed in the schools are below the standard requirements existing in these school districts. These estimates are based upon replies to questionnaires sent by the National Education Association to district and county school superintendents in all states.

"The main trouble with education in the public schools was that it was all right except that the schools were not educating nine-tenths of the children whom they were supposed to serve. In the fall of 1916 only 280 were enrolled in the second year class in the two high schools. Thus, just about one-fifth of the pupils who had entered nine years before had survived to complete the work of the ninth grade, and of these another 50 per cent were doomed to drop out before obtaining their diplomas. Again the figures in Evansville are typical of the average city of its size throughout the United States. Practically four-fifths of the children in the city were dropping out of school with just enough education to enable them to avoid being classed as illiterates. For, in the present day and age, graduation from the eighth grade represents just a little more more than no education at all." This paragraph from the report of the Superintendent of Schools of Evansville, Indiana, might easily have a more general application.

Publication of a new magazine, *Journal of Educational Research*, is announced by the Public School Publishing Company of Bloomington, Ill. This new journal is published for the University of Illinois, and is edited by the director of the Bureau of Educational Research of the University.

The first of a series of membership campaigns in Minnesota was held in St. Paul, the week of October 22d, by the National Child Labor Committee. Nearly 2,500 names were added to the

membership roll during a drive in which churches, schools, women's clubs and other organizations gave hearty support. The Committee's exhibit was shown, and the Pageant of the Children of Sunshine and Shadow was presented by the Junior League. A child labor day was proclaimed by the Mayor and a feature of the day was the dropping of membership blanks from an airplane flying over the city. A campaign is being conducted in Duluth. Minneapolis is to have a membership campaign in January.

The American Child

A Journal of Constructive Democracy

Published Quarterly

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Theresa Wolfson, Executive Secretary of the New York State Consumers' League, was formerly special agent of the National Child Labor Committee.

Gertrude Folks, the National Child Labor Committee's specialist on schools, has returned from France where for two years she was engaged in reconstruction work for the American Committee for the Devastated Regions.

Jessie Payne is on the staff of the National Physical Education Service of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. The Service has its office at Washington, D. C.

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FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT
of the
NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE
For the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1919

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, *General Secretary*

Legislation

The year 1919 is the legislative "on" year. Of the 48 states, 43 had legislative sessions, and as a large part of our work is legislative, 16 states were aided either directly or indirectly in securing the passage of child welfare bills.

The present policy of concentrated effort in a few states has brought many satisfactory results. Our plan as outlined last year is to make a detailed study of conditions in a state, compile such studies in a printed report, send the report with conclusions to social workers, state, city and rural officers and members of legislatures, crystallize public opinion to back a legislative program based on this knowledge of conditions, and then when the legislature convenes to send a representative to co-operate with local groups for the passage of proposed legislation.

The following are among the more significant results.

Oklahoma

In the spring of 1917 we were invited by the University of Oklahoma to study child labor and all conditions of childhood affected by industrial conditions in that state. The survey covered: child labor, public health, recreation, juvenile courts, poor relief, public institutions, agricultural problems in their relation to the absence of children from rural schools and their employment, and existing state laws and their administration affecting the general protection of children.

Recommendations for improvement of conditions were made. Based on these recommendations a program of twelve bills was drafted:

1. Providing for the creation of a children's code commission to study, co-ordinate and harmonize existing laws and recommend new laws to future legislatures.
2. Raising the minimum age for child labor from 14 to 16 years and in dangerous occupations to 18.
3. Providing for the appointment of county truant officers.
4. Prohibiting the sale of narcotics and opiates.
5. Creating county boards of public welfare.
6. Defining vagrancy.
7. Five bills relating to parentage, pre-natal care and provisions for protecting the health and morals of children.

What Was Accomplished

Five of these bills were enacted into law in 1919.

1. Creation of a children's code commission.
2. Appointment of county truant officers to enforce compulsory education law.
3. Defining vagrancy.
4. Providing for the licensing and supervision of maternity hospitals.
5. Prohibiting the sale of narcotics and opiates.

A child labor law is not included among these results. It is significant, however, that the chief defect in Oklahoma's protection of children in industry has been the utter lack of any administrative machinery to protect children in agriculture. The appointment of county truant officers to enforce the compulsory education law will go farther than any specific child labor law to secure this protection.

The field investigation and preparation of the report were in charge of Mr. Clopper, and our agent attending the legislative session was Miss Theresa Wolfson.

North Carolina

At the invitation of the North Carolina Conference of Social Service a similar survey was made in that state in the spring of 1918. As a result the following recommendations were made:

1. A child labor law prohibiting employment under 14.
2. Compulsory education law to be enforced during entire school term.
3. Creation of county boards of public welfare with a county superintendent in each county appointed by these boards.
4. Mother's pension law.
5. Adequate juvenile court law.
6. Appointment of full-time county health officers.
7. Regular monthly examinations of the physical condition of children in school *and at work* and three bills relating to hospitals, rescue homes, schools for feeble-minded, etc.

What Was Accomplished

In the spring of 1919 the legislature acted favorably upon five of these recommendations:

1. A child labor law forbidding employment of children under 14—under 16 in mines and quarries.
2. Juvenile court law following almost literally the recommendations of our agent.
3. Extension of compulsory school attendance to six months instead of four, and removal of the poverty exemption from school attendance.
4. Provision for county boards of public welfare and a county superintendent of welfare in every county.
5. Substantial increases in appropriations for the State Training School for boys, and the school for feeble-minded.

The investigation was conducted by Mr. Swift who also prepared the report and represented us at the legislature.

Alabama

The study of child welfare conditions in Alabama was undertaken in response to an invitation from the Alabama Child Labor

Committee and the University of Alabama, and was made possible by the generous contribution of \$6,325 from one of the Committee's contributors. As a majority of the regular staff were engaged upon the North Carolina report at the time, specialists at the State University acquainted with local problems of health, education, juvenile courts and child-caring institutions co-operated in this study. Four of our own staff however, were in the field for the whole or part of this time, and Mrs. Bush who was Deputy State Factory Inspector joined our staff at the close of the study.

A report was prepared embodying recommendations to fit local conditions including:

1. Amendment of child labor law to conform with compulsory education law.
2. Creation of State Board of Social Welfare with a child labor division.
3. Creation of children's code commission.
4. Increase in scope of State Board of Health.
5. Compulsory school medical inspection of both teachers and pupils.
6. State institutions for feeble-minded children.

What Was Accomplished

The quadrennial legislative session has just adjourned. Four laws were passed:

1. A child labor law with a 14 year minimum; 8-hour work day for children under 16 and other features to conform to modern standards.
2. Creation of a State Department of Child Welfare with a child labor division.
3. Extensive amendments in the state-wide compulsory education law.
4. Reorganization of the local health administration providing for full-time health officers throughout the state.

Mrs. Loraine B. Bush, formerly Deputy Factory Inspector of Alabama was our representative in securing this legislation.

Other States

In addition to the work detailed above legislatures were visited in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, West Virginia, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska. The most gratifying of the results in these states were in West Virginia where after being defeated for many years in our efforts to secure model standards of protection, Mrs. Bush succeeded in mobilizing the forces of the state which put through an up-to-date child labor law including a 14-year age limit, an 8-hour day, prohibition of night work and of all work in mines under 16, and other substantial features; and in Missouri where the Children's Code Commission introduced a group of fifty bills, 39 of which passed the lower house, and 25 of which were finally enacted into law. The results in Missouri probably place that state now ahead of all others in respect to a co-ordinated system of laws protecting children.

Among other advances in the field of our work to be summarized in detail in forthcoming publications the following are perhaps the most important:

California

Raises the general age limit for employment from 15 to 16, forbids girls under 18 and boys under 16 in messenger, telephone or telegraph service, raises compulsory attendance age to correspond with child labor law, and requires continuation school for those between 14 and 18.

Delaware

Requires school attendance for all between 7 and 17 years unless children above 14 have completed 8th grade, are legally employed and attend continuation school.

Florida

Extends compulsory attendance law to children between 7 and 16 for the entire school term, and makes the law state-wide in application. Children under 16, however, who have completed the 8th grade are exempt if regularly employed.

Georgia

Establishes a definite 10-hour day limitation for work, requires six months compulsory school attendance until the seventh grade is passed, and does not exempt on account of poverty.

Illinois

Extends compulsory school term from 6 to 7 months and together with a number of other states establishes continuation schools.

Iowa

Definitely fixes 40-hour week for children under 16 in districts where part-time schools are established, and all children between 14 and 16 who have not completed 8th grade must attend continuation schools.

Kansas

Extends the compulsory attendance period to the 16th year instead of the 15th.

Maine

Forbids any employment during school hours under 15 years; forbids night work under 16 in bowling alleys or poolrooms; and requires that employment certificates must show that the child has completed the 6th grade in school.

Massachusetts

Simplifies the former confused statutes regarding hours by making a 9-hour day and 48-hour week apply to all minors under 18 and all females, except that in seasonal occupations the week may extend to 52 hours, provided that the yearly average shall not exceed 48 hours a week.

Montana

Requires school superintendent to issue age and schooling certificates to which no child under 16 is entitled unless he has completed the 8th grade. On termination of employment the certificate must be returned to the school superintendent. Continuation school attendance applies to all under 18 unless the child is legally employed or has completed the high-school course.

New Jersey

Requires attendance at continuation school between 14 and 16 years. Provides that where continuation schools are established the hours of work shall not exceed 42 per week.

New Mexico

Makes school attendance compulsory to 16 years except that children between 14 and 16 gainfully employed must attend continuation school for at least 150 hours a year.

Oregon

Requires continuation school attendance between 16 and 18 years, unless the 8th grade has been completed.

South Carolina

Provides that the employer must secure a certificate of school attendance before engaging a child, and that children must attend school for the entire term. The law contains the unfortunate provision, however, that children over 12 with widowed mothers or crippled fathers are exempt.

Tennessee

The principal improvement was in the compulsory school attendance law which formerly applied to children between 8 and 14 and now applies to all children between 7 and 16 for the entire school year.

Utah

Extends the 8-hour day and 48-hour week to all women; extends compulsory school attendance period to 18 years, thirty weeks each year, except for children legally employed who must attend continuation school 144 hours per year unless they have completed the high-school course.

Porto Rico

Fixes a 14-year minimum during school hours, requires work permit up to 16 years and wipes out the general exemption for children under 16, employed in agriculture.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS

A majority of these states also enacted or improved continuation school laws and provisions for mothers' pensions.

Federal Legislation

Title XII of the Revenue Act of 1918, approved February 24, 1919, provides an excise tax on the employment of child labor. This act went into effect on April 25, 1919 and it was announced by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue that he would develop the service of the Government to administer the provisions of the act. An injunction case to restrain the Atherton Cotton Mills from discharging John W. Johnston or curtailing his employment to 8 hours a day was brought before Judge Boyd of the Western District of North Carolina and on May 2, 1919, he declared this law unconstitutional. The Department of Justice is preparing the case for the U. S. Supreme Court and the Court has set December 8 for hearing the case. An early decision is anticipated.

Investigation

The principal field activities of our Committee have been in the states above referred to with a view to immediate legislative results. In addition, however, studies have been made in Michigan, Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin.

Fourteenth Annual Conference

The Fourteenth Annual Conference met in New York City, December 7, 1918. The general topic was "A National Program for Child Protection." Three sessions were held to discuss "Federal Aid to Elementary Education," "Health" and "A Federal Child Labor Law."

The Proceedings of the Conference were published in the quarterly Child Labor Bulletin for February, 1919, Volume VII, No. 4.

Official Meetings

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Corporation was held at the office of the Committee, 105 East 22d Street, New York City at four o'clock, Wednesday, November 6, 1918.

The following Trustees were elected for a term of five years to succeed themselves: Edward T. Devine, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Adolph Lewisohn, Stephen S. Wise; and Paul M. Warburg was re-elected as Trustee for a term of five years after an absence of four years in Washington.

Three meetings of the Board have been held during the year; November 6, 1918, December 17, 1918 and March 5, 1919.

The Child Health Organization

The Child Health Organization has followed up the successful work of Children's Year in its nation-wide campaign to raise the health standard of the American school child. Through its health messages to parents and teachers, as well as to children themselves, conveyed in pamphlets and in health letters syndicated to newspapers, it has continued the work of teaching health truths and health habits to school children. The United States Bureau of Education has given hearty co-operation in spreading its health work in the schools.

Publicity

The publicity department has sent out 133 news stories and editorial articles. One or more of the statements from this department has appeared in the newspapers of every state in the Union.

The publications for the year included four issues of the quarterly magazine (with the May, 1919, number the name of the magazine was changed from "The Child Labor Bulletin" to *The American Child*, eleven pamphlets including revised editions and reprints of Bulletin articles, and six leaflets. In addition the Committee published the report of "Child Welfare in North Carolina" (314 pp), the result of a survey made at the request of the North Carolina State Conference for Social Service, and "Child Welfare in Alabama" (249 pp), the report of an inquiry made in co-operation with the University of Alabama. The total number of pages in all publications of the Committee during the year was 5,310,260.

Libraries throughout the United States received complimentary copies of the May issue of *The American Child* and as a result a number of libraries have been added to our subscription list. We have also arranged to exchange *The American Child* with many leading magazines.

The publicity department has done considerable revisory work in connection with Committee publications, and has enlarged the reference library with books, pamphlets, clippings on child labor and related subjects.

The observance of Child Labor Day (the last Sunday in January) was less vigorously pushed than in former years on account of the necessity of economy in printing and stationery. Many evidences reached the office, however, that the day was observed throughout the country especially by educational institutions.

The material distributed during the year shows 40,457 separate publications in response to 2,103 requests, including thirty-five requests from foreign countries and territories.

Membership

The increase in membership during the Fifteenth Fiscal Year has been very encouraging. The net increase in the number of members over the Fourteenth Year is 1,280 giving a total on Sep-

tember 30, 1919, of 12,780 members. Of this number 8,475 were renewals of former memberships being 73.6 percent of last year's enrollment.

In addition 4,305 new members and contributors enrolled during the year contributing \$19,532.21.

Following is the comparison of memberships with the report for the Fourteenth Year:

	Fifteenth Year		Fourteenth Year	
Renewing Donors.....	71	\$14,237.21	84	\$15,689.05
New Donors.....	24	2,855.00	17	2,175.00
	95	\$17,092.21	101	\$17,864.05
Renewing Sustaining Members.....	521	\$14,474.90	510	\$14,786.00
New Sustaining Members.....	108	3,344.34	129	1,679.91
	629	\$17,819.24	639	\$16,465.91
Renewing Contributing Members....	3,527	\$23,122.82	3,247	\$19,892.08
New Contributing Members.....	1,158	7,177.57	1,139	2,355.43
	4,685	\$30,300.39	4,386	\$22,247.51
Renewing Associate Members.....	3,978	\$8,438.17	3,928	\$8,353.90
New Associate Members.....	2,731	5,894.55	1,896	3,003.37
	6,709	\$14,332.72	5,824	\$11,357.27
Renewing Contributors.....	378	\$376.15	373	\$414.35
New Contributors.....	284	260.75	177	759.01
	662	\$636.90	550	\$1,173.36
Grand Total.....	12,780	\$80,181.46	11,500	\$69,108.10

The membership department has continued the policy of conducting local membership campaigns in various cities. In this connection our exhibit material has been of especial value, and the

pageant "The Children of Sunshine and Shadow" has been successfully produced. Campaigns were held in: Philadelphia, Scranton, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Indianapolis, Evansville, Indiana. The receipts from these campaigns totalled \$21,456.71. Special meetings were held at Forest Hills, L. I., Newark, N. J., New York City, Woodmere, L. I., Paradox, N. Y., Oxford, Ohio, where our pageant was presented. The total results were: \$2,318.95. College Campaigns were conducted at Vassar College, Teachers' College, Swarthmore, Barnard, Columbia University; and suit-case exhibits shown at Illinois State Normal, University of Illinois, Western College, Randolph-Macon Women's College, with a result of \$1,153.13. A part of the amounts referred to in this paragraph are renewals, which accounts for the figures not corresponding with the tabulated report on new members.

TREASURER'S REPORT

For the Year Ended September 30, 1919

Certified by Haskins & Sells, Certified Public Accountants

Debits

CASH ON DEPOSIT, OCTOBER 1, 1918..... \$8,309.89

RECEIPTS:

Subscriptions.....	\$82,045.56	
Less Refunds—Division of Local Camp		
Funds.....	582.49	
	\$81,463.07	
Sales of Publications.....	376.84	
Sales of Photographs and Slides.....	12.20	
Rental of Slides and Exhibits.....	112.58	
Interest on Bank Balances.....	85.37	
Pageant.....	2,564.35	
Legacy, Mrs. Margaret E. Zimmerman (part of \$10,000.00).....	5,000.00	
Donation on Account of Alabama Welfare Work (expenditures in preceding year).....	5,325.00	
	94,939.41	
Total Debits.....		\$103,249.30

Total Debits..... \$103,249.30

Credits

EXPENSES:

Administrative Salaries.....	\$9,570.00
Clerical Salaries.....	13,939.39
Investigations.....	\$26,289.75
Less Collections from Local State Organizations.....	3,511.58
	<hr/> 22,778.17
Drafting and Supporting Legislation. . .	3,007.06
Publicity.....	8,648.74
Exhibits.....	\$3,319.18
Less Collections from Local State Organizations.....	469.20
	<hr/> 2,849.98
Printing.....	9,282.97
Postage.....	4,074.42
Traveling.....	3,060.77
Stationery and Office Supplies.....	1,062.66
Telephone and Telegraph.....	739.13
Purchase of Literature Relating to Child Labor.....	392.52
Rent.....	2,145.00
Expenses Incurred in Purchasing United States Victory Loan Notes.....	34.45
Miscellaneous.....	772.13
	<hr/> \$82,357.39

INVESTMENT—\$5,000.00 UNITED STATES VICTORY LOAN

NOTES.....	5,000.00
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES.....	667.44
ACCOUNTS PAYABLE AT BEGINNING OF THE YEAR.....	2,012.26

Total Credits..... 90,037.09

CASH ON DEPOSIT, SEPTEMBER 30, 1919..... \$13,212.21

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES

For the Year Ended September 30, 1919

INCOME:

Subscriptions:

Collected During the Year..... \$81,463.07

Collected but Unearned at Beginning
of the Year..... 5,420.25

Total..... \$86,883.32

Less Collected but Unearned at End
of the Year..... 6,351.50

Earned During the Year..... \$80,531.82

Sales of Publications..... 376.84

Sales of Photographs and Slides..... 12.20

Rental of Slides and Exhibits..... 112.58

Pageant..... 2,564.35

Donation on Account of Alabama Welfare Work
(expenditures in preceding year)..... 5,325.00Legacy, Mrs. Margaret E. Zimmerman (part of
\$10,000.00)..... 5,000.00

Interest on Bank Balances..... 85.37

Total..... \$94,008.16

EXPENSES:

Administrative Salaries..... \$9,570.00

Clerical Salaries..... 14,052.51

Investigations..... 22,790.23

Drafting and Supporting Legislation..... 3,007.06

Publicity..... 8,648.74

Exhibits..... 2,862.98

Printing..... 9,372.97

Postage..... 4,074.42

Rent..... 2,145.00

Traveling..... 3,092.27

Stationery and Office Supplies..... 1,155.81

Telephone and Telegraph..... 756.92

Purchase of Literature Relating to Child Labor.... 398.33

Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures..... 165.44

Miscellaneous..... 811.22

Total..... 82,903.90

NET INCOME FOR THE YEAR..... \$ 11,104.26

SURPLUS, OCTOBER 1, 1918..... 1,878.33

SURPLUS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1919..... \$12,982.59

GENERAL BALANCE SHEET

September 30, 1919

Assets

CASH ON DEPOSIT, PER EXHIBIT "C".....	\$13,212.21
UNITED STATES VICTORY LOAN NOTES, PAR VALUE.....	5,000.00
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES.....	\$1,654.49
LESS RESERVE FOR DEPRECIATION.....	301.54
	<hr/>
	1,352.95
EXHIBIT PARAPHERNALIA.....	150.00
	<hr/>
Total.....	<u>\$19,715.16</u>

Liabilities

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE.....	\$381.07
UNEARNED PORTION OF SUBSCRIPTIONS, COLLECTED.....	6,351.50
SURPLUS, PER EXHIBIT "B".....	12,982.59
	<hr/>
Total.....	<u>\$19,715.16</u>

Addresses

State	Mr. Lovejoy	Dr. Clopper	Mr. Swift	Miss Eschen- brenner	Others	Total
Alabama.....	..	..	..	..	1	1
California.....	..	2	..	..	..	2
Connecticut.....	1	..	..	..	..	1
Dist. of Columbia.	1	..	..	15	..	16
Florida.....	2	..	..	..	..	2
Georgia.....	1	..	..	..	..	1
Illinois.....	7	..	..	..	..	7
Indiana.....	4	..	..	65	..	69
Iowa.....	1	..	..	..	..	1
Kentucky.....	1	2	1	..	..	4
Maryland.....	2	..	..	..	..	2
Massachusetts...	2	1	..	..	..	3
Michigan.....	1	..	..	..	3	4
Minnesota.....	1	..	..	..	..	1
Missouri.....	3	1	1	..	..	5
Nebraska.....	..	..	2	..	..	2
New Jersey.....	3	2	..	..	3	8
New York.....	17	3	1	18	7	46
North Carolina...	1	..	1	..	..	2
Ohio.....	..	1	1	..	..	2
Oklahoma.....	..	..	..	..	6	6
Pennsylvania...	19	..	..	32	2	53
Rhode Island...	1	..	..	..	..	1
South Carolina...	3	..	..	..	..	3
Texas.....	..	1	..	..	..	1
Virginia.....	2	..	..	..	1	3
West Virginia....	..	..	..	..	6	6
	73	13	7	122	29	244

Conferences Attended

California.....	1
District of Columbia.....	1
Florida.....	2
Illinois.....	2
Indiana.....	1
Iowa.....	1

Massachusetts.....	2
Michigan.....	1
Missouri.....	3
New Jersey.....	2
New York.....	13
North Carolina.....	1
Ohio.....	2
Pennsylvania.....	2
Texas.....	1
Virginia.....	1
	—
Total.....	36

Travel

	Miles
Owen R. Lovejoy.....	32,187
Edward N. Clopper.....	18,149
Wiley H. Swift.....	12,808
Josephine J. Eschenbrenner.....	4,720
Mabel Brown Ellis.....	10,292
C. E. Gibbons.....	9,781
Raymond G. Fuller.....	5,672
Mrs. L. B. Bush.....	5,270
Theresa Wolfson.....	1,597
Josette Frank.....	985

The record of the National Child Labor Committee in the year just ended is gratifying beyond our expectations both in the growth of the Committee and in definite results achieved. This we believe is due not only to the wise leadership of the Board of Trustees and the enthusiastic loyalty and energy of the members of our staff, but also to the awakening conviction in the public mind that if America is to take and hold her rightful place in the great fraternity of nations, every child must be secured in the right to health, mental training and efficient citizenship.

Respectfully submitted,

OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
General Secretary.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

The first meeting of the International Labor Conference of the League of Nations was held at Washington, D. C., October 29th to November 29th, inclusive. In previous issues of *The American Child*, some of the principles and problems of international labor legislation and of labor regulation by international action have been discussed. In the next issue will appear a more extensive report of the Washington meeting than is possible in the present number.

The Peace Conference adopted on April 11th the draft convention submitted by the Commission on International Labor Legislation. This convention provided for the institution of an International Organization to which all the Members of the League of Nations would belong, and which would consist of an International Labor Conference and an International Labor Office, as part of the machinery of the League of Nations. It further provided that the first meeting of the International Labor Conference should take place at Washington in October, and that an International Organizing Committee should be appointed to assist the government of the United States in making the necessary arrangements.

In May, the Organizing Committee addressed a letter and questionnaire to the governments of the various countries, as the first step in gathering world-wide information as to the present status of the protective labor legislation to be considered at the Conference in Washington. When this vast amount of material had been received the Committee examined, summarized and analyzed it, and arrived at certain conclusions and recommendations, all of which were then printed as comprehensive documents to be placed in the hands of delegates to the Conference. These served as a basis for the discussion. Report I covers "The Eight-hours Day or Forty-eight Hours Week"; Report II, "Unemployment"; Report III, "The Employment of Women and Children and the Berne Conventions of 1906."

The items of the Agenda follow:

- (1) Application of principle of the 8-hours day or of the 48-hours week.
- (2) Question of preventing or providing against unemployment.
- (3) Women's employment:
 - (a) Before and after child-birth, including the question of maternity benefit.
 - (b) During the night.
 - (c) In unhealthy processes.
- (4) Employment of children:
 - (a) Minimum age of employment.
 - (b) During the night.
 - (c) In unhealthy processes.
- (5) Extension and application of the International Conventions adopted at Berne in 1906 on the prohibition of night work for women employed in industry and the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

While the meetings of the Conference were in progress William L. Chenery wrote in the *Survey*: "Serious work is being done at Washington on all of the various questions brought before the conference. Earnestly the problems set before the conference are being attacked. The long corridors of a section of the mammoth new Navy building open into endless offices occupied by those performing the arduous routine of the first attempt at international legislation. An expert organization has been created. The labor ministries of most of the world are ably represented. In fact, the conspicuousness of trained experts is one of the outstanding features of the conference. Acknowledging the industrial character of this generation, capital and labor have been clearly called into this first world congress, but the governments have chosen to remain dominant. Half of the delegates are government officials. They constitute a bloc which will decide finally the character of the conference. The conflicting interests of employers and employes rise to the surface, but on any issue the governmental spokesmen still remain a solid body, strong enough to assure the action they desire. That fact is of great importance. It is, with the forceful and fair leadership which the secretary of labor, William B. Wilson, has as presiding officer brought to the conference, a guaranty that sober commonsense, avoiding wreck, will drive onward to genuine achievements in the establishment of law in industry throughout the world."

We cannot in this issue discuss the accomplishment of the Conference. We present, however, the official text of the "Draft

Convention Fixing the Age for Admission of Children to Industrial Employment"—

The General Conference of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations, having been convened by the Government of the United States of America at Washington, on the 29th day of October, 1919, and having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to the "employment of children: minimum age of employment," which is part of the fourth item in the agenda for the Washington meeting of the Conference, and having determined that these proposals shall take the form of a draft international convention, adopts the following Draft Convention for ratification by the Members of the International Labor Organization, in accordance with the Labor Part of the Treaty of Versailles of 28th June, 1919, and of the Treaty of St. Germain of 10th September, 1919:

ARTICLE 1

For the purpose of this Convention, the term "industrial undertaking" includes particularly:

(a) Mines, quarries and other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth.

(b) Industries in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented, finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed; including shipbuilding, and the generation, transformation, and transmission of electricity and motive power of all kinds.

(c) Construction, reconstruction, maintenance, repair, alteration, or demolition of any building, railway, tramway, harbor, dock, pier, canal, inland waterway, road, tunnel, bridge, viaduct, sewer, drain, well, telegraphic or telephonic installation, electrical undertaking, gas work, water work, or other work of construction, as well as the preparation for or laying the foundations of any such work or structure.

(d) Transport of passengers or goods by road or rail or waterway, including the handling of goods at docks, quays, wharves, and warehouses, but excluding transport by hand.

The competent authority in each country shall define the line of division which separates industry from commerce and agriculture.

ARTICLE 2

Children under the age of fourteen years shall not be employed or work in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed.

ARTICLE 3

The provisions of Article 2 shall not apply to work done by children in technical schools, provided that such work is approved and supervised by public authority.

ARTICLE 4

In order to facilitate the enforcement of the provisions of this Convention, every employer in an industrial undertaking shall be required to keep a register of all persons under the age of sixteen years employed by him, and of the dates of their births.

ARTICLE 5

In connection with the application of this Convention to Japan, the following modifications of Article 2 may be made:

(a) Children over twelve years of age may be admitted into employment if they have finished the course in the elementary school;

(b) As regards children between the ages of twelve and fourteen already employed, transitional regulations may be made.

The provision in the present Japanese law admitting children under the age of twelve years to certain light and easy employments shall be repealed.

ARTICLE 6

The provisions of Article 2 shall not apply to India, but in India children under twelve years of age shall not be employed:

(a) In manufactories working with power and employing more than ten persons;

(b) In mines, quarries, and other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth;

(c) In the transport of passengers or goods, or mails, by rail, or in handling of goods at docks, quays, and wharves, but excluding transport by hand.

ARTICLE 7

The formal ratifications of this Convention, under the conditions set forth in Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles of 28 June, 1919, and of the Treaty of St. Germain of 10 September, 1919, shall be communicated to the Secretary General of the League of Nations for registration.

ARTICLE 8

Each Member which ratifies this Convention engages to apply it to its colonies, protectorates, and possessions which are not fully self-governing:

(a) Except where owing to the local conditions its provisions are inapplicable; or

(b) Subject to such modifications as may be necessary to adapt its provisions to local conditions.

Each Member shall notify to the International Labor Office the action taken in respect to each of its colonies, protectorates, and possessions which are not fully self-governing.

ARTICLE 9

As soon as the ratifications of two Members of the International Labor Organization have been registered with the Secretariat, the Secretary General of the League of Nations shall so notify all the Members of the International Labor Organization.

ARTICLE 10

This Convention shall come into force at the date on which such notification is issued by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, but it shall then be binding only upon these Members which have registered their ratification with the Secretariat. Thereafter this Convention will come into force for any other Member at the date on which its ratification is registered with the Secretariat.

ARTICLE 11

Each Member which ratifies this Convention agrees to bring its provisions into operation not later than 1 July, 1922, and to take such action as may be necessary to make these provisions effective.

ARTICLE 12

A Member which has ratified this Convention may denounce it after the expiration of ten years from the date on which the Convention first comes into force, by an act communicated to the Secretary General of the League of Nations for registration. Such denunciation shall not take effect until one year after the date on which it is registered with the Secretariat.

ARTICLE 13

At least once in ten years, the Governing Body of the International Labor Office shall present to the General Conference a report on the working of this Convention, and shall consider the desirability of placing on the agenda of the Conference the question of its revision or modification.

Votes were taken at the Washington meeting with the understanding that they would not really be effective until ratification of the peace treaty. The Governing Body of the International Labor Office was accordingly authorized to take such steps as may be necessary to render the resolutions of the Conference effective. The following resolution was adopted Saturday, November 29th:

"Seeing that the treaty of peace has not yet been ratified, the conference gives authority to the governing body to take such measures as may be necessary to render the resolutions of the conference effective. Therefore, when this conference adjourns today, it adjourns leaving it at the discretion of the governing body to reconvene the present meeting or to declare it closed, as may be deemed advisable."

"The Draft Convention Concerning the Night Work of Young Persons Employed in Industry" provides as follows:

ARTICLE 2

Young persons under eighteen years of age shall not be employed during the night in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed, except as hereinafter provided for.

Young persons over the age of sixteen may be employed during the night in the following industrial undertakings on work which by reason of the nature of the process, is required to be carried on continuously day and night:

- (a) Manufacture of iron and steel; processes in which reverberatory or regenerative furnaces are used, and galvanizing of sheet metal or wire (except the pickling process).
- (b) Glass works.
- (c) Manufacture of paper.
- (d) Manufacture of raw sugar.
- (e) Gold mining reduction work.

ARTICLE 3

For the purpose of this Convention, the term "night" signifies a period of at least eleven consecutive hours, including the interval between ten o'clock in the evening and five o'clock in the morning.

In coal and lignite mines work may be carried on in the interval between ten o'clock in the evening and five o'clock in the morning, if an interval of ordinarily fifteen hours, and in no case of less than thirteen hours, separates two periods of work.

Where night work in the baking industry is prohibited for all workers, the interval between nine o'clock in the evening and four o'clock in the morning may be substituted in the baking industry or the interval between ten o'clock in the evening and five o'clock in the morning.

In those tropical countries in which work is suspended during the middle of the day, the night period may be shorter than eleven hours if compensatory rest is accorded during the day.

ARTICLE 4

The provisions of Article 2 and 3 shall not apply to the night work of young persons between the ages of sixteen and eighteen years in cases of emergencies which could not have been controlled or foreseen, which are not of a periodical character, and which interfere with the normal working of the industrial undertaking.

ARTICLE 5

In the application of this Convention to Japan, until 1 July, 1925, Article 2 shall apply only to young persons under fifteen years of age and thereafter it shall apply only to young persons under sixteen years of age.

ARTICLE 6

In the application of this Convention to India, the term "industrial undertakings" shall include only "factories" as defined in the Indian Factory Act, and Article 2 shall not apply to male persons over fourteen years of age.

ARTICLE 7

The prohibition of night work may be suspended by the Government, for young persons between the ages of sixteen and eighteen years, when in case of serious emergency the public interest demands it.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WORKING WOMEN

ETHEL M. SMITH

The International Congress of Working Women, which convened in Washington, October 28 to November 6, upon invitation of the National Women's Trade Union League of America, made a unanimous, unequivocal demand that no children under 16 years of age be employed in gainful occupations unless they have completed the elementary school and have been found by a school physician or other medical officer especially appointed for that purpose to be of normal development for a child of that age and physically fit for the work at which they are to be employed.

The Congress demanded also that no young person under 18 years of age shall be employed in or about a mine or quarry; that the legal work day for young persons between 16 and 18 years of age shall be shorter than the legal work day for adults; that no minor shall be employed between the hours of 6 P.M. and 7 A.M.; that minors shall not be employed in dangerous or hazardous occupations or at any work which will retard their proper physical development.

The women of the twelve nations represented in the International Congress of Working Women, namely Great Britain, France, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Argentine, India, Canada and the United States, were unanimous on practically every feature of this resolution. And it was notable that the new republics of Poland and Czechoslovakia were eager to put their countries on record in the front rank of progressive thinking on this as on all other issues.

The resolution on child labor, like all others adopted by the Women's Congress, was transmitted to the first International Labor Conference of the League of Nations, which was meeting at the other end of the Mall, in the Pan-American Building, but which was composed entirely of men. In the official conference also were

represented three distinct groups, namely, employers, the governments of the different nations and the workers.

It is not surprising, perhaps, though nevertheless notable that in the official conference only the workers' delegates stood for the 16-year minimum age for child labor and they were defeated in committee. The report as adopted by the official conference of the League of Nations calls for an international standard of 14 years in industrial occupations, with no action for oriental countries (except Japan) until the next conference.

The outstanding purpose of the International Congress of Working Women was to register with the International Labor Conference of the League of Nations, in which women had no direct voice, the views of the working women of the world whose interests were so vitally at stake in every question considered by the Conference.

Almost equally important was the benefit of association and exchange of views which was to be achieved by the meeting of the representative women of different countries. It was not to be expected that the women's Congress would be as large as the men's. The call was cabled to the same countries, but in many of those countries working women are so little organized that they could not send representatives. Poland, however, sent four delegates; Czechoslovakia sent two; Italy, one; France, two; Belgium, two; Great Britain, two; India, one; Argentine, one; Norway, one; Sweden, one; Canada, one; and the United States had ten, which was the maximum permitted under the rules. Each country had ten votes whether represented by one or ten delegates.

The names of the delegates and the countries they represented are as follows: Alicia Moreau of Argentina; Berthe Delalieux and Victorie Cappe of Belgium; Margaret Bondfield and Mary Macarthur of British Empire; Kathleen Derry of Canada; Marie Majerova and Louisa Landova-Stychova of Czechoslovakia; Georgette Bouillot and Jeanne Bouvier of France; Ptarvalikia Athavale of India; Laura Casartelli Cabrini of Italy; Betzy Kjelsberg of Norway; Sophie Dobranske, Felixa Konopska, Yadviga Lukasiuk and Constancia Olschewska of Poland; Alma Sundquist of Sweden; Mary Anderson, Fannia Cohn, Elizabeth Christman, Agnes Nestor, Julia O'Connor, Leonora O'Reilly, Lois B. Rantoul, Margaret Dreier Robins (Mrs. Raymond Robins), Rose Schneiderman, Maud Swartz, of the United States.

Meeting with the delegates and having all but voting privileges in the Congress were several of the women technical advisers to the International Labor Conference of the League of Nations who were not accredited as delegates to the Women's Congress—notably, Miss Kerstin Hesselgren, a factory inspector of Sweden; Mrs. Taka Takanashi Tanaka, adviser to the government delegate from Japan; Mme. Letellier, adviser to the French delegation; Mme. de Zayas Bazan, from Cuba.

The discussions of the Congress dwelt upon all of the subjects on the agenda of the official conference and produced resolutions which, besides that dealing with child labor, called for the 8-hour day and 44-hour week; maternity care and monetary allowance covering a period of four weeks before and after childbirth; prohibition of night work for women and also for men except for the latter in continuous industries and public utilities; health and safety provisions in dangerous trades, with prohibition of the employment of women only where the hazard affects women as potential mothers; unemployment insurance, national and international employment bureaus, regulation of immigration and emigration by treaty and regulation of control of raw materials; lifting of the blockade from Russia; and the equal representation of women in all future international conferences of the League of Nations.

The International Congress of Working Women voted to become a permanent institution with headquarters in Washington. The officers are: President, Mrs. Raymond Robins, Chicago; 1st Vice-President, Miss Mary Macarthur, England; 2nd Vice-President, Mme. Louisa Landova-Stychova, Czechoslovakia; 3d Vice-President, Mme. Jeanne Bouvier, France; 4th Vice-President, Mrs. Betzy Kjelsberg, Norway; 5th Vice-President, Left for Central Powers; Secretary and Treasurer, Mrs. Maude Swartz, New York.

NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE ON CHILD WELFARE

The general trend of the conference on child welfare held in Albany, October 16th to 18th, 1919, under the auspices of the state departments of labor, education and health was forecast in Commissioner Lynch's opening remarks when he suggested that the consideration of the conference was not "The Child in Industry" but "Keeping the Child in School." Through various approaches—a more effective enforcement of the child labor and compulsory attendance laws; raising the minimum age at which children may leave school and enter industry; changes in the school system; the establishment of continuation schools—the same conclusion was again and again reached—that the child should be prevented from prematurely starting down "the road that don't lead nowhere" and should be given every opportunity to secure an education which will develop his physical and mental capacities, enable him to enter industry as a skilled worker, and afford him the means to enjoy his leisure time.

This idea was developed not only by members of the state departments concerned but by representatives of child welfare organizations, trades unions and employers invited to join in the conference. Although the labor representatives laid themselves open to the charge of "radicalism" in their attack on the Rockefeller Foundation and in their claim that industries employing children showed a proportional increase in profits notwithstanding the statement of the employers that "the child under 16 is a liability, not an asset"—and although on the other hand the employers laid themselves open to the charge of "conservatism" in going counter to the minimum standards of child welfare adopted by the National Industrial Conference at Washington, October 16th, and declaring it inadvisable at the present time to raise the age minimum—there was on the whole little class consciousness manifested and there was a large field where all concerned met in perfect agreement.

ENFORCEMENT OF CHILD LABOR AND COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE LAWS

The conference was unanimous in holding that the child labor and compulsory attendance laws were being evaded, that an increase in the staff of enforcing officers should be made and that a closer co-operation among the three departments of labor, education and health, concerned with the enforcement of these laws was essential. New York is peculiar in that the health department issues work permits to children.

RAISING THE MINIMUM AGE

A change in the attendance and labor laws of the state raising the minimum age at which a child may enter industry to 16 years and requiring full-time attendance at school until that age, was urged by the labor and health representatives and by the child welfare agencies. Practical difficulties in the way of enforcement and of securing at present adequate accommodations in the schools for so many additional children, were suggested by a representative of the education department, and the employers took the stand that, although this change would be desirable eventually, it would be unwise to compel the older children to remain in school until the curriculum had been modified to meet their needs.

CHANGES IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

A most satisfactory feature of the conference was the very general recognition by the educational as well as by the industrial representatives of the need of certain changes in the present school system and the practicability of many of the suggestions made. The curriculum was discussed and revisions proposed aiming at a general revitalization, greater variety in methods and in subject matter to provide for each child a type of education suited to his ability, and the inclusion of courses adapted to the interest and the needs of older pupils. Emphasis was placed especially by the labor representatives, upon the inadvisability of early specialization. No vocational work before 14 years, and after that training designed to be generally useful and to enable the child to make an

intelligent choice of vocation rather than teaching a specific process in industry, were urged. Smaller classes, permitting the teacher to take into consideration the psychology of the child, special effort to keep in school and provide special training for retarded and defective children, higher professional requirements for teachers, and a general increase in teachers' salaries, were among the suggestions that met with general approval.

HEALTH

Stricter health requirements for the child desiring to enter industry were favored, as well as regular, frequent and systematic physical examinations of the child during the entire school course and continued during the period in which a work permit is held. It was suggested that studies be made to determine the comparative measurements, strength, prevalence of disease, accident records and fatigue reactions of children in industry and in school. Greater attention to physical education and adequate provision for recreational facilities were unanimously advocated.

CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

One entire session was devoted to a consideration of continuation schools and the discussion centered on the new New York State law. The general feeling of the conference was that it should be applied at first to the younger children and those of lower grade and gradually extended to all those coming under its provision. Detailed attention was given to the curriculum, and the importance of education of general utility along with technical training was stressed. The difficulty already met in securing competent teachers was emphasized and the consequent necessity of a high salary scale. Joint continuation schools rather than small continuation classes were favored.

A more idealistic note was sounded by The Honorable Sir Alfred T. Davies, K.B.E., Permanent Secretary of the Welsh Department of the Board of Education of England and Wales. Turning aside from the discussion of hand training and technical knowledge he emphasized the part which the public schools should play in determining the use which a man makes of the leisure time which

labor is now endeavoring to secure for him. The materialistic aim of industrial training he claimed was but one end—and a relatively unimportant one—of education, bearing to it the same relation that hours of labor should bear to a man's whole life.

The legislative committee appointed at the opening of the conference made the following recommendations which were unanimously accepted:

1. That a commission be appointed to collate and study all laws relating to child welfare with a view to their possible revision.
2. That the commission be composed of members of the legislature, representatives of the departments affected, and the public.
3. That with the approval of this conference, but to be left to the three departments—Education, Labor, and Health—for approval, the committee recommend to the legislature the enactment of a law creating a commission to which shall be appointed the Commissioner of Education, the Commissioner of Health and a member of the Industrial Commission with an adequate staff.

The duties of this commission shall be to co-ordinate the duties of the three departments in the supervision of the laws relating to children.

4. That this conference shall meet one year from now under the auspices of the following five state departments: The Education Department, the Industrial Commission, the Health Department, the Probation Commission and the Department of Charities. That this committee be continued between conferences for the purpose of considering proposed legislation and other problems dealing with the welfare of the child.

CHILD WELFARE IN KENTUCKY

"Child Welfare in Kentucky," which has been published as the November Bulletin of the State Board of Health and as a volume in the Committee's series, "State Child Welfare Studies" contains chapters on Public Health, by H. H. Mitchell, M.D.; the Schools, by Mrs. Elizabeth Bliss Newhall and Miss Alexina Booth; Recreation, by Raymond G. Fuller; Rural Life, by Charles E. Gibbons; Child Labor, by Mrs. Loraine B. Bush; Juvenile Courts, by Miss Mabel Brown Ellis; Law and Administration, by Wiley H. Swift. The study was directed by Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D., from whose Introduction to the volume the following excerpts are taken.

"There are in the state about 1,200,000 boys and girls under 20 years of age of whom 20 per cent live in urban homes and 80 per cent in rural districts. The welfare of children, therefore, is chiefly a matter of dealing with rural conditions and yet in spite of this fact the children of cities and their environment have so far had the lion's share of thought and effort; this preferential treatment must give way to a fairer policy by which the needs of all receive proper consideration.

"With a small appropriation for public health work and with very few full-time health officers it is no wonder that epidemics are frequent; that the death rates for such diseases as tuberculosis, typhoid fever, diphtheria, measles and whooping cough although appreciably lowered in the past ten years, are high; that trachoma is common among children in the mountain section and is said to be increasing in spite of efforts to check it; that smallpox is still prevalent in parts of the state; and that pellagra is widespread in the south eastern counties. But it is encouraging that the death rate from malaria is decreasing and that hookworm, of which children especially are the victims, has been largely brought under control. Instruction in hygiene as given in the schools, and especially in the rural schools, is primitive and ineffectual. Medical school inspection and school nursing service are provided for in but few places. Sanitation in many rural homes is rudimentary or wholly absent.

"State and county administration of public schools is subject to the uncertainties of politics. The offices of state superintendent of public instruction and of county superintendent of schools are gained only through political activity and campaigns for support at the polls. The salary of a county superintendent of schools is so limited by law that competent persons ordinarily will not consider the position although cities are not restricted either by a system of political preferment in selecting superintendents or by the fiat of law in fixing their pay.

"Local taxes are too low for the development of good schools, and because state funds alone are sufficient to keep poor schools open for six months, many districts are content to make shift with such provision and lull to sleep all sense of their own responsibility. This indifference to duty and to the rights of children will prevail until the people are obliged to comply with a higher standard of local taxation. Rural elementary schools are held in archaic buildings, poorly equipped, with poorly paid teachers using poor methods. Owing to the lack of good roads there has been but little consolidation. The cities have better schools but because of the low salaries there is difficulty in getting and holding the teachers. Compulsory attendance is spasmodic in the smaller cities, and weak in both law and enforcement in rural districts. Boys and girls are absent from school principally because of work, illness and indifference. Opportunity to attend high school is frequently denied to country children. More than 6,500 children over 10 years of age are illiterate.

"The juvenile court law is generally disregarded in rural districts. In some places police courts sentence children. At times children are kept in jail, some awaiting trial, others serving sentences. Some county judges do not distinguish between children and adults in their methods of trial. Circuit courts have been found trying children whose cases are not of record in any juvenile court. Means of detention suitable for unfortunate boys and girls is a great need nearly everywhere, as is likewise probation service—the backbone of the juvenile court. The manifold duties of county judges interfere with their giving due attention to juvenile court matters.

"Apprenticing and binding out children under obsolete conditions are still practised to some extent and the laws permitting

such procedure should be repealed. The child labor law is one of the best in the country but it is enforced in only a few places because there is no real department of labor and only a half dozen inspectors to cover all the industries and one of these is engaged in private business.

"Girls of 12 years of age and boys 14 years of age are permitted to marry with the consent of their parents; and applicants for marriage licenses are not obliged to appear before the official who issues them. Save for the granting of an appropriation to a private society devoted to their care, the state neglects dependent children; while those whose condition of dependency is aggravated by disease, deformity, or illegitimacy are officially ignored.

"Unregulated amusements largely dominate the great field of recreation; that provided by public authorities and by private civic and philanthropic societies falls far short of meeting the need, while much of that afforded by commercial agencies is inferior in quality and unfortunate in effect.

"This is not a pleasing picture. It would be wholly depressing if there were no spirit of protest alive to encourage the hope for better things. Fortunately there is such a spirit and it is gradually becoming stronger and stronger. Indeed, there are not wanting examples of what can be accomplished through pricking the conscience and stimulating the effort of a community, as in Mason County; the trouble is that the energising spirit of discontent is not yet abroad in the land and the old order still prevails. Attachment to the methods of days gone by and scorn of modern ways, still hold many in thrall. The state's treatment of children is out of joint with the times.

"This is not a fault finding report in the sense that it is adversely critical of administrative policies, methods or personnel. It is, however, an indictment of the people. They have been too complacent, too much satisfied with things as they are, and too unwilling to give the children of the state the advantage either of their own undertakings or of experience gained elsewhere. Here and there, thoroughly good work is being done but the general attitude is that of indifference. The people have no better provisions for the health, care, protection, schooling and play of their children than they themselves have demanded, and the conditions are no worse than they have been content with. Whatever the short-

comings of the state may be in all these fields, they are chargeable to the people alone. It is this popular inertia that must be overcome before any real advance can be made, and it is cheering to know that it is already by way of being overcome, for manifestations of an awakened spirit are now distinctly perceptible. The authors of this volume, as they went about the state found the people nearly everywhere in a receptive mood and ready to respond to capable leadership.

"Action in so vital a matter should not be precipitate nor ill considered, and it is believed that the wisest course is to devote some time to a study of the situation so as to awaken public interest and insure the use of measures adapted to the conditions peculiar to this state. It is not a good plan to pass laws and make changes simply because other states have passed the same laws and made the same changes; all steps taken must be on sure ground and this can be determined only through careful thought and study. To this end it is suggested that the Governor be authorized to appoint several qualified persons, to serve without pay as a temporary commission charged with submitting to the General Assembly at its next session a report upon the standardising, simplifying and co-ordinating of all the state laws concerning children and upon suitable means for their administration. A small appropriation should be granted to the commission for expenses. Such a report is what is known in this country as a 'Children's Code' but as a matter of fact the laws on child welfare are not codified by such commissions in the sense of being brought together to form one body—they are left in their respective places on the statute books, the health provisions in the general health laws, the labor provisions in the general labor laws, and so with the other provisions—but are so modified and supplemented as to form a well articulated whole, in accord with modern thought and practise when considered as to their standards and their bearing upon one another. Instead of "Children's Code Commission," the purposes of such temporary body would be more clearly indicated if given the name of 'Commission for the Standardising of Child Welfare Laws,' but the former has the advantage of being the shorter term and is, therefore preferred in popular usage. Perhaps in place of a temporary commission it would be well to instruct the Co-operative Council to prepare and submit such a report; this council was

recently organized to act as a clearing house and planning board for all agencies engaged in state-wide social service."

Though of course no adequate description of the suggested legislative program can be given to a few pages, it may be summarized. The study on which the report is based was made at the instance of the State Board of Health, the Kentucky Child Labor Association, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Louisville Welfare League and other agencies, and the recommendations are intended for use by the people of Kentucky in planning and obtaining state legislation in behalf of the children of the state.

As Kentucky has no State Department of Public Welfare or an equivalent, it is recommended that such a department be created. The department, according to the National Committee, should be charged with the duty of looking after the interests of those children who are in need of special care and attention by reason of unusual conditions and the department should be controlled by a board of five or seven members, each appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate for a term of six years. The duties of the board should include the following:

"To elect a Commissioner of Public Welfare as executive officer of the board, and to fix his compensation; to have the supervisory care of all crippled, insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, blind, deaf, dumb, dependent, neglected and delinquent children; to supervise every child-caring and home-finding institution or society, state, county, municipal or private, and to inspect, control and license every such institution or society; to supervise the administration of mothers' aid for the benefit of children, if and when a mothers' aid law is passed.

"There should be in every county a county board of public welfare, composed of three or five members, each serving for a term of four years. A county superintendent of public welfare, appointed by the county board should have the following duties: To supervise the school census; to act as truancy officer for the enforcement of the compulsory education act; to issue all work permits and to follow up all working children to see that they are not being injured by their work and are attending continuation schools where such schools are established; to act as probation officer for the juvenile court. In the larger counties, assistants will have to be provided, but in some of the smaller and less populated counties

the county superintendent of schools might act as the county superintendent of public welfare when approved by the State Board of Public Welfare."

The National Committee, in that section of its report that deals with the schools, recommends the creation of a State Board of Education of seven members, appointed by the Governor, each for a term of six years, two members retiring every year, the personnel to be as follows: The president of the State University; three members recommended by the Kentucky Educational Association, one of them as city superintendent and one a county superintendent; two members appointed by the Governor; and one of the principals of the two state normal schools, the two principals alternating annually. "The board," says the Committee's report, "should direct the educational policies of the school system of the state and assume the duties now assigned to the State Text Book Commission and the State Board of Examiners.

"The superintendent of public instruction should be appointed by the State Board of Education to serve for a period of four years and should be eligible for reappointment. There should be no political or territorial limits in choosing a man for this office. The salary should be not less than \$5,000 a year. The state superintendent should be provided with a sufficient number of assistants to make possible adequate supervision of all the schools of the state.

"The county superintendent should be appointed by the county board of education to serve for a period of four years and should be eligible for reappointment. His powers should be increased so as to include the recommendation for appointment of all teachers in the county schools." The Committee comments on the fact that the present law makes it impossible to select a man for county superintendent who resides in a city of the first or second class or outside the county in which he is a candidate for election at the polls.

Discussing the problem of school finance the Committee says: "The state constitution should be amended so as to provide for the distribution of state school funds upon the basis of local effort and need instead of upon a per capita basis as at present. What is needed more than anything else in Kentucky's school system is a stimulus to local effort, and the method of apportioning the state funds can best be made to serve as this stimulus. It would be far better, for example, to grant the aid according to the aggregate

daily attendance and number of teachers employed than according to the mere number of children in a district regardless of whether or not these children even enroll, much less attend. The state school funds should always be held sacred to educational purposes."

"The greatest need of public health work in Kentucky," says the Committee in its report, "is the development of modern local health departments, particularly county departments, with trained all-time staffs. No state department of health can fully accomplish the purpose for which it exists without the active and constant help of efficient local departments." In the Committee's report, emphasis is placed on the desirability of county and district health departments all through Kentucky. Under existing law, it is pointed out, several counties can unite to form a district.

The Committee declares that public health is a purchasable commodity, comments on the inadequacy of the funds hitherto available to the State Board of Health, recommends special appropriations for certain branches of health work, and urges state aid to counties forming county or district health departments. It is estimated that an appropriation of \$200,000 would compensate the executive officers of 45 county health departments and 30 district health departments. These officers should be agents of the State Board of Health and should be paid out of state funds. Other expense should be borne by the counties, on the principle that the Lord helps those who help themselves.

"A special section of the State Child Hygiene Bureau," says the Committee, "Should be devoted to school hygiene, as it relates to physical examination and correction of physical defects, control of communicable diseases, and sanitation of school buildings, and to advising and assisting the State Department of Education in developing a state program for playground, recreation, physical training, and the instruction of the school child in health essentials. Physical education and health protection of children should be further developed through a Bureau of Physical Education in the State Department of Education. As soon as trained all-time health officers are provided, the Director of Physical Education should direct school medical work through the county and district health departments and standardize physical training and the teaching of hygiene and health habits through school superintendents and physical training directors.

“Every child applying for work permits should be required to show a certificate of a health department physician or a school physician indicating that he has good health, is normally developed, and is physically fit for the work at which he is to be employed. While at work under a permit, each child should receive the medical examination and supervision of the school health service.”

DISCRETIONARY POWER

EDWARD N. CLOPPER, PH.D.

It is often urged that protective laws in the field of child welfare should confer upon their administrators a large measure of discretionary power so that each child affected may be dealt with according to its special needs. Children are individuals and should be treated as such, insist many able persons charged with the enforcement of mandatory and prohibitive laws, and others who revolt against the uniform application of a rigid standard to all children alike, regardless of their peculiar circumstances, characters, dispositions, talents and tastes. The feeling is natural and is intensified by seeing here and there conspicuous examples of fine social service of an independent character in behalf of boys and girls, the observers at once jumping to the conclusion that like service can be rendered everywhere under any conditions. Even the signally successful workers declare that "anybody can do the same." But we all know the part played by the personal equation in these matters and learn from experience that such striking success is the portion of only a few.

The theory these able administrators and their supporters set forth is sound but under our present limitations as to personnel it breaks down in practice, and so several states that formerly granted such discretionary power, have found it necessary to revoke it and require all to conform to a fixed standard. The reason is obvious. The exercise of such power can be safely entrusted only to administrators of strong moral courage, abundant common sense, sound judgment, and thorough understanding of children, their nature and their needs. If we had such administrators everywhere, in cities, towns, villages, hamlets, and the countryside, devoting all their time to such work and amply paid for their services, we should feel that the interests of our boys and girls were secure in their keeping and we should not hesitate to allow them considerable latitude in the adjustment of standards to special conditions. But unfortunately we are not blessed with such wealth of able administrative

personnel—indeed, most of our area is as yet untouched by administrative effort for child welfare, able or otherwise. The officers who meet the requirements for such work are few and far between. Many whose duty it is to enforce the law are not endowed with enough moral courage to withstand the guile, the importuning and the pressure of local politicians—and those who are courageous are frequently removed from office or find their powers curtailed. Usually an officer has a variety of laws to administer and gives but perfunctory attention to those he deems less urgent or which interest him least. And a great number of our child welfare officers of one kind or another are working on a part-time basis. As to judgment, common sense and understanding of children—the combination is so seldom found that its possessor stands out in any surroundings as a bright and shining light.

So our compulsory school attendance laws, our child labor laws, our delinquency laws, our dependency laws, our health laws and all our other laws that seek to train, protect and nurture children are, generally speaking, inadequately administered by truancy, labor, probation, parole and health officers. Sometimes important administrative duties are turned over to clerks, stenographers and typists. The significance of such work is not yet known. To grant discretionary power on a wholesale plan to administrators, many of whom are incompetent, overburdened with duties, or incapable of covering the area assigned to them, would be the height of folly and unfair both to the officers and to the children—unfair to the officers because they would steadily be pushed into following the line of least resistance and their treatment of the exceptional case would come to be the rule, and unfair to the children because under our lamentable conditions in the matter of personnel the very intent of the law would be nullified and its aid and comfort denied.

As one step toward improvement of administrative personnel, methods and policies in one field, it is suggested that public school authorities bring together in one department and under one head with sufficient assistants, the related activities of school census taking, census record keeping, compulsory attendance enforcement, issuance of work permits, enforcement of street trading restrictions, and the finding of suitable jobs for boys and girls who can no longer attend school full time. Let the school census include all children and let the handicapped and afflicted be separately reported, so that

we shall know not only how many normal children from 6 to 20 years of age are living in the community, but also who are blind, deaf and dumb, feeble-minded, seriously crippled, illiterate or otherwise disadvantaged, and let us hold our officers responsible for seeing that all these receive such care and training as they need. Let the work a child does be looked upon as an important part of his education, and let permits be issued carefully and intelligently with a view to conserving health, promoting education and safeguarding from abuse.

DO SCHOOL STATISTICS SPEAK?

GERTRUDE FOLKS

One step in the educational program for which the National Child Labor Committee is working has been completed—the establishment of some form of compulsory education law in every state of the Union. The next step is to secure effective enforcement of these laws. To accomplish this, a revision of the material contained in the school census and of the statistical analysis presented in the state educational reports is essential. “Statistics mean nothing” is a common phrase—but facts *do* have a meaning and school statistics, if properly gathered and analyzed, reveal facts which indicate the lines along which educational effort should be directed.

New York State has recognized this and in 1917 passed a law establishing permanent census bureaus in cities of the second and third classes. These had been in existence in cities of the first class since 1908 and were found to be “invaluable aids in a proper administration of child labor and compulsory education laws, as well as in child welfare work. It was not unusual to find, even in cities of the third class, that the compulsory education and child labor laws were seriously failing adequately to accomplish the purposes for which the laws were enacted, solely for the want of up-to-date, reliable census information, while in a city of the first class, having from 250,000 to 5,000,000 population, the results attained in the administration of these laws were vastly in excess of the results attained in the smaller municipalities. The reason for this was ever and always in evidence, namely, that the up-to-date, reliable census information obtainable in the city of the first class enabled school authorities to administer attendance laws with a degree of steadiness and success not possibly attainable even in a small city, where such up-to-date information was lacking.”*

The last report of the Vermont State Board of Education calls to mind the fact that in 1910, there were 10,906 illiterates 10 years of age and over in the state, and suggests that it would be both more effective and more economical to compel children to attend

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school than to educate adult illiterates. But, it concludes, the "enforcement of the compulsory attendance and child labor laws, as well as the proper safeguarding of children's education, demands an accurate school census."

In spite of this obvious depending of the efficacy of child labor and attendance laws upon accurate statistical information, in most states the school census is still taken on the basis of scholastic age, (the period during which the child is entitled to a free education, which varies in the different states from 4 to 21 to 8 to 18, covering in some cases 17 years of the child's life, in other cases only 10 years), and little attempt is made to interpret the returns. A study of the last reports issued by state departments of education, including the District of Columbia, reveals a striking failure to grasp either the relative importance of specific items, or their bearing on the educational situation.

The last report issued by the State Board of Education of Idaho (for the year ending June 30, 1918) is typical. It reports the enumeration of children of "scholastic age" but nowhere indicates that this age period is 8 to 18 years. It reports only the enrollment and average daily attendance of all children in the public schools, irrespective of age, thus rendering impossible any accurate percentage of the number of children of school age actually enrolled in and attending school, for there must be many children under 8 in the elementary grades and over 18 in the high schools. Education in Idaho is compulsory between the ages of 8 and 16. Children of 15, however, may be excused in cases of poverty, or if they have completed the eighth grade. Nowhere, however, is any report given of the number of children of this age period enumerated, enrolled in or attending the schools. No estimate is made of the number of children attending private or parochial schools; no record is given of the number 15 years of age excused for the above reasons. With such inadequate statistics an effective enforcement of the compulsory attendance law is out of the question. Idaho does, however, include in its report one item found in very few state reports—the number of feeble-minded and physically defective children.

California, in spite of much progressive educational legislation, has an equally unsatisfactory report. There is no index to the report, but a careful study of all tables failed to reveal figures regarding the enumeration of children of any age period. The enroll-

ment and attendance figures are the totals for children of all ages. There is no estimate made of the number of children in private and parochial schools, of the number excused for employment and other reasons, or of the number of physical and mental defectives—not an item in the report that would aid in enforcing the child labor and compulsory attendance laws.

This situation unfortunately is not the exception but the rule. The results of the analysis of statistics presented in state reports is given below:

Enumeration and School Enrollment

Only 7 states report both the enumeration of children of compulsory school age and the number of this age enrolled.

16 states report the enumeration of children of scholastic age and the total enrollment in the public schools, irrespective of age, working out the percentage of enrollment to population on this basis.

7 states report the total enrollment and also the enrollment of children of scholastic age.

4 states, although reporting the enrollment of children of compulsory attendance age, report the enumeration of scholastic age only.

4 other states reverse this, and while reporting the enumeration of children of compulsory attendance age, report only the total enrollment or enrollment of children of scholastic age.

4 other states, while not reporting the number enrolled or attending, estimate the number of children of compulsory attendance age *not* attending the public schools.

4 states make classifications, but useless ones, of their figures. Example: Virginia divides the enrollment into age periods of 7 to 9, 10 to 14, etc., although the compulsory school period is 8 to 12. Nevada gives the enrollment of children of compulsory school age, but divides the enumeration into age periods of 4 to 6, 6 to 18, etc., although compulsory attendance begins at 8 years.

2 states give no enumeration figures.

For one state we secured no report.

Total 49

Only 8 states make any attempt to estimate the number of children in private and parochial schools.

Only 7 states make any estimate of the number of children employed or holding work permits.

Only 3 states make any estimate of the number excused from attending school for other reasons, such as mental or physical incapacity, distance, etc.

Average Daily Attendance

Only 2 states report the average daily attendance of children of compulsory school age.

32 states report the average daily attendance of children of all ages together.

7 states report the average daily attendance of children of scholastic age.

7 states make no estimate of average daily attendance.

For one state we had no report.

Total 49

In 21 states compulsory continuation schools for employed children have recently been established, yet only three of these states have been recording the number of children employed. Several cities have such records but the figures are not compiled for the state as a whole.

Statistics intelligently compiled are needed not only to aid in the enforcement of the child labor and compulsory attendance laws, but as a guide to further legislation. North Dakota's report, that 7,541 children are excused from attending school because they live more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the school house, points to the need for immediate provision for their transportation. The reporting of the number of crippled, deaf, blind, deformed and mentally defective children not only should lead to a general consideration of the state's responsibility toward these unfortunates, but should be used as the source for a constant checking up of the number of these groups in the state and of the adequacy of the care received by each such individual whether in his home or in an institution. The experience of New York is again significant. The first school census taken under the new law revealed that in five cities of the second

class, 888 persons between the ages of 8 and 18 were unable to read or write English, while 126 persons between 10 and 18 were unable to read or write any language, and the report already quoted points out that, in view of the fact that there has been practically no immigration to this country since 1914, these figures are a severe criticism of the enforcement of the educational laws of New York, or a reflection upon the methods of education employed.

To compile a useful report is not a task beyond the power of any state, no matter how hard pressed for funds. It does not necessitate the establishment of permanent census bureaus like those of New York, although this is desirable. In most cases, it does not even necessitate an actual increase in the labor required in taking the census, but depends rather upon analysis of the material gathered. A very simple record could be used requiring only the following items:

Name.....Sex.....Color.....
 Address.....Date of Birth.....Nativity.....
 Names of parents.....Address.....Nativity.....
 School attended.....If none, why?.....Grade completed.....
 Physical condition, if defective.....
 Mental condition: Normal.....Feeble-minded.....
 Can child read English?.....Any other language?.....
 Can child write English?.....Any other language?.....
 If employed, state kind of occupation.....
 If employed, is child attending continuation school?.....

This information, together with a record from local school officers as to enrollment and attendance in their districts, would be ample to furnish the basis for a simple, yet significant state report, containing the following items:

School census—number of scholastic age and of compulsory school age.
 Enrollment—total, and number of compulsory school age; percentage of school census.
 Average daily attendance—of all pupils enrolled and of those of compulsory school age; percentage in each case based on census and on enrollment.
 Number in private and parochial schools.
 Number excused with work permit.
 Number in continuation schools.
 Number excused for other reasons, classified.
 Number physically and mentally defective, classified.
 Number unable to read and write English.
 Number unable to read and write any language.

To determine the educational situation in the country as a whole a comparable basis for the statistics reported by the states to the Federal Government is necessary. The United States Bureau of Education is now developing a plan to secure such reports from the states; its success will be determined by the co-operation accorded by state educational officials. Until that plan is generally adopted, however, and until we have a uniform compulsory attendance law throughout the country, each state should at least compile statistics regarding the number of children of a specified age group, enumerated, enrolled and in average daily attendance in the schools of the state.

Not until this revision is accomplished can we be certain that children of compulsory attendance age are actually at school, that children below the prescribed age are not working, that mental and physical defectives are being cared for, that illiteracy is being reduced; in short that the measures which we have enacted are verily laws.

PEOPLE WHO GO TO BEETS

—
THERESA WOLFSON
—

The child is considered the *raison d'être* of the family, our social unit brought into existence and maintained chiefly for its protection and rearing. In order to insure for it the best of care and an opportunity for normal development, the family must have the element of stability and a certain amount of geographic fixity. We have been accustomed to think of the term "migratory labor" as applying only to the individual who, free from family ties and responsibilities, travels about from job to job as necessity or will prescribes. For it stands to reason that the family man, realizing that the welfare of his children demands a more or less



fixed habitation is less apt to try his luck and stake the family bread and butter on a chance employment. Yet each year, the early spring season witnesses an exodus of families from the foreign quarters of industrial centers to rural districts, their destinations being the cranberry bogs, onion fields, sugar-beet fields and other sections where seasonal agricultural work is carried on. Here they remain working during the summer, sometimes returning to the cities in the winter. More frequently, however, they are lost to their original communities, and their children mysteriously drop out of the schools.

This study of migratory labor in the Michigan sugar-beet fields was made with the aim of learning something of the conditions under which the families live and of the work they do, and primarily of determining the effect of their migration upon the school attendance and education of the children.

The sugar-beet belt of Michigan runs through the central and northeastern section of the state, including what is known as the "thumb." Five representative beet counties were visited: Saginaw, Bay, Tuscola, Huron and Shiawasse. The industry in these counties is controlled largely by three companies: the Owosso, the Michigan and the Columbia Sugar Companies. One hundred and thirty-three beet workers' families were interviewed and the information obtained revealed the existence of extensive child labor, lack of educational provision, a shocking degree of insanitation in living quarters, and an exploitation of adult, and for the most part foreign, labor.

THE SPRING SEASON

In order to understand how such conditions can prevail it is necessary to understand the peculiarities of the beet industry. There are two distinct phases—the growing of sugar beets with which the farmer and the "beet-family" are solely concerned—and the "beet campaign" which is the conversion of beets into sugar in the fall and winter months. It is the first process, the growing of beets, which necessitates the use of outside help. The sugar company through their "field bosses" secures contracts for beet acreages from the farmers, the company furnishing the seed at a minimum cost and promising labor to work the beets. The farmer in return promises to cultivate the land, to provide living quarters for the help, to furnish water and to haul fuel for them.

It is the company, therefore, that is responsible for the labor supply. Every winter the labor agents or "agriculturists" as they are sometimes called, visit the large industrial cities. By means of newspaper advertisements, posters and public meetings held often in vacant stores in the foreign sections of the city, the agent reaches the prospective help. Much is promised—easy work, good pay, free transportation to Michigan, fine houses, clear running water, free rent, free fuel, a large garden, and above all an opportunity for every child to work and help the family save money. These promises are frequently exaggerated to a preposterous degree.

The people whom the agent addresses are foreigners, usually peasants from the old country, who have come to America to better their fortunes. They have large families, live in congested quarters

of the city, work hard and often are anxious to get back to the soil which they understand so much better than they do the foundries, shops and mines. What they hear sounds good, so they throw up their jobs, pack their belongings, take the children out of school and migrate to Michigan. Families have thus been imported from



"BEETS IS HARD WORK."

Buffalo, New York City, Philadelphia, Erie, Akron, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, Milwaukee, Toledo and cities in Iowa and Minnesota; for the past two or three years a large number of Mexicans from San Antonio, Texas, have also come.

CONTRACT OF LABOR

The companies issue contracts for use between the grower and the hand laborer. The terms of the contract include the following items:

1. Beets are to be bunched and thinned by beet-help, leaving only one beet in a place; when hoeing is completed, beets must not be further apart than eight to ten inches.

2. Weeds must be hoed out, and beets kept clean in the row; four inches must be kept on each side of the row; hoeing shall be done at such times as is deemed best by the grower and the laborer.

3. The grower (farmer) agrees to keep the beets cultivated clean between rows; to give them one cultivation before they are blocked and thinned, and to do so at the time designated by the beet help.

4. When beets are ready for harvesting they shall be lifted by the farmer, and the beet help agrees to pull and top them, removing all dirt possible from the beets by striking them together before removing the tops.

5. The laborer agrees to place beets, when topped, in piles containing beets from 16 rows if planted twenty inches apart, or from 12 rows if planted 24 or 28 inches apart, these piles to be at least two rods apart, and to cover them each night with leaves.

In return for this the beet laborer is promised \$24 an acre for beets planted in rows 18 to 22 inches apart, and \$22 an acre for beets planted in rows 28 inches apart; these prices cover the entire hand-work to be done by the laborer.

In addition, the farmer agrees to furnish free, a suitable dwelling place, water, fuel, transportation from the railway station and also to and from the place of work. It is further agreed that in case the farmer fails to secure a satisfactory stand of beets, the contract shall be considered void; in case of a dispute as to the advisability of continuing the work on the crop or as to the measurement of the field, the dispute shall be decided by the sugar company or its representative.

Field bosses complain that a contract proves to be only a "piece of paper." "You can't make the hunkies stay, if they take a notion to up and leave." This, of course, means that the company loses the money it invested in transporting the family. On the other hand, beet-workers say that the labor agents promise them "heaven" in order to get them to "come to beets," but once there, they are quickly disillusioned. The beet-worker is under the impression that he is employed by the sugar company, and therefore takes orders only from the field boss. It is he who shifts the families as the demand varies. This year the acreage promised the beet-workers was larger than the amount actually given them to work; consequently, their potential earnings are decreased, and they have another cause for complaint.

NATIONALITY OF HELP

The general term applied to the beet-worker is "Hunkie" or "Bohunk," probably derived from Hungarian and Bohemian. Of the 133 families interviewed 41 were Hungarians, 22 were Slavic (of

the small principalities, Croatia, Moravia, Czecho-Slovakia and Bohemia), 22 were Polish, 16 were Russ-German or Germans coming from the Baltic provinces, 13 were German, 2 were Russian and 6 were Mexican. The number of Mexicans "in beets" was large, but as the majority were single adults they were not interviewed. Five families were of mixed nationality. One English, one French and three American families were also in the group. Field bosses repeatedly declared that American labor was of no use, for "a Yankee can't stand the hard work." One boss in Shiawasse county said, "I read that the 'Hunkies' have saved up money and are going



10 AND 12 YEARS OLD.

back to the old country—that's bad for our business. These families are desirables for beets and we gotta keep 'em here!"

It will be difficult for them to "keep 'em here" unless some measures are taken to improve their living and working conditions.

THE JOBS THEY LEFT BEHIND

Coming to the cities from sections of Europe largely agricultural, and being unable to understand the language of this country, most of the men interviewed had been compelled to engage in unskilled labor. Forty-five, or one-third of the total number had

worked during the previous winter in shops or factories manufacturing everything from sugar to ammunition and wires. Only ten were skilled artisans; four were furnace workers; 12 were railroad workers; eight were coal miners; five worked in the ship yards; 14 were day laborers picking up odd jobs as they went along; and 13 were foundry workers—all occupations of the heavy manual labor type. There were also workers whose winter occupations had been those of barber, plumber, farmer, carpenter, shipyard worker, mason and butcher. One had even been a music teacher in Chicago for some 28 years. At the end of that time he found himself and his family broken in health and spirit and decided to try the beet fields.

REASONS FOR GOING TO BEETS

Why did they come to the beet fields? Most frequently families with large numbers of children said that they felt the city was no place to raise children—things were too expensive and children ran wild—in the country all the children could work. Next in frequency came the statement that “we worked on a farm in the old country, no like city, we try to save money and by and by have own farm.” Often the reply was, “We’re buying our own home in the city, we want to save money this summer to help pay the mortgage.” Incidentally, not a few of the German and Polish families had “beet-homes,” that is, homes which they were enabled to buy from beet savings. Several families came in the hope of making money to pay debts incurred by the winter’s siege of “flu”; and a colony of Polish miners’ families from the vicinity of Bay City, migrated because there had been a strike for two months in the mines which had not yet been settled.

LIVING CONDITIONS

These are very bad. The average farmer looks upon his help with contempt probably because they are foreigners, but partly because of the work they do. “Anything is good enough for the Hunkie,” and consequently, living quarters, the only thing the farmers supplies, are for the most part unspeakably wretched. An old woodshed, a long-abandoned barn, a cleaned-out chicken-house, and occasionally a tottering ramshackle farmer’s house are

the common types. Fourteen families of four and five persons, and four families with from six to nine persons were found living in one-room shanties. One family of 11, the youngest child 2 years, the oldest 16 years, lived in an old country store which had but one window; the wind and rain came through the holes in the walls, the ceiling was very low and the smoke from the store filled the room. Here the family ate, slept, cooked and washed.

In Tuscola county a family of six was found living in a one-room shack with no windows. Light and ventilation were secured through the open door. Little Charles, 8 years of age, was left at



A "HUNKIE'S" HOME IN THE BEETS.

home to take care of Dan, Annie and Pete, whose ages were 5 years, 4 years, and 3 months respectively. In addition he cooked the noon-day meal and brought it to his parents in the field. The filth and choking odors of the shack made it almost unbearable, yet the baby was sleeping on a heap of rags piled up in a corner.

A Polish woman who had been brought from Buffalo, was housed in a barn partitioned in such manner that the live stock was kept on one side of the stall and the family on the other. She had two little children and a sick husband. Because of the conditions in which she was compelled to live she threatened to go to court claiming that she had been tricked. Whereupon the farmer

terrorized her and declared he'd send her to jail because she refused to work. Two weeks later the field boss of the section moved the family to a more human habitation.

The accumulation of filth, the stench, and the lack of room has made the "Hunkie's" house in the country an eyesore. There are usually no provisions for sanitation. Toilets were found built directly against the sides of the house; doors were unhinged and more frequently there were no doors at all. Two shacks had no toilets—they used "the woods." The open privy was common; there were a great number of open wells and in several instances the water of these wells had become so polluted that it could not be used. Most of the shacks had water pumps in the yards, but of the 133 families interviewed, 28 had no water supply on the premises and were compelled to carry water for distances varying from "just across the road" to a half mile. In several instances water from a nearby creek was used for washing purposes and drinking water was carried from a neighbor's pump.

Because the beet-weeder's family starts for the field at day-break and does not come back until sundown, when it is too dark to work, there is little cooking done. The writer was often invited to share a noon-day lunch consisting of a loaf of bread, sausage, chunks of which are broken off for the children, and a large can of black coffee. The food is bought at the country store on "tick," as they say. The amount which they owe is deducted from the final income by the field boss. There is considerable complaint about over-charging by country-store keepers. In several instances, inquiries indicated that the beet-workers were being "fleeced."

A notable exception to these conditions was found in the Owosso Prairie Farm. The Owosso Sugar Company owns a farm of 980 acres where it carries on experimental work in sugar beets in addition to raising a large acreage of beets. It has built a number of uniform four-room cottages and some double cottages for the beet families, who number between 70 and 100 a season. The cottages have running water in the kitchen, and electric light connections for the use of which the laborer pays 20 cents a bulb a month. In addition each family is entitled to a garden. The toilets are built quite a distance from the houses and are kept in good condition. The Farm runs a two-room school, paying the salaries of the teachers who are under the supervision of the county superintendent

of education. Families coming out early in April are expected to send their children to the farm school. There is also a club house where moving pictures are shown at a nominal charge. The farm is really a village in itself.

WORKING CONDITIONS

The contract of employment promises house, water and fuel—and these promises are much embellished by the descriptions of the labor agent. In return the family is given a certain beet acreage



TYPICAL BEET-WORKERS "MANSION."

to work. Usually there is a long period of idleness before the actual work begins. A family of five in which the children are of working age, usually over seven, can work about twenty-five acres a season. The more children in the family the larger the acreage given; a family of nine or ten for example, can cover from fifty to sixty acres. In some sections of Huron and Tuscola counties, principally around Caro and Sebawing, the beet territory is fairly compact and smaller families are used.

Where the territory is compact the problem of getting to the outfields is not important. Though transportation to the fields is promised if the distance be great, few cases were found in which

this promise was being fulfilled. Father, mother and children are frequently compelled to trudge several miles in order to get to their place of work. If their own field of beets is not ready for thinning, the field boss sends them to help out beet-workers on other farms.

Working beets in the intense noon heat is unbearable, even for "Hunkies," and it is no uncommon thing to see the family resting underneath an old tent. An eight-weeks old baby was found sleeping in an improvised hammock in the fields. The hot sun baked the ground and the child's face was blistered by the heat. What to do with the babies is indeed a problem to the beeter's family—all too frequently they are left to themselves in a corner of the fields for hours at a time.

INDUSTRIAL UNREST

The feeling of unrest passing over the entire industrial world is evident in the beet industry. Field bosses in talking of the situation say "The Germans, the Hungarians and Slavs know how to work beets from the old country—we can't teach them anything—but they are always wanting more money. The Mexicans are not so fresh but they don't know beets as well."

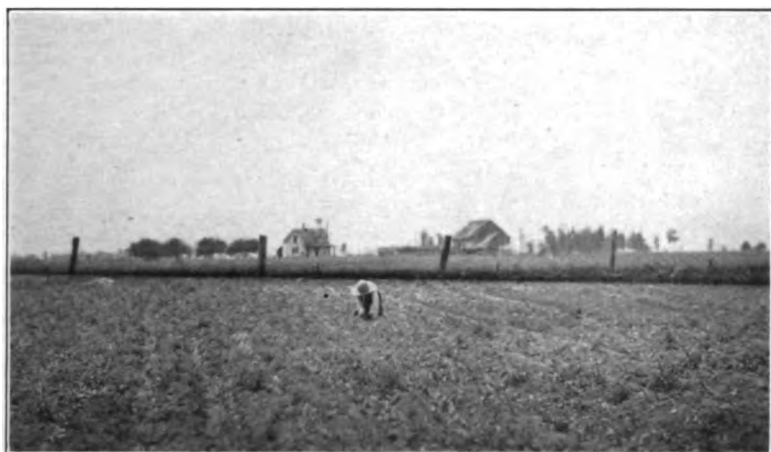
On the Doyle Farm, a large experimental station owned by one of the sugar companies, beet help were given day work on the farm until the time for thinning beets should arrive. They originally received 35 cents an hour but wages were later reduced to 30 cents. The workers, led by a young Slovak, went on strike. They were not successful, several men were discharged, and five of a group of nineteen men who had been brought from Milwaukee, ran away.

A similar occurrence took place on the Owosso Prairie Farm. Last year the company paid 30 cents an hour to beet-workers doing farm labor before the beet season. This year, in order to keep the labor until the end of the season, it pays 25 cents an hour and promises the remaining 5 cents an hour as a bonus at the end of the beet season. This action caused much discontent and rumors of a strike in the midst of the beet season were frequently heard.

Discontent with the conditions in which the beet-workers are compelled to live—the constant complaints with regard to housing, overcharges for food at country stores, and unfulfilled promises, produce a fertile field for agitation. Agitators have been trying to organize the beet-workers to strike for higher pay. In several com-

munities strikes were successful because called at a time when the beets had to be taken care of. An increase of four dollars per acre was secured in these cases.

In many instances, especially where Mexicans are employed, the land is so rocky that in addition to beet-weeding the laborers have to clear the fields. This serves as no mean cause for increased discontent. Single workers known as "stag-labor" are constantly running away to nearby towns to get easier work. On several occasions the writer saw Mexican families camping in railroad stations, waiting for trains to take them to some larger town. The number



6 YEARS OLD.

of families breaking their contracts, and leaving the country either to return to the city or to seek work in some other community, is large.

In 1918, two hundred Mexicans were imported for beet work. The season was poor and in the fall they migrated to Saginaw in search of work. A strike was taking place in one of the construction companies and these men were hired as strike-breakers. Trouble ensued—parades and meetings of protest were held. The company was compelled to discharge the Mexicans, the unions would not receive them into their organization, and they were finally compelled to leave the city. Another interesting industrial situation was

caused by the employment of striking coal miners in the beet fields. These men were enabled to hold out on the strike by working with their families in "beets."

CHILD LABOR AND EDUCATION

To promote the physical and mental development of the child, we forbid his employment in factories, shops and stores. On the other hand, we are prone to believe that the right kind of farm work is healthful and the best thing for children. But for a child to crawl along the ground, weeding beets in the hot sun for 14 hours a day—the average work-day—is far from being the best thing. The law of compensation is bound to work in some way and the immediate result of this agricultural work is interference with school attendance.

In the 133 families visited there were about 600 children. A conversation held with a "Rooshian-German" woman is indicative of the size of most of the families:

"How many children have you?" inquired the investigator.

"Eight—Julius, und Rose, und Martha, dey is mine; Gottlieb und Philip, und Frieda, dey is my husband's—und Otto und Charlie, dey are ours."

Families with ten and twelve children are frequently found while those with six and eight children are the general rule. Of course, it's the large beet family that does the most work.

It has been stated that illiteracy in the country is nearly twice as extensive as in the cities, and that the great areas of adult illiteracy are incidentally the great areas of rural child labor. The sugar-beet industry requires labor for but five or six months in the year; families therefore, begin moving from the city in April, and stay in the country until after the harvest in October or November. The children lose approximately four months of schooling. As one weeder put it: "Poor man no make money, make plenty chlidren—plenty children good for sugar-beet business."

In the 133 families interviewed there were 186 children under 6 years of age, their ages ranging from eight weeks up; 36 children from 6 to 8 years old, of whom approximately two-thirds had never attended school; and eleven over 16 years of age who had never been to school in America. These beet children belong almost

entirely to foreign families who came to America to earn money. There is no way of proving their age other than the statement of the parents, and consequently they have been able to elude the compulsory education laws of the states in which they live. Altogether about 15 per cent of the children of the "beet families" interviewed, had never attended school. Many of the children of the 6 to 8-year group did not attend school because they had to take care of their younger brothers and sisters. One 10-year-old lad had never attended school because he was a mental defective, and a Mexican child of 9 was practically blinded by cataracts; this youngster was



9 AND 11 YEARS OLD. THINNING BEETS.

found groping his way down the beet-rows, pulling out weeds and feeling for the beet plants—the glare of the sun made him lose all sense of light and dark.

RETARDATION

Of the 340 children who were attending or had attended school, only four were graduates; just one had gone on to high school, and less than one per cent had reached the 8th grade. Their failure to graduate was a direct result of the migration of the family to the beet-fields in the early spring; naturally when they return to the

city in the fall, the child knowing that he will be "put back," refuses to return to school.

The school authorities fail to "pick up" the returning beet-workers because, as one truancy officer said, "Now you see 'em and now you don't." Even when the children do return to school on the completion of the beet work they are behind in their classes. On the two-years graduation basis, *i.e.*, taking the first grade as normal for a child of 7 to 8 years, the second for a child 8 or 9, etc.—only 28 per cent of the beet children of compulsory school age attending school are in their normal grades; the remaining 72 per cent are retarded.

The school superintendent of Saginaw, a city serving as the winter home for many beet-weeders' families, said: "Saginaw is affected by the late entrance in the fall of a certain number of families who spend the season out in the beet fields. These families leave the city as early in the spring as the work calls them, usually the last of April or early May, depending upon the season. Two schools are affected by the attendance of the children of these migratory families. The territory adjoining these schools is alike in this respect—many small cheap dwellings are found therein. The number of children we have to provide for at the Potter School amounts to one roomfull—varying in different years from 28 to 42 pupils. We find the best way to care for them is to put them in an ungraded room; they rarely fit well into regular grades as they do not enter until late in October or early November, and their parents flit away with them in April or May."

SHORTENING THE SCHOOL TERM

Only 56 children left school less than a month from the time the investigation was made in the month of June, and of this number but 17 had actually completed the school term in the rural schools. Seventy-two children left school one month previous to the investigation and 21 left school two months before. Eighty-seven children left school three months before—in other words practically *one-third* of the children of beet-weeders lost three whole months of school in the spring term alone! Seventeen children, all under 14 years of age, had left school during the year, but more than three months before the investigation was begun.

By multiplying these attendance figures by the number of seasons the families have gone to "beets" we get a long-distance view of what we may expect from these children as future American citizens. For 62 families, this season marks their entrance to the beet industry. Thirty-seven families are working beets for the second season, eight families have worked for three seasons, six for four seasons, and four have worked for five seasons. Fifteen families have worked in beets for more than five years and one, after 17 years of work, has finally been able to buy its own farm in addition to owning a home in Bay City.

In sugar-factory towns, where many of the beet-workers seek factory employment after the beet season, the educational authorities have started "beeters' classes"—ungraded classes giving special instruction. In parts of Tuscola county a two-week's "beet vacation" is granted the children in late October, in order that they may help the farmers harvest the beets, but this regulation really applies only to children of resident families since those of the migrant families rarely attend school at all in the fall. An interesting experiment has just been announced as a remedy for the attendance situation in the Colorado beet fields. Special summer schools are to be opened in July and August for children employed in the sugar-beet fields during the harvest months of September and October. Children will thus make up for the two months which they would otherwise lose. With the exception of these few experiments no practical steps have been taken to meet the educational problem of the beet-workers' children.



THEY ARE ALL IN THE BEETS.

AMERICANIZATION

The clannishness of these foreign families tends to thwart any attempt at Americanization. The children of Hungarian, Polish

and German parents are sent to parochial schools where their native tongues are taught. For the most part the writer had to carry on conversation with the parents with the aid of an interpreter, usually a child, or a neighbor farm hand. It was curious to note how many families were anxious to save up enough money to take their children back to the old country. By dint of hard work and great thrift many families have been able to save. A Czecho-Slovak family working beets for eight years hopes to rent its own farm next year. Of the three children, Steve, 18 years, Mike, 16 years, and Anna, 15 years, none has gone above the second grade in school and all speak broken English.

A Russo-German family, claiming to have owned a 320-acre farm in North Dakota which they sold for \$15,000, came to Saginaw and invested the money in business. Part of their investment turned out badly and they were compelled to work in beets. Ten-year-old John acted as interpreter, for neither the father nor the mother could speak English.

In the frequent quarrels between beet help and farmers, much of the trouble is due to the laborer's inability to understand the language. The Industrial Workers of the World have entered this disintegrated group, and have used foreign-language-speaking agitators in all of their strike organization work.

THE HARVEST SEASON

The first part of this report was based upon facts gathered in the spring. In order to have a complete study of the sugar-beet industry, it was necessary to revisit the families in the harvest season. At this time special attention was paid to the school situation, although the questions of migration, housing and working conditions were considered.

The harvesting of beets is probably more difficult work than thinning and weeding, for the beets must be pulled, topped, and piled ready to be sent to the beet station. The late autumn days are cold, heavy rains cause the ground to become mucky, and the shacks thrown up for summer use afford little protection against the autumn chill.

MIGRATION

In going over the territory visited earlier in the spring, the investigator was informed time and time again of the "moving on" of the beet families before their contract was fulfilled. Seventy-six families were visited; of this number only six were new cases; twenty, or more than one-fourth, had moved away; a few were transferred by the beet boss to some other farm; six had left their farms as early as June, eleven left in August, and three in September. In almost every instance where the family left the beet field they returned to the city from which they came. The usual reasons



HERE'S TOPPING 'EM.

given for leaving were inability to get on with the farmer, dissatisfaction with work, with living conditions, or with pay.

A family of five disappeared from the farm upon which they were living and were gone a week before the farmer became aware of their absence. A passing meat truck had picked up this family of beet-workers as they were trudging down the road, all their possessions on their backs, bound for the city. Another family, who were on bad terms with their farmer, left him in the lurch just when his beets were ready to be topped, and moved to a neighboring village. The music teacher referred to above left for Chicago in the early part of July. Beet-work was too hard!

The attempt to learn where the beet families expected to migrate when the harvest season came to an end brought to light the fact that while some had no plans, whatever, and many were uncertain, more than one-half expected to return to the cities from which they had come, and a fourth expected to move to some nearby city. This group included many of the families coming from the eastern cities: New York, Buffalo, and Passaic. Eleven families, or less than one-sixth of the total number visited, planned to remain in the country, having either rented a farm, or secured work for the winter.

WORKING CONDITIONS

Although the work becomes increasingly more difficult during the fall, the beet-help work under the same conditions during the harvest that prevail in the spring. In the spring the beet-worker is busy with the planting, weeding and thinning; during the month of August, however, there is relatively little to be done and it is at this time that the help becomes restless and eager to move on. The field boss, however, must retain them for the harvest season, and this is indeed no easy task. An American family, considered a prize by the agent because of the fact that there were nine children, turned out to be a "flunk." They could not work in the beet fields, they ran up a bill at the country store, and one day the father and eldest son, a boy of 19, were seen running through the railroad station to catch an outgoing train. The grocer thought they were "jumping" their bill. He telephoned ahead to the sheriff of the next town. They were taken off the train by the sheriff and given the option of going back to the farm or staying in jail. They preferred to stay in jail and remained there for two weeks. Meanwhile the mother and her eight children, ranging in age from 17 years to 9 months, had to manage the best way they could. At the end of the two weeks father and son were set free. They went to Chicago and secured jobs in the furnace room of some building. During all of this period the farmers of the community sent in provisions to keep the wife and children from starving.

In another family with six children a boy of 16 left the beet fields and went to Cleveland, because, as he said, "Beet work is a scab job. You work 16 hours a day and you get no extra money and no time for yourself!"

In the vicinity of Munger, Bay County, chicory is raised extensively and under the same conditions as beets. Workers complained that farmers did not cultivate the land properly and thus the pulling of chicory was made more difficult. It was necessary to import several Mexican families to harvest the crop because so many of the old help left suddenly in the fall.

Often the farmers require extra services of their beet help which they are loath to perform because there is no extra money given. However, in many instances, the relations between farmer and help were most friendly and there was no bickering over the amount of



THE WHOLE FAMILY WORKS.

work to be done. This, of course, depended upon the personal factors involved.

SCHOOL SITUATION

The directions given by the department of public instruction for taking the school census (School Laws, 1917) include the following statement:

"Children of temporary residence are not to be taken on the census list unless the parents or guardian declare they are residents of that district. This applies to children of summer resorters, *beet-weeders*, and other temporary residents."

This clause is interpreted by most attendance officers to mean that their jurisdiction does not extend to the children of migrant families. Inasmuch as their names are not on the census, and no primary money is collected for them, these children apparently do not belong to the school community. In Saginaw county the officer declared he did the best he could, but that since the rural districts never sent in a list of the children of beet families, it was difficult for him to round them up.

With one exception none of the children of the families visited were attending school during the harvest season, and only 20 sent their children to school at all during the fall months; these had attended previous to the harvesting, for terms varying from several days to a month. The one mother who had continued to send her children to school during the harvest season, a Polish woman, declared proudly that she would work but her little ones must have an education. The two little girls did help in the fields when they came home from school.

The Michigan Sugar Company loaned to the Père Marquette Railroad a train-load of Mexican families sometime in the end of August. These families had worked at beets during the entire spring season, and were now living in box cars on a side track in the city of Saginaw, the women keeping house while the men worked for the railroad. The city school authorities found fifteen children of school age in these cars and decided to form a special class at a nearby school. For three weeks these Mexican children attended. One morning in October, when the harvest season was at its height, the teacher telephoned the superintendent of schools that none of the Mexicans had appeared. An investigation was made and it was learned that early that morning a locomotive had been attached to the box cars and the families carried off to the beet fields.

Nine schools were visited in Saginaw County to determine to what extent children of beet-weeders' families were in attendance or had been, previous to the harvest season. The Owosso Prairie Farm School, described earlier in this report, had an enrollment in September of 67 children. On the day of the investigator's visit, there were but 16 present and the majority of these were too young to work. In Bay County, which has 70 rural schools, there were but 12 in session in the early part of October. Beet vacations, ranging from two weeks, to one month, had been declared by the

school boards. In one school district it was extended to nine weeks in order that beans might be harvested as well as beets. Comparatively few of these schools open in August to make up time lost during beet vacations. In Bay City, the superintendent of schools, felt that the problem of the beet children was comparatively small. No undue amount of attention was paid to it because the children "dribbled" in during the months of October and November, causing no appreciable increase in school attendance.

In Tuscola County there were no beet vacations declared in the schools this fall, although many children of residents' families



MOTHER AND DAUGHTER IN BEETS.

were absent for several weeks in order to help in the fields. The truant officer of this county also asserted that he had no jurisdiction over the children of migrant foreign families. The school boards of the rural districts never report these families to the truant officer and "he can't be scouring the country for them."

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

The problem of attendance is complicated by the fact that the majority of resident foreign families send their children to parochial schools. There is little co-operation, on the whole, between public

and parochial schools. In a small village in Saginaw County the public school had an enrollment of 80 children and none were staying out to help in beets. The parochial school in that village had an enrollment of 200 children with 16 children staying out and more planning to leave the following week. The Sister in charge stated that she never reported absences to truant officers because the children came back anyway if they lived in the section and if they moved, they were out of her care. In Saginaw, the school authorities claimed that there was an attempt to check up truancy in parochial schools but that it was hard for one officer to follow up both public and parochial schools. In Bay City the truant officer stated that the parochial school had an enrollment of over 2,800 children, many of whom came from the outskirts of the city and even from the rural districts of the county, and that it would be impossible for him to take care of their attendance problem even if all absences were reported.

Since there is so little attention paid to the enforcement of the attendance law in parochial schools as far as resident children are concerned, how much less is the consideration paid to the child of migrant workers? The educational problem of the child beet-worker is indeed a problem!

SUMMARY

The problems affecting the migratory family in the industrial field cannot be easily solved. As long as there is exploitation of the ignorant foreign laborer and as long as he is unable to fight the chicanery of men accustomed to the "game," so long will these problems exist. They are the products of the present social and economic system. Some recommendations of a palliative nature may be made, however, which would vastly improve their present condition.

1. The sugar company should assume responsibility for the promises of the labor agent or curb his activities. Few people call a "spade a spade" but it is certainly unnecessary for the agent to call a "hog-house" a "mansion."
2. The vile housing accommodations which now exist should be abolished. If one sugar company has found that it

pays to build decent living quarters for its help, it would seem that the scheme might be carried further; certainly it would be cheaper for the company to erect suitable dwelling places than to depend upon the shacks given by the farmers. It would be a large factor in reducing the labor turnover.

3. The compulsory education law must be enforced and educational facilities provided. Schooling for the child in agriculture has always been a difficult problem. Everywhere rural education falls behind urban and the child loses out—the school term is shorter, the compulsory attendance law is less stringently enforced—and in general, less time, thought and money is given to the rural school. But the child beet-worker is even more handicapped than the farmer's child, for he migrates to the fields in April, does not return home until November, and loses practically half the school term. What may we expect of children raised in such environments as have been depicted—children of migratory foreign laborers, bound to be shut off from all educational opportunities under the existing conditions? It would seem that they will become powerful factors in future industrial upheavals and that we, as a nation, are responsible for their education.

Whether it is the problem of the state or of the local community in which the beet-workers live, to take charge of the education of child beet-workers, is an open question. Certainly it would seem that the law of the state compelling attendance at school should apply to every child without discrimination.

The instincts and forces which impel families to migrate can not be curbed, for they are rooted in the principle of self-preservation. It is natural for people to want "to do better," and to move about when an opportunity arises. This may be done, even though it sacrifices their children. It is the duty of the state, therefore, to protect them, and to provide educational facilities and opportunities for the full development of the children of migrant laborers.

LATIN-AMERICA'S SOCIAL VIEWS

EDWARD N. CLOPPER, PH.D.

The Second Pan-American Child Welfare Congress, held recently in Montevideo, took up an advanced position on matters in its field. Under the Presidency of Dr. Luis Morquio, a leading physician of Montevideo, a comprehensive program was carried out and the views of the delegates set forth in the form of resolutions, printed copies of which have just been received here. Unlike our National Conference on Social Work, which does not take a stand on controversial matters, nor as a rule on any question, this international American Congress is conducted largely for the purpose of arriving at conclusions after full discussion of each subject presented. It follows European procedure and requires the submission in advance, not only of papers, but of summaries of the authors' conclusions, and the latter are immediately printed and distributed among members prior to the meetings, so that they may be pondered and the discussions thus made more intelligent and to the point. In section meetings the full papers are not read, as a rule, but may be consulted by any delegate; instead, the authors' conclusions are announced, discussed and adopted, amended or rejected by vote of those attending. Such action of the section meetings must be approved at a general session before it can represent the position of the Congress. Of necessity, this procedure provokes lively discussion and a "deadly" meeting is a rarity. At Montevideo, physicians, lawyers, educators, clergymen and social workers from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and other Latin-American countries came together, a few North Americans being present, and the community of interest in the field of social welfare among all these nations was strikingly illustrated by the similarity of their conditions affecting children as described by their several representatives. It was fitting that the Congress should have been held in this beautiful capital of Uruguay and a progressive platform adopted. For Uruguay, in spite of her diminutive size, is a leader in South American thought, and judged

by the standard of her laws and institutions, is one of the most progressive countries in the world.

The Congress was divided into four sections—medicine, hygiene, education, and sociology—and their resolutions or declarations, as approved at a general session, or, as they are known in Spanish, “sanctioned conclusions,” cover a wide area. Infant mortality, vital statistics, diseases of childhood, health, education, eugenics, sex education, treatment of the crippled, dental work, prevention of blindness, feeding and care of babies, housing, poor relief, abandoned children, juvenile courts, institutions, employment of women and children, compulsory school attendance, industrial education, minimum wage, movie censorship, means of propaganda, methods of administration, international co-operation and the prevailing social system were all passed upon in one way or another. They ring familiarly in our own ears, although “international co-operation” has a strange sound, for so far as social welfare is concerned, we have neglected this matter and kept aloof from our neighbors. But the Latin-Americans are showing us the way into this new field, and indeed, their chief aim in establishing the Congress was to make it serve as the common ground on which the social workers of North, Central, and South America might meet and make known to one another their problems, their solutions and their ideals.

It is a sign of the times that the social thinking of Latin-America as reflected in the conclusions of this Congress, is shot through and through with protests against poverty as the root of many ills, coupled with demands for its cure through economic reforms. These are clearly expressed in resolutions on subjects differing widely one from another, and indicate a consensus of opinion as to one of the many causes of social distress. Among the conclusions with regard to infant mortality, adopted by the section on hygiene, and approved by the Congress, is one ascribing the high death rate largely to “economic and social inequality” and calling upon American governments to deal with fundamental questions in the life of the working classes, so that this cause may, so far as possible, be removed. Again, the section on sociology, after having set forth its position on juvenile delinquency and the employment of women and children, declared, with the endorsement of a general session, that “as poverty creates conditions inimical to the health and normal mental state of children, and as over-abundance may undermine

health and beget mental types undesirable in a well-organized society, the future welfare of the people requires the prevention of both poverty and over-abundance." Again, the Congress summed up the general attitude of its conclusions in this formal statement: "As all the conclusions relative to individual and social problems of childhood—to-wit, birth, death, crime, vagrancy, alcoholism, tuberculosis, degeneracy, education, treatment and hygiene—recognize the economic factor as a primary cause because it is present in all; and as dealing with the individual causes of these problems without attacking the one common to them all, is merely treating the symptoms and not the disease, all efforts for the welfare of children should, with due regard to the special solution that each problem may require, be directed towards modifying the bad economic organization of the present social system."

Another outstanding feature of the resolutions is the desire for intercourse among the nations of the Western Hemisphere to acquaint the peoples of the twenty-one American republics with American conditions and with American methods of dealing with them, and through this exchange of experience to foster the growth of friendliness and understanding in international affairs. The recommendations and appeals in all the resolutions are addressed to the American countries or the American governments, for the outlook of the Congress is broad and not limited to a few nations of South America, as many persons here are inclined to assume. For example, one of the conclusions approved by the section on sociology and endorsed by the Congress, is to the effect that "child protection and the principles underlying legislation on the subject should be a matter for international agreement by which these principles would be incorporated into a system of law everywhere, as it is now proposed to do with labor legislation in the Covenant of the League of Nations." Again, the section on education urges that "American governments aid in every possible way in promoting excursions within each country and from one country to another, for purposes of study, as arranged by scientific institutions, learned bodies and educational establishments." The same section in reference to education in art, recommends that "American artists, painters, musicians, poets, etc., produce essentially American works and arrange for their interchange among all American countries with a view to presenting pure American art to the schools

and thus furthering the great undertaking of Americanizing America."

Infant care in its various phases received a good deal of attention. To encourage breast-feeding, the section on hygiene recommended the awarding by child-caring agencies, of cash prizes or subsidies, urged the providing of mid-wives at public expense for service in rural districts, and suggested that pure milk stations have woman's milk in bottles available for distribution at retail among nursing babies in need of it. The section on medicine formulated a strong appeal in these words: "The Congress, recognizing the supreme importance of breast-feeding and believing that its wider and continued practice is the best and perhaps the only way to fight against infant morbidity and mortality, asks all physicians to give daily advice concerning it; asks pediatrics societies to carry on insistent propaganda in its behalf; asks public health authorities to write over the entrances to all places where children are cared for, that the child has a right to its mother's breast; asks governments to lend their moral support and material aid in this propaganda; and especially reminds the American woman of Pinard's saying that 'the breasts of a mother, like her heart, cannot be replaced.'"

With regard to infant mortality, the creation in every South American country of a public agency to centralize and direct the efforts to reduce it was advocated, the Congress holding, however, that the movement should not be confined to large centers of population, but that preventive measures should be extended to all places. As one means to reduction, it was declared that knowledge of child-caring methods should be imparted to children as well as to adults, and the practical instruction of girls in the upper grades in the common schools through the use of charts, readers, lectures, etc., was suggested to overcome the prevailing ignorance among the different social classes concerning the proper care of babies. The need of uniform statistical data on infant mortality was emphasized, as well as a demand for a special death certificate for deaths occurring in early childhood, showing legitimacy or illegitimacy and the kind of nourishment given according to the facts in each case, and the recommendation was made that vital statistics specify the mortality separately for each week of age in the first month; for each month in the first year; and afterwards for each year up to

three years of age. It was insisted that "protection of the child should begin before conception by means of all the legal, economic and moral measures designed to insure the fullness of woman's social contribution, and continue through adolescence so that manhood and womanhood may be entered into with psychophysical attributes fully developed as the only means of securing the improvement of the race."

Pre-natal prevention of purulent ophthalmia in newly born babies by special treatment of infectious genital lesions was urged and it was suggested that public health authorities include it among the contagious diseases which they require to be declared. Stronger measures for stamping out trachoma were advocated, among them the prohibiting of the entry of immigrants afflicted with the disease and the barring from the schools of all children suffering from it. Public and private agencies and particularly educational societies and institutions were asked to spread abroad medical prescriptions and advice concerning the prevention of blindness, and the state was called upon to provide for the education and welfare of the blind by establishing special institutions for their training and care.

Some of these recommendations may seem elementary to us and imply arrested development in Latin-American social service, but it must be remembered that they are intended to point the way and stimulate backward countries, and that the leading South American nations are fully awake to the menace of conditions and offer these suggestions to their neighbors in the light of the experience they have long since gained themselves in seeking remedies for their own ills. For that matter, who is so bold as to deny that these recommendations could be adopted to advantage by many of the states of our Union?

Chile was congratulated on the interest which its government has taken in the improvement of housing conditions for working people, an important factor in social hygiene, and the section on medicine, viewing with alarm the frequency of latent tuberculosis in late childhood and convinced that its chief cause lies in the unhealthy dwellings of the poor, asks public authorities to see that working people are given the hygienic housing to which they are entitled.

The economic factor came to the fore again in a resolution adopted by the section on sociology with regard to the general sub-

ject of the employment of mothers, as follows: "As living conditions are determined by income, efforts should be directed primarily toward the fixing of minimum wages for workers so that their earnings may not be merely crumbs tossed to beggars to keep them from starving, but sufficient to enable them to attend properly to their physical, intellectual and moral needs, as they have the right to do by virtue of being human."

It was declared that the employment of pregnant women should be restricted, even in the early period of pregnancy, and that as rest, both before and after confinement, is considered to be hygienically necessary, laws should be passed making such rest obligatory during the period when science considers it indispensable for safeguarding the health of mother and child, and with such arrangement for continuance of income as each country may see fit to make in order to insure the mother's enjoyment of this rest without suffering from poverty. As the steps to be taken in this matter by each country must of necessity be determined by the conditions peculiar to it, "it will have to be studied from the national viewpoint and as the goal is the development of the future American race, capable of dealing with the problems that are to come, it would be wise to establish relations among American countries and learn what has already been done."

The section on sociology recommended that the gainful employment of children under 15 years of age be generally prohibited and that they be barred from industry until 16 years old; that street trading by minors or by boys who have not reached at least the age of 18 years should be prohibited; that work injurious to health or morals should be forbidden to minors; that a physician's certificate of physical fitness for the work he intends to do should be required of every minor; that the work-day of minors under 19 years should be limited to six hours; that night work by minors should be prohibited; and that places where minors are employed should be subject to strict regulation to insure proper conditions as to safety, morals and hygiene. In connection with the foregoing it was recommended that compulsory school attendance with complete practical instruction, be extended to the age of 15 years and that the employment of children be forbidden unless they prove that they have reached this age.

In respect of compulsory school attendance the section on

education held that all American countries, inspired by that concept of well-rounded education which characterizes the new development in elementary schooling, should take steps to make such schooling strictly compulsory for children and youths until they have completed the so-called elementary course, and that teachers and measures should be chosen because of their adaptation to the work whose fundamental object is preparing men and women for the struggle of life. The principle of national aid to states or provinces unable to make full provision for such education themselves was set forth and endorsed. In order that compulsory attendance be productive of good results, and recognizing that it applies to all aspects of the school problem, it was asserted that elementary education should embrace (1) the pre-school period; (2) the period of compulsory common schooling from eight to twelve years of age, and specialized or vocational from twelve to fifteen years of age; (3) subsequent education; (4) programme, teachers, buildings, equipment, etc.; (5) grading of children according to their psychophysical condition. This grouping is interesting as compared with our own ideas on the subject. It was declared also that school laws should not rely entirely upon compulsion to accomplish their purpose, but should take into consideration the two important factors of educational propaganda and the work of school welfare agencies.

If the view of the Congress on industrial education should prevail, the common school curriculum would be industrialized with a vengeance, for it would make elementary education so practical and so adapted to the fundamental requirements of industry, that children would be prepared to take their place in the world, and for this purpose it would have a competent personnel, trained to give instruction in the elements of industry to the pupils of the common schools. It urges that efforts be put forth to develop an independent productive conscience and that common school teachers equip themselves to achieve this end gradually and in a practical way.

An abandoned child was defined and grounds for the withdrawal of parental authority specified, the principle of the guardianship of the state was set forth and the power to delegate the duties entailed to suitable persons or agencies. One of the resolutions on this subject is quoted: "The abandoned child has a right

to protection by society as represented by the state, and in its turn the state is under obligation to shelter and educate him. Such protection is not charity, but an essential part of social policy, and should be so treated in the law. This right of the abandoned child cannot be denied or abridged by reason of nationality, race, international agreements or other similar reasons; it must be considered as inherent in his character as a person."

Juvenile courts or guardians of childhood, as the Spanish term could be more literally translated, and a revision of the law in principle and form as it affects delinquent minors, were demanded. The special provisions cited included the specializing of the court to the highest degree, the requirement that the judge be a specialist in children's cases, the holding of trial in chambers, authority for special procedure and for the replacing of formal judgments with decisions determined by the educational and constructive ends to be served, empowering the judge to adopt such measures according to the needs of each case as he might deem best suited to the child's interests. "Minors in detention, whether delinquent or awaiting trial, should never be held in the common quarters of a police station, and those found delinquent should never be put into a prison." Recommendations were also made for the erection of necessary reformatory schools and for the encouragement of juvenile protective associations.

Motion-picture censorship was advocated by the sections on hygiene and education, as well as the passage of laws regulating the attendance of children at shows. The educational and cultural value of the movies was acknowledged and it was suggested that films of this character be exchanged by American countries as a means of broadening children's knowledge and strengthening further the bonds of American solidarity. The disturbing elements which now figure so largely in the majority of commercial films were denounced, as was also the so-called "Red Chronicle" of crime and suicide in the newspapers which "tends to distort a true conception of life in the minds of both children and youths."

A demand for centralization of activities and public control in administration, was voiced in several of the conclusions endorsed. One urged that all public and private efforts for preserving health in early childhood should be united in one independent agency with a single directing body under the control of the state. Another, that

American countries in which child-care was not already officially organized, should create a general superintendency charged with the oversight and inspection of all public institutions and private agencies caring for children, for the purpose of co-ordinating efforts, setting up uniform standards of procedure, avoiding errors and waste of energy, and obtaining the most effective results. Technical ability as revealed by their experience, special training or competitive examination would be required of applicants for all public offices concerned with the protection, care, treatment and relief of children, if another of the plans were carried out, and according to a further pronouncement, government officials in charge of elementary education in American countries could be chosen only by their respective bodies of teachers.

The sentiment for closer contact among American peoples in the task of raising child life to a higher plane was crystallized in a significant statement formulated and issued by the Congress at the last general session. Its vision of unity and spirit of co-operation speak for themselves: "The Congress accepts the suggestion of President Luis Morquio, that an International American Bureau of Child Protection be formed to serve as the center in America for study, effort and propaganda in all matters pertaining to the welfare of children. This Bureau will be an official agent of all member countries and will have its seat in the city of Montevideo. The government of Uruguay will ask the legislature to enact a measure creating this Bureau and will draw up rules and regulations for its management by agreement with the other American governments."

Verily the voice of the child is heard in the land.

THE RED CROSS AND AMERICAN CHILDREN

A. K. MARSHALL

The Red Cross in the days before the war was a latent agency which sprang into action at the alarm of some great disaster or epidemic, only to fall back again into its hibernating attitude as soon as its services of relief were finished. The war, however, has been the cause of a world awakening to the necessity for constant vigilance against misery and disease which are the worst scourges because they are ever-present. It is perhaps not surprising that this "greatest mother" should turn her enthusiastic attentions toward her most appealing children, the youths of America. For their welfare and happiness she is eager to provide them with a start that will insure to the country citizens who are sound mentally, morally and physically.

In the country-wide campaign which has been in operation during the summer of 1919, twenty-five Red Cross nurses who had seen service overseas went the rounds of the Chautauquas lecturing on and demonstrating public health. They were forerunners of what the Red Cross hopes will be a permanent institution in every community—a public health nurse. In small communities, she will not only visit the homes and avert serious illness and epidemics even, but will also take the place of health centers which have been established in some cities. Whether the community nurse be a Red Cross nurse does not matter. It is to educate the people of the country to the needs of such a nurse that the Red Cross is working. She is the friend of the community but above all, she is the friend of the children.

Every school child will be given a physical examination, his deformities corrected, and a study made of the conditions in his home, to discover whether he is suffering from malnutrition or neglect.

Not only are their health needs to be looked after, but also their needs for play and service. In order that the younger organization, the Junior Red Cross, may serve in its capacity of "children

helping children" its two years of existence have taught it that every member can be of assistance in the great work of the Red Cross. Basing its peace-time program upon its war experience, the Junior Red Cross is now entering upon a career that promises a future of unusual proportions not only to those who serve, but to those for whom the services are rendered.

In every school throughout the United States, the children are asked to become members of this organization. There are already more than eleven million members, a veritable army, organized for humanity.

What can a body of children accomplish? By co-operating with the various branches of the senior organization, the Juniors are serving their fellows in a way that will fit them for the larger responsibilities of life which will confront them in the future, and will show them the way to a higher citizenship, which works not for gain, but for good.

The Junior Red Cross is planning to help the suffering children in our own country, in addition to those they are aiding in the war-swept countries of Europe, the responsibility of whose care they undertook during the war, and who still look to them for a friendly lift. Their program includes helping cripples to gain an education by supplying them with transportation to school, making crutches for them, and visiting the shut-ins, as well as providing teachers for these latter. For those children whose fathers were badly injured in the war, and who would otherwise be obliged to begin work at too early an age they are planning to provide scholarships to enable a longer period of school days. Open-air camps for tubercular children are being established.

To study those things which give a greater mental outlook can not be stressed too highly. Yet there is also a need for the practical courses in the curriculum of the schools, and it is to provide these that the Red Cross is outlining courses in home hygiene and care of the sick, first aid, and manual arts courses which will teach not just how to sew or do carpentry, but will bring also a motive for the doing. The inspiration and interest which this method evoked among the children during the war, has shown its value as a force not to be relegated to the past as a mere war-time idea. Then, the boys made articles for hospitals and for army officers, while the girls made refugee garments and soldiers comforts. Service with

a motive has made the Junior Red Cross what it is. Now the boys are making in their schools furniture for the refugees of France and Belgium, the girls are sewing for little American babies the same type of tiny garments which they made to keep refugee children warm. They know what will become of their output. There is not that old-time lagging due to mere sewing in order to learn how to sew. How painstakingly our grandmothers made samplers which still exist to prove the perfection of their needlework! How much more enthusiasm attaches to the work of the modern school girl who can make little clothes which she knows will be worn almost at once, and will not be in existence when her grandchildren look to her labors for inspiration—they must look to the spirit of the work and not at the material output.

There seems almost no end to the undertakings of the Juniors of the Red Cross. We hear of them making gardens, providing entertainments for the sick, entering into the community program of swat the fly or clean-up week with all the eagerness and will to accomplish results which their elders show. The Juniors of today are the Seniors of tomorrow. The future of the American Red Cross is safe in the hands of such as these!

URBAN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

JOHN COLLIER

Community organization in cities is proving to have two uses from the standpoint of child welfare.

First, it sets ten people to work on child welfare tasks, where one person worked before.

Second, it turns whole neighborhoods and whole cities into study groups on child welfare and forums on child welfare.

The results, from the standpoint of legislation, public appropriations for child welfare work, and an understanding of social questions in terms of the child, are of course, momentous.

It is perhaps more true to say that the results *will be* momentous as the years roll on, for a thorough-going community organization is scarcely more than three or four years old in America. Three outstanding pieces of community work will illustrate the use of community organization to child welfare. They are the Framingham Community Health Demonstration, the Cincinnati Social Unit Demonstration, and the Community Council organization of Greater New York.

The Framingham Demonstration centered first around tuberculosis, then around health, most broadly considered, and is now developing into a community organization for civic purposes generally. Because personal hygiene, prompt diagnosis, and early treatment are known factors of great importance in health, the Framingham Demonstration has proceeded to inform all the people in matters of personal hygiene, and to create a sentiment toward and a habit of periodical examination and early treatment. Neighborhood committees, reaching virtually all the citizens, have been important aids in the technical work of the demonstration. Readers of this article are advised to obtain the complete literature of the Framingham Demonstration—literature which is objective and reliable to a degree.

The Cincinnati Social Unit has achieved a two-fold organization, in which the social agencies, along with representatives of

vocations, have executed a systematic teamwork, while the people have been organized on a block basis, the blocks being united with each other through selected block workers, and this popular community organization being united with the technical organization in ways both formal and informal. The block worker in Cincinnati is, from our present standpoint, the keystone of the arch. She knows everybody, records the comings and goings of families, transmits to the central headquarters any requests for information or help or any complaint, and calls in for consultation or service any needed physician or social specialist. Necessarily, every phase of child welfare is thrust on the block worker's attention, and through her, is thrust on the attention of the neighborhood group. Furthermore, the neighborhood finds itself soliciting the advice and technical services of the specialist in every phase of child welfare. Cincinnati is thus perfecting a new device of social inter-action, which, if applied all over America, would create an educated and an habitually active public opinion on child welfare in a very short time.

Of special interest to readers of this article, because of the economic nature and ready duplication of the method, is the work of Community Councils in New York. It is worth while to describe the system of councils before giving illustrations from the field of child welfare.

Each Community Council draws its members from a geographical area, and each council aims to bring to every citizen in the area opportunity for public service and for social life. About eighty of these councils exist today, and the number to be organized in the near future is about four hundred and fifty in Greater New York.

The citizens of the district, who become enrolled members of the council, and who are organized under a constitution, have complete power over the work of their local council. Every council must be self-supporting, and controls the funds which it raises.

Alongside the popular organization of each council, stands the advisory committee. The advisory committee invites representation from every agency, public and private, from every group existing for public advantage, which has its headquarters in the neighborhood, or carries out work in the neighborhood. Such agencies are the various bureaus of the department of health, the

department of parks, the school organization, the charity organization society district committee, the local Red Cross chapter, the trade union with headquarters or members in the district.

Community Councils are not isolated groups, but are united through selected delegates in a city parliament of Community Councils, whose meetings are held monthly at City Hall.

The councils are promoted through an executive committee, which serves but in no way governs them. Any local council is free to accept or reject the services of this executive committee, and as the system of councils develops fully, the executive committee will surrender its various duties to the parliament of councils and to such executive bureaus as the parliament may create. The honest and absolute democracy of this plan has been so convincing to the local neighborhoods, that complete harmony prevails between the executive committee and the local councils, and between both and the city parliament of councils.

The executive committee works through field organizers and maintains a directory of resources and bureau of information on everything pertaining to human welfare. There are special committees with employed staffs on health, recreation, and industrial problems. But as above stated, every local council meets all its own costs; this rule, adhered to from the beginning of the movement in 1918, has proved to be not only a healthy rule from the moral point of view, but an expedient rule from the standpoint of quick results and sustained local activity.

Now what do these local community councils concern themselves with? They were started just before the signing of the armistice, but their growth post-dates the armistice although they continue as quasi official national agencies, united with the other community councils of America through the Council of National Defense at Washington.

It can be said that nearly every human concern that requires discussion, is being dealt with through one or more of the New York councils. Outstanding activities are the recreation work of the councils—neighborhood recreation service, the equipment and maintenance of back-yard and street playgrounds, street singing and forums and theatricals, the use of public buildings for recreation for people of all ages. The New York Community Councils have been requested by the department of parks to formulate for

it a comprehensive program of recreational development, and they work intimately and constantly with the department of education.

During the influenza epidemic, the Community Councils, acting for the department of health, created more than one hundred and twenty emergency headquarters for meeting all needs growing out of influenza. Such a service was made possible through the co-operation of all sorts of affiliated agencies—settlements, churches, and school community centers. But it is interesting to note that in the Bronx Borough, containing a million people, only one of the emergency headquarters could be located in the settlement, and in the Borough of Queens, with one-half a million people, there was not one settlement available. Community Councils reach out into the well-to-do population groups and areas of New York where the earlier established social service agencies have scarcely found their way at all.

The Community Councils made themselves responsible for canvassing all the small industries of a large part of New York to secure positions for soldiers and discharged war workers.

The distribution of army food supplies has been made possible through volunteer services of Community Councils' workers, and the councils are maintaining a fair price work in 103 city neighborhoods.

Among technical services, the councils disposed of more than seven thousand investigations for the War Risk Bureau, completing the task in two weeks' time without any strain on the energies of the councils.

These particular activities are not the heart and soul of the council. Fundamentally, the Community Council is a town meeting where all sorts and conditions of men learn to know each other and are brought into contact with civic needs, local and general. But if the Community Councils were *merely* a forum, its significance would be far less than is the actual condition. The Community Council is a *forum organized for action*, executing its missions through active committees of citizens, and utilizing in a systematic way all public departments, all institutional resources, and all powerful groups in the neighborhood and in the greater city. The quality of mass thinking and mass action is insured, through the fact that every council brings a monthly report of its activity and a statement of its problems to the parliament of councils, whose meetings

regularly last three or four hours, and which, in its turn, carries out special investigations and enterprises through special or standing committees.

The aim of Community Councils, which had the character of a dream twelve months ago, and which is now a practicable intention, undergoing swift realization, is to bring every citizen and every group into daily contact with the serious problems of the community. But the method is one which could almost be said to make citizenship into a form of play. Community Councils are not merely improvement societies, but are co-operative organizations for play and intellectual discourse, out of which comes a broadened human nature and an informed determination to get things done in the world. They aim to become America's counter-part of the co-operative movement of Europe, different from the European co-operative movement in that they are not institutions apart from the state but are agencies of the state, although self-supporting, voluntary, and self-governed agencies.

Three types of community endeavor have been mentioned. A fourth type should be added—the community center, which ideally is a union of the public school organization with the neighbors of the school. The community center tends to become a people's club, governing and supporting itself in small or large measure. Readers should obtain from the New York Board of Education its current report on community centers, and should know about Mrs. Harvey's community organization in Missouri, which is described in Miss Dewey's book "New Schools for Old." The Child Health Organization literature is also noteworthy from the community organization standpoint (Child Health Organization, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York). The community centers and Community Councils are intimately related in New York, as in many other places. Full literature on Community Councils can be had free of charge from Room 2205, Municipal Building, New York.

What has the specialized child welfare organization to do with community organization? The answer is found in the sustained effort by the Social Unit and Community Council organizations, to make of the child welfare agencies an integral part of these new groupings of democracy. Popular organization requires specific motives, concrete tasks to organize toward. Child welfare provides these tasks, these motives—without number or end, and they are

intimate human motives, tasks capable of being pushed to fulfilment. Malnutrition, vocational adjustment, delinquency, child play—these are touchstones of the human problem in city and country alike. Community organization has become a massive reality. It has power to contribute to the work of child welfare. It requires urgently the enthusiasm and technical leadership of the child welfare specialist.

PHYSICAL FITNESS, EVERY CHILD'S RIGHT

JESSIE PAYNE

The test of real civilization is the ability to feel for a large abstract condition which needs aid, the same concern felt for a definite concrete example. Scarcely a soul exists who could turn aside from a single child being wronged, yet it is far easier to discount the needs of a great number unseen.

However, with the war, came a renaissance of crusades and a general awakening to conditions which need righting. In the United States there was such concern over the number of rejects in the first draft (30% to 40%) that a great amount of consideration is being given in the search for adequate and immediate remedies.

Those figures argued that the physical education of the country was only from 60 per cent to 70 per cent efficient, while figures for young and old worked out by the Life Extension Institute showed that the physical education system has failed to produce a sound body in 50 per cent of the citizenry.

Clearly the starting point is with the children, and here too, the figures offered by medical inspectors, are most revealing. Seventy-five per cent of the school children of the country have physical defects which are potentially or actually detrimental to health. Most of these defects are pronounced by medical authorities to be remediable.

The most direct method of meeting the demand for a better health chance for the children and at the same time of raising the national physical standard is by compulsory physical education in the schools. In order to promote progressive state and federal legislation a National Physical Education Service has been established in charge of E. Dana Caulkins, Homer Building, 13th and F Streets, Washington, D. C. The Service represents more than thirty co-operating agencies, all interested in speeding the day when all school children will be provided with adequate physical education (which term includes physical training, and health and hygiene instruction).

Many of the men accepted in the first draft were lacking in the vigor and muscular power necessary for fighting men, but were made physically fit in the majority of cases by training. This fact furnishes an admirable illustration of the marvels that can be wrought even in one year by constructive exercise and recreation.

There are 25,000,000 children of school age in the United States today and these are the army which will carry on the progressive economic and spiritual movements given momentum by the war awakenings. Approximately 1,000,000 young men each year reach military age, and to these, too, we owe the best chance at health in order that they may get full returns from life in work and happiness.

Some of the most eminent leaders of the medical profession are connected with the National Service which is disseminating information on physical education needs and assisting in correct legislation. According to Dr. Eugene L. Fisk of the Life Extension Institute, 60 per cent of the poor condition of the young men of the country as revealed by the first draft was due to poor general physical condition remediable by proper nutrition, physical training and personal hygiene, to defective eyes and bad mouth conditions and to neglected surgery. Other authorities claim that, with systematic physical training for all children of school age, our next generation of leaders, workers and statesmen, would be of a markedly higher physical type. What a few months' supervised training did for our men in camps, a few years' training along with their mental work can do more thoroughly for our army of school children.

"If the proper course of physical training be put in operation throughout the United States," wrote Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, "in ten years the productiveness of the national industries will show a great increase and there will be a great decrease of stooping, stunted, slouching awkward people in the streets and factories such as are now seen."

Fifteen states have already passed laws providing for compulsory physical education in the schools and many states have the matter before their legislatures and will doubtless soon have the same provision. But even so, we are scarcely keeping pace with other countries in the movement for national physical fitness.

The Swiss Federal Council prescribes a program of physical training for every school in Switzerland. It appoints and pays national inspectors to see that this work is carried out.

In England there is already legislation providing for physical examination and treatment for all children of school age (6 to 13). Special provision is made also in the new law for physical training for mental and physical defectives and for children attending nursery schools. In fact, England has included in her plans for reorganization of her educational system extensive provision for compulsory physical education, whereas heretofore those least in need of the training were developed by sports, etc., and the least strong were passed by.

In France a National Committee under government direction has recently been appointed for the development of physical education. With the fire and quick responsiveness of their national character, the French people are meeting the need which to them, too, became suddenly apparent during the war.

The calls for aid from states all over the country to the National Physical Education Service show that there is in our own country a conviction that instituting physical training for all school children is a fundamental work which is far more important than many social, political and economic measures for which American citizens now cheerfully pay taxes.

In speaking of the character of legislation needed, Dr. Willard S. Small of the U. S. Bureau of Education said recently:

"It should interpret physical education in a broad and true way, as understood by the most competent experts in school administration and in physical education. It must assume physical activity as the basic thing, but conditioned upon and integrally related with wholesome physical environment, individual physical examination and record, medical supervision of schools and school children, development of health habits and instruction in health knowledge, hygienic school management and procedure, and co-operation with all agencies that make for physical upbuilding and the moral growth inevitably incident to sane, wholesome, active physical life.

"It must be provided for boys and girls alike. From the point of view of racial strength and integrity, the physical upbuilding of women is of equal importance with that of men, perhaps of greater importance.

"It should provide for all children and youth between 6 and 18 years of age inclusive. It should extend its benefits to youth

above the compulsory school age by recognition of agencies already organized for doing such work, in whole or in part; and by extension of the continuation school principle to include and secure a program of physical education for children in industry between 14 and 18 years of age."

It should further provide for federal aid to enable the states to erect and carry on thorough and effective systems of physical education. It should provide also for the co-operation of the Federal Public Health Service with the Federal Bureau of Education in the administration of those phases of the law in which the scientific aid of the Public Health Service are necessary.

So what are we going to do about it? Get back of the movement for national physical fitness and push? We must if we are thoughtful patriots and if we realize what it means in terms of the country's welfare for every American child to have a full chance at physical vigor.



"THE MUDDLE: OR, LOST AMIDST THE MAZES OF
THE LAW"

An Absurdity in Two Scenes

EDWARD N. CLOPPER

PLACE: Albany, New York.

TIME: October, 16, 1919.

OCCASION: Child Welfare Conference.

SCENE I—A street; a shoe-polishing establishment opening on sidewalk.
Curtain rises discovering a delegate to child welfare conference and a newgirl with her brother on the sidewalk, and a bootblack by his chair in the shoe-polishing establishment.

First Delegate (buying paper in hope that his name appears): How old are you, little girl?

Newsgirl: Sixteen—I have to be that old under the newsboy law.

First Delegate: And how old is this boy?

Newsgirl: He's just twelve—he has to be that old under the same law.

First Delegate: And what is that fastened to his coat?

Newsgirl: That's his badge—he got it from the school people.

First Delegate: Is he allowed to sell papers at any time?

Newsgirl: No, sir, not before six o'clock in the morning or after eight at night.

First Delegate: How about Sunday, Christmas and Rosh Hashonah?

Newsgirl: It's all the same.

First Delegate: Who watches him to see that he minds the law?

Newsgirl: The school attendance officers and the police.

(*Enter Second Delegate*)

Second Delegate (addressing *First Delegate*): Hello, Charlie; let's get a shine—here's a shoe-polishing establishment. (*Climbs into chair.*) Now, boy, shine 'em up; how old are you?

Bootblack: Fourteen—I have to be that old under the child labor law.

First Delegate: Not under the newsboy law?

Bootblack: Naw—under the child labor law.

Second Delegate: How many hours a day do they let you work?

Bootblack: Eight. I can't work before eight o'clock in the morning or after six in the evening.

First Delegate: Where's your badge?

Bootblack: I don't have to have no badge. I got a work permit from the Board of Health.

First Delegate: Not from the school people?

Bootblack: Naw—from the Board of Health.

Second Delegate: Who keeps after you to see that you obey the law?

Bootblack: The mercantile inspectors from the State Industrial Commission.

First Delegate: Not the school attendance officers?

Bootblack: Naw—the mercantile inspectors.

(Enter Third Delegate)

Third Delegate: Hello, fellows. Say, I just had my shoes shined by a boy who's got a chair on the sidewalk and he doesn't know whether the child labor law applies to him or not because he's not working in a shoe-polishing establishment.

(Enter Fourth Delegate)

Fourth Delegate: Hello, fellows. Say, I just had my shoes shined by a kid who wanders around with his own kit of tools and he says no law applies to his work and he doesn't have to bother about age limits or work hours or permits or labor inspectors.

(Enter boy peddling chewing gum)

First Delegate (to peddler—with bated breath): How old are you?

Peddler: Sixteen—I have to be that old under the Penal Code.

First Delegate: Not under the newsboy law?

Peddler: Naw—under the Penal Code.

Second Delegate (falteringly): Not under the child labor law?

Peddler: Naw—ain't I tellin' you? Under the Penal Code.

First Delegate: Where's your badge?

Peddler: Badge? I don't have to have no badge.

Second Delegate (bravely): Where's your work permit?

Peddler (scornfully): Permit? I don't have to have no permit. I got a license.

First Delegate: Where did you get it—from the school people or the Board of Health?

Peddler: Naw—from the Bureau of Licenses at the City Hall.

Second Delegate (desperately): Who sees that you mind the law—the attendance officers or the mercantile inspectors?

Peddler: Naw, none of them guys. The police watch me.

Third Delegate: Say, fellows, I want to buy a pair of shoe laces and I don't want to go to jail. How about it—does the vendor have to be male or female and if so, of what age, and at what hour of the day may I buy, and must he or she have a badge, a work permit or a license, and is he or she under the newsboy law, the child labor act or the Penal Code, and who enforces it—the school attendance officers, the mercantile inspectors or the police? In short, how old is Ann?

Chorus of Delegates: Aw, let's go to a show. (*Exeunt.*)

—Curtain—

SCENE II—Interior of a theater, showing stage with curtain lowered.

Delegates seated in front row, reading programme which announces a performance by the PRECOCIOUS INFANT MARVEL.

(*Enter Manager of Theater*)

First Delegate (to Manager): How old is this PRECOCIOUS INFANT MARVEL?

Manager: Six years old, sir.

First Delegate: Is a six-year-old child permitted to act on the stage?

Manager: Yes, indeed. You see, this child takes a speaking part—she doesn't dance or sing. The Penal Code won't allow a child under sixteen years to dance or sing on the stage but one can speak at any age if it has a permit.

Second Delegate (breathlessly): From the school people, the Board of Health or the Bureau of Licenses?

Manager: No—from the Mayor. He issues it after investigation by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. You see, the law thinks it's naughty for a child to dance or sing on the stage—it would be too childish, I suppose—but speaking is not considered dangerous.

First Delegate (weakly): That usher there (*pointing to a boy in the aisle*), has he been investigated too?

Manager: Oh, no. He's not under the Penal Code—he's under the child labor law.

(*Curtain rises. Enter Precocious Infant Marvel*)

Precocious Infant Marvel (*speaking—with apologies to Gilbert*):
 So please you, sirs, I much regret
 If I now fail in etiquette
 To-wards a law of rank so high—
 I shall know better bye-and-bye.
 But youth, you know, must have its fling,
 So pardon me, so pardon me,
 And don't, in childhood's happy Spring,
 Be hard on me, be hard on me,
 If I'm designed to dance and sing.
 Tra-la-la, tra-la-la, tra-la-la.

Chorus of Delegates:

How fearfully are made the laws,
 So wonderfully full of flaws!
 Befuddled folks can never guess
 How legislators made the mess.
 Oh, one says this, and one says that.
 Another one denies it flat—
 Until we wonder which is what,
 And then insist, "If so, why not?"

—*Curtain*—

"HOWLERS" IN CIVICS AND HISTORY

Robert I. Adriance of the East Orange (N. J.) High School contributes to the gaiety of *Outlook* readers, thus:

The following are some of the fruits I have gleaned from a good many years of teaching history and civics:

"The purpose of the political party is to bring together all men of a like mind and have their wills carried out." "The National Convention is opened with prayer by the Chairman of the National Committee." "The Greeks were not so viratic but they had firm minds." "Beaucroazy." "A tax is an encumbrance levied directly or indirectly by the government for the betterment of the people."

"The New Jersey Constitution was enacted in Boston in 1620."
 "The Pension Bureau contains many rooms filled with both worthless and good pensions." "The Naturalization Act limits the life of a would-be citizen to 15 years in this country." "It was during Adams administration that the Federalist party received its form of evaporation." "The aligorical tail of Pilgrim's Progress." "The battle of Gettysburg was beautifully described by Lincoln in his Gettysburg address 4 score and seven years later." "Christianity lasted from the eighth century before Christ up to the twentieth century A. D. The best Reverence book for this would be the Bible."

The following on the "Naming of America" was particularly gratifying to me as it will be to all Dartmouth men: "After Columbus voyage a man by the name of Amerigo Vespucci sailed along the shores of America and a Dartmouth College Professor wrote up some article and called the new land America."

FRACTIONS

"Since I have come in contact with social reformers and social workers," said the Rev. Samuel M. Crothers of Cambridge, before the General Conference of Unitarian Churches in Baltimore recently, "I have come to observe that one-third of their power and energy goes into work they are undertaking and the other two-thirds in keeping on good terms with their fellow reformers."—*Survey*.

In the Issuing Office at Seattle. Child applying for work certificate being asked for proof of age:

"Have you a baptismal certificate?"

"I dunno whatcher mean."

"Have you ever been baptized?"

"Sure," pulling off coat and rolling up sleeve, "right here."

At an Italian settlement in San Francisco. Nurse talking to mother:

"What do you give your baby?"

"Deluded milk."

"How do you dilute it?"

"Well, I molify it with sugar and water."



THE CHILD'S UNCONSCIOUS MIND. Wilfred Lay. Dodd, Mead, \$2.00.

The value of any application of psycho-analysis to education consists in the degree of scientific basis for the discussion. One does not know just where Dr. Lay's own research leaves off and his borrowings from Freud begin. Indeed one can not draw the line between his actual findings and the deductions he has made in the course of his study of the unconscious in children. In spite of this, his book is a good introduction to Freudian psychology, and as the subject is approached largely from the point of view of the child, it should be a valuable handbook for teachers.

The greatest problem that the schools face is that of interesting children. Children do not want to study. Why is it? One knows that they are not so stupid as they appear to be; one is very sure that they could complete the usual course of study in one-third or one-half the time it usually takes, and do so without loss of their other activities or to their physical development. Why are both the schools and the children unable to bring about this highly desirable result? Dr. Lay believes that with the greater understanding of the unconscious thoughts and impulses of childhood which is now being brought about, this happy consummation will be reached.

"The spirit is unwilling and the flesh is strong, is the unconscious attitude of the child toward school work, and he is not to blame for it. . . . We repress their unconscious wishes to do *real* things in the world, for there is no real thing done in school. . . . The student knows that every word he writes, every sum he does, every exercise he finishes has been done and repeatedly done by millions of other children. . . . I have found that the pupils are governed by an unconscious wish *not* to make a good showing in school, *not* to perform thoroughly and well the tasks set."

Dr. Lay's message is sane and in keeping with the most progressive educational analysis: he demands a more complete knowledge of the impulses that are hidden from the children themselves, which render at least a good part of the school instruction of to-day absolutely futile; he asks that we give the opportunity for every child to learn through experience in school with realities. "The state should take it upon itself," he says, "to see that the work of all teachers is as good as that of the 'born teacher.' This can not be done without a knowledge of the working of the unconscious part of the mind."

RUTH MCINTIRE.

HEALTH EDUCATION IN RURAL SCHOOLS. J. Mace Andress, Ph.D. Houghton, Mifflin Company, \$1.60.

This book presents a new point of view for child health work. We find here the part which the teacher should take in the school health programme. Although the book was avowedly written for the rural teacher who has not expert assistants, the medical supervisor and director of physical education of a city school system will very probably find valuable suggestions to help him correlate his efforts with the other school activities and lead every teacher to share in a broad health programme.

Public health men generally recognize the need of education in accomplishing a health programme, but they often overlook the most promising channel for results in health. Dr. Andress gives many suggestions for making health a vital concern of every school child. "Unless the children are led to think of hygiene as dealing with problems near at hand, they may get the idea that it does not especially concern them." He shows how health habits may be taught, how to link up the natural interests of the child with the subject of health, how to combine instruction with training, and through the character of the whole school programme how to foster a hygienic attitude of mind.

Numerous references to surveys and studies show the need of health education in the rural schools. Throughout the book many references are made to good literature upon health and sanitation, particularly that literature which may be secured free or at a nominal price. Class exercises are suggested at the end of each chapter which are practical and should be valuable for normal school use.

An original scheme for measuring the success of the teacher in results attained is proposed in the final chapter. Although experience must determine the practicability of such a rating there is to be found at any rate, many suggestions of the relative value of the various health activities of the school, and quite likely suggestions as to the value of their achievements.

HAROLD H. MITCHELL.

THE HUMAN MACHINE AND INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY. Frederic S. Lee. Longmans, Green Company, \$1.10.

Professor Lee has given us an excellent brief summary of present knowledge of fatigue as applied to industry, as well as a statement of the relation which physiological science should bear to industry. He says that "industrialism is not so far advanced in its evolution as is medicine." This statement is undoubtedly true so far as it relates to the use of science applied to the human factors of industry. The experimental method of studying the activities of the human body has gone a long way in the field of medicine. On the other hand, industry has devoted its study to the efficiency of machinery, while the efficiency of the human beings in industry has been so neglected that it would appear as if the value of the human factor had been entirely overlooked. The war, however, brought forward the value of the human machine. Man power and human efficiency were actually given consideration. "In the United

States, the Public Health Service has been conducting, since July, 1917, an investigation of the conditions of labor in certain of the munition factories, for the purpose of discovering whether excessive fatigue is present, how it may be avoided, and how a continuous maximum production of war supplies may be secured. The work has been carried on with the active co-operation of the Divisional Committee on Industrial Fatigue under the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense." Professor Lee is the executive secretary of this committee.

In this little book Professor Lee has outlined the various ways by which industry may make use of experimental science for increasing the efficiency of the human factor in industry. He states the following fundamental conditions which should be fulfilled in order to secure this efficiency:

1. Workers should be qualified for the work that they are to do.
2. Workers should produce a daily output in accordance with their individual capacities for work.
3. Workers should maintain their working power from day to day and from week to week.
4. Workers, once they are proved competent, should be retained.

Under the first condition both physiological and psychological tests are discussed for valuating prospective workers.

Under the second condition we find fatigue discussed as it is indicated by an output curve which he shows to be not unlike the curve of output of a single isolated muscle contracting with artificial stimulation at regular intervals and lifting a given load. He also mentions physiological tests which have recently demonstrated that fatigue results from the day's work. He discusses the secondary sources of fatigue which may still further limit output and which involve such factors as the fatigue of standing, lost motion, the rhythm of the machine, illumination, ventilation, food and sanitary conditions.

The increased production and the maintenance of working power from day to day and from week to week involves many other human problems such as the length of the working day, resting periods, overtime, capacity and the self limitation of output, night work, the industrial efficiency of women compared with men, industrial medicine and welfare work, food, scientific management and the physiological organization of work. He discusses each of these problems in view of present knowledge and the need for further investigation.

The cost of the labor turn-over is emphasized and he shows its relation to physiological science. He says, "In general, I believe that whatever promotes individual efficiency, whatever enables the individual machine to work in accordance with physiological laws, whatever leads to more complete adaptation will lighten the burden of the labor turn-over." He shows how industrial accidents are increased with the increase of labor turn-over as well as by fatigue and the various secondary sources of fatigue.

The bibliography at the end of the book affords a large amount of suggestive reading in all phases of the human factor in industrial efficiency.

HAROLD H. MITCHELL.

THE TEACHER, THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY. Inez N. McFee. American Book Company, \$1.24.

Miss McFee's book is not a contribution to the philosophy of education; it is a technical manual for the unimaginative rural school teacher. Written entirely from a pedagogical point of view, it offers no suggestions as to the possibilities of co-operation between the school and parents or other agencies interested in rural life. Its only value will be to the teacher who needs must have pointed out step by step the path she must tread to restore a little life to the country school. The methods to be employed in teaching the commonly accepted subjects of the elementary school curriculum are explained in detail, even down to the precise questions to be asked. There is no tendency, however, to utilize our knowledge of child psychology nor to introduce modern objective theories of instruction. The teaching of nature study, for example, is commended, but the knowledge is to be imparted by the teacher in the classroom not secured first-hand through excursions into the woods and fields. Again, the importance of recreation is asserted, but the methods suggested are the old-fashioned Christmas party, the spelling match and the Friday afternoon recitation hour. There is no recognition of the need for developing the social instincts of the child through organized play. For physical training, various muscular exercises are recommended to insure correct breathing, standing, etc., but vain is the search for any mention of outdoor activity, school athletics, folk-dancing, games, etc. The most helpful of her suggestions are those for the development of the school as a social center, and the use of the school building by the community. On the whole, however, her book is based on the assumption that the rural school of the future will be fundamentally like the rural school as it has been and as it is, and that to perfect it we need only to polish up our present methods, not to rebuild entirely on new and modern conceptions. We can not but contrast this book with the real helpfulness of Evelyn Dewey's *New Schools for Old*.'

GERTRUDE FOLKS.

A COMMUNITY CENTER: WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO ORGANIZE IT. Henry E. Jackson. Macmillan; \$1.00.

Whoever is interested in the problems of community organization and of organized community activity should read this book by the Special Agent in Community Organization, United States Bureau of Education. The volume contains, beside two chapters on subjects indicated by the sub-title, a chapter describing typical community centers in operation. The volume loses nothing by being brief. Much information and many suggestions are compressed into the 160 pages, but the material there found has not been squeezed dry.

"Centuries ago," says the author, "a great statesman and philosopher said that the key to any right solution of our social and economic problems is to be found by 'setting the child in the midst of them.' Jesus regarded the child as the model citizen in the Kingdom of God, which was his term for democracy. The child is still the most respectable citizen we have. The position of Jesus

on the place of the child has been shown by John Fiske to be abundantly supported by the biological history of the race. The prolonged infancy of the human baby is the factor which developed motherhood and all our altruistic sentiments. And it will be by keeping the child in the midst of our thought, by giving the child the right of way in our economics, by making the child's welfare the formative principle in our social and civic activities that we will transform these activities into community interests."

R. G. F.

PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION. Isaac Lippincott. Macmillan.

This volume by Dr. Lippincott of Washington University deals largely with economic as distinguished from social reconstruction, if reconstruction can be called its real subject. Business, commerce, finance, these are the main topics, and the volume treats them principally in connection with a history, analysis and discussion of war control. The first chapter deals with the "Need of Reconstruction"; the last is a sketchy, inconclusive "Plan for Reconstruction in the United States." As a careful study of war economics and of war control the book is exceedingly valuable. Its title is perhaps a bit misleading, though of course the war experience has lessons for reconstruction.

Labor has some mention in the concluding chapter (one earlier chapter is devoted to War Labor Control). The author takes up the subject, in discussing reconstruction, from the standpoint of business policy. "Another serious problem," he writes in enumerating the reconstruction problems, "confronts industrial managers. Not only will they have to investigate conditions affecting the future supply of labor, a matter which will bring them to some extent in contact with the demobilization policy of the Government—but they must study the future relations between employers and workmen. . . . Soldiering, labor turnover, lack of esprit de corps, and unrest are among the greatest causes of inefficiency in business. The most important of all management problems is to create a new attitude towards work which will encourage laborers to give their eager support to their managers. But this end can not be reached until some solution is found to the four evils named above. In the after-war period, when all the resources of the country should be devoted to the prompt and orderly re-establishment of business, it would be a serious handicap if disagreements were to arise."

R. G. F.

The following books to be reviewed in a later issue:

NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND THE WORLD WAR. Professors Frederic Ogg and Charles A. Beard. Macmillan Company.

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES. Elwood P. Cubberley. Houghton Mifflin Company.

SOCIAL GAMES AND GROUP DANCES. J. C. Elsom and Blanche M. Trilling. J. B. Lippincott Company.

TOWARDS RACIAL HEALTH. Norah H. Marsh. E. P. Dutton & Co.

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The American Child

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THE SPIRIT
OF
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IN THE
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HILLS

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EDITORIAL AND NEWS NOTES

Publication and distribution of the National Child Labor Committee's report on "Child Welfare in Kentucky" has led to increased interest in the subject in that state. The legislative committee of the Co-operative Council of Kentucky, a central body composed of representatives of social welfare agencies in the state, both public and private, has drawn upon the findings and recommendations of the Committee in formulating a legislative program. Several bills, embodying recommendations contained in the report, are now under consideration by the law makers of the Blue Grass State. The Committee's staff of specialists is now at work in Tennessee making a child welfare study under the direction of Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D., assistant secretary of the Committee. It has been undertaken on the invitation of Governor Roberts, the five state departments of health, labor, schools, charities, and agriculture; the University of Tennessee, the Anti-Tuberculosis Association, the Associated Charities of several cities, and other agencies, and will embrace the subjects of health, schools, child labor, juvenile courts, institutions, rural life, recreation, and laws and administration—all closely interrelated subjects and interdependent in planning and providing adequately for the education and protection of children.

A second time the constitutionality of a federal child labor act is before the United States Supreme Court. The act of 1916, based on the interstate commerce power of Congress, was declared invalid in June, 1918. The present case is an appeal from a decision in the Western District of North Carolina, rendered May 2, 1919, holding unconstitutional and void such part of the Federal Revenue Act passed in February, 1919, as imposes or seeks to impose, a 10 per cent tax on the annual net profits of any mine, quarry, mill,

cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment, in which children, contrary to certain age and hour standards, shall have been employed or permitted to work at any time during the taxable year. The age standards are 16 for mines and quarries, 14 for factories and similar establishments. Hours are limited to eight a day for children between 14 and 16, the working week to six days, and night work is prohibited for children under 16. Upon the decision in the present case rest important issues respecting the accomplishment of child labor reform. An adverse decision would bring to the fore the question of a constitutional amendment that would permit adequate national action against the national evil of child labor—at least so far as concerns child labor in the mining and manufacturing industries.

In the whole United States one child in one factory may be legally employed for more than 8 hours a day. This privileged individual was granted his exemption from the
ONLY ONE Federal Child Labor Tax Law by Judge James E.
CHILD EXEMPT Boyd through an injunction preventing the employer of the child from discharging him or limiting his hours of work. To all interested in children, this will be a gratifying piece of news, for it had been generally thought that Judge Boyd's decision affected the employment of minors in the entire western judicial district of North Carolina. In a letter to the National Child Labor Committee, Miss Nila F. Allen, Head of the Child Labor Tax Division of the Treasury Department, says:

“Unlike the situation under the Federal Child Labor Law, declared unconstitutional June 3, 1918, the injunction secured in the case of the Federal Child Labor Tax Law applied only to the employment of one child in the Atherton Mills, Charlotte, North Carolina.

“The Child Labor Tax Law has been and is being enforced in all sections of the country, including the Western Judicial District of North Carolina.”

It should be remembered that the Federal Child Labor Tax Law applies only to mines, quarries, factories and similar establishments. It is estimated that 85 per cent of the working children in this country are in industries not covered by the law.

Briefs recently submitted to the Court present the argument against and the argument for the constitutionality of the present statute. It is contended on the one hand

ARGUMENT	that the child labor section of the Revenue
AGAINST	Act is unconstitutional because it goes be-
CONSTITUTIONALITY	yond the powers delegated to Congress by
	the United States Constitution and is,

therefore, in violation of the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, which reserves to the states respectively, or to the people, powers not delegated to the United States. It is asserted that the decision of the Court declaring the Act of 1916 unconstitutional applies forcefully and conclusively to this statute. The words of the Court in the former case are quoted: "Thus the Act in a two-fold sense is repugnant to the Constitution. It not only transcends the authority delegated to Congress over commerce, but also exerts a power as to a purely local matter to which the Federal authority does not extend." The brief of the appellees further sets forth that "the statute, though forming a part of what is otherwise a revenue law, is not a taxing statute, but is an attempt to regulate—in a field in which Congress has no regulating power"; that "this statute is unconstitutional and invalid because the classification is arbitrary and based on a condition outside and beyond the sphere of the tax levying power"; and that "a consideration of what would be involved in holding this statute valid enforces the conclusion that it is invalid." On the latter point the following is said: "The same penalty of heavy taxes can just as well be meted out to those who do not conform to Congressional ideas in the minimum wages they pay, in the employment or non-employment of colored as well as white labor, in the installation or non-installation of safety devices, as well as in the equal or unequal wages of female employees as compared with male employees, or in the recognition or non-recognition of the open shop or the closed shop. This is the elimination of the States as recognized by our Constitution, and the Congressional regulation of all the processes of production."

The briefs have been published by the Government, and a limited supply is available. The National Child Labor Committee has copies of this brief in its library and should it be impossible to obtain the document from the Superintendent of Documents it is suggested that members apply to us for any further details which they may wish.

Counsel for the Government declare that the opinion of the Supreme Court sustaining the oleomargarine tax forecloses every question arising in this case. "The statute

ARGUMENT FOR assailed in the McCray case imposed an excise
CONSTITUTIONALITY tax of one-fourth of a cent per pound on
 oleomargarine when not artificially colored

and of ten cents per pound when artificially colored. The contention then, as now, was that, in so far as artificially colored oleomargarine was concerned, the act would not result in the raising of revenue because the tax was so onerous as to be practically a prohibition of that article, and hence it was a mere police regulation and an encroachment upon the reserved rights of the States. And the other proposition was advanced, as it is now, that the act was an arbitrary discrimination against oleomargarine in favor of butter and violative of those fundamental principles of equality and justice which are inherent in the Constitution of the United States. The Court considered these contentions with great care and overruled them all. In doing so, it put beyond further controversy the questions which must control in this case." The Government goes on to say, "The statute now in question imposes an excise tax which Congress had the power to levy, and its primary object must be assumed to be the raising of revenue, although it may operate practically to affect the employment of child labor in factories." Various decisions of the Supreme Court, elucidating the nature and extent of the federal taxing power, are quoted. The Court has repeatedly said that Congress may tax as it pleases, subject to limitations not applicable in this instance. The right of taxation, where it exists, is necessarily unlimited in its nature and carries with it inherently the power to embarrass and destroy. The Court, as the Court itself has said, can not inquire into the motives of Congress in levying taxes. The power of Congress, says the Government, to select from the subjects within its power of taxation, those upon which it will levy excise taxes is unlimited. The fact that the tax is levied upon the use of something which is subject to the police powers of the state is wholly unimportant. In this instance, the rights of the various states to regulate or prohibit in any manner they see proper the employment of child labor is not interfered with. No one denies the right of the states to regulate or destroy the use of child labor in factories. It can not be said, therefore,

that it is necessary to invoke any powers implied in the Constitution to save a right which no free government could destroy. When Congress has levied an excise tax to apply uniformly throughout the United States, the courts are without authority to inquire into the reasonableness of classifications made for the purpose of selecting subjects of taxation. In matters of taxation the responsibility is upon the legislature, not the judicial branch of government. No fear of an abuse by Congress will justify the execution by the courts of a power not conferred by the Constitution. The decision in the Child Labor Act of 1916 does not apply, as a majority of the Court was of opinion that the regulation imposed by Congress was not a regulation of interstate commerce merely because it regulated the manufacture of goods which might thereafter be subjects of interstate commerce. No such question arises in the present case. The right of Congress to tax the privilege of employing child labor depends in no way upon whether the product of that labor will or will not be transported in interstate commerce. There can be no pretense that Congress has done anything except to lay an excise tax on the privilege of using child labor in factories and mines. The tax is identical in principle with the oleomargarine tax and others.

The Fifteenth Annual Conference of the National Child Labor Committee will be held in New Orleans on April 14. Morning, afternoon and evening sessions are

ANNUAL CONFERENCE being arranged at which will be discussed recent developments in the field
APRIL 14, 1920,
IN NEW ORLEANS, LA. of child care and specific reports presented of work in Alabama, Kentucky,

Michigan, Missouri and other states. The newly established department of child welfare in Alabama is regarded by experts as representing the type of constructive supervision American commonwealths are likely to exercise in the near future. On the evening of April 14, Dr. Felix Adler, chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, will speak on "American Children: Sound in Body and Mind." This will be a joint meeting with the opening session of the Forty-seventh gathering of the National Conference of Social Work which convenes in New Orleans, April 14-21. At this opening session Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary of the

National Child Labor Committee will deliver the annual address as president of the National Conference of Social Work, and Randall J. Condon, Superintendent of Schools, Cincinnati, Ohio, will speak on "The Interrelation of Social and Child Welfare."

The opening session of the National Conference of Social Work will be in charge of the Children's Division. Other sessions during the week are arranged by the division of public agencies, mental hygiene, delinquency, organization of social forces, industrial and economic problems, family, local community, health, and the relation of the church to social work. The arrangement of the conference provides for five section meetings, every morning and afternoon of the week and general sessions each evening with the exception of Saturday evening, April 17, when the local committee will present to the Conference an elaborate pageant of the history of New Orleans. It is anticipated that a large delegation will attend from all over the country and the local New Orleans Committee advises those intending to attend to make hotel reservations at once. The secretary of the local committee is Harry J. Hopkins, American Red Cross, New Orleans.

BREVITIES

The City of Indianapolis has adopted an ordinance regulating street trading within the area known as the mile square in that city. The ordinance prohibits boys under 11 years and girls under 16 years from engaging in any street work, and boys under 12 and girls under 16 years from engaging in street trading between the hours of 8 P.M. and 5 A.M. Boys under 16 years must secure a permit for street work. The ordinance, however, exempts children delivering papers or magazines to regular subscribers.

The program adopted by the Labor Party at its national convention in Chicago, November 25, 1919, demands "the abolition of employment of all children under 16 years of age, to be gradually increased to 18 years."

The value of last year's back-to-school drive can not be measured only in terms of the number of children who returned to school, but in terms, too, of the quality and extent of the care and instruc-

tion they are receiving there. Urging passage of a bill for increased teachers' salaries, New York teachers present these facts:

- 71,318 pupils in New York City are without teachers to instruct them, mostly in the elementary grades.
- 1,718 classes had to be dismissed one day because of a lack of teachers, this being the high water mark for the year.
- 1,000 substitute teachers are badly needed at the present time.
- 1,900 teachers have resigned during the last nine months to take positions which pay better in business houses and elsewhere.

In a letter to the National Child Labor Committee, one of its members, a teacher in a Brooklyn, New York, public school, writes: "I have been a member of your organization for many, many years. I am obliged to give up my membership this year because of financial reasons. I am a teacher in one of the highest positions in our city schools and can no longer meet my usual obligations. I have given up amusements, many personal comforts, educational needs, such as lectures and magazines, and this year I have had to give up my membership in six Welfare organizations. It is a great regret to me, and a great sacrifice."

The Board of Temperance and Moral Welfare of the Presbyterian Church, in its social program for the coming year, declares: "Child labor evils look to the church for solution and juvenile delinquency must be studied scientifically and prevented. The child is the greatest asset of the church and the nation and its social and domestic welfare are of vital importance."

Children ranging from 4 to 15 years of age are still doing homework in tenements. The annual report of the New York State Industrial Commission for 1918 gives the number of children found illegally employed in tenement homework in the state as 654. Of these 29 were not attending school, 205 were working before school hours, 131 were working during the noon hour, 212 were working between 3 and 6 P.M., and 64 between 6 and 8 P.M. Of the total

number of children found so employed in the state, 604 were in New York City. The record shows that these children were working on articles of clothing, embroidery, children's wear, and flowers and feathers.

Counsel to the New York State Industrial Commission reports that "the very large percentage of suspended sentences after convictions have been obtained is the most discouraging feature of our work." In New York City (year ending June 30, 1919) there were 396 convictions for violations of the child labor law in factories, and of these 249, or 62 per cent., resulted in suspended sentences; for the whole state the percentage was 70. Of 647 convictions for violations of this law in mercantile establishments in New York City, 466 sentences were suspended; eight out of every ten convictions in the state at large received suspended sentences. For the last six months of 1919 there were 79 persons convicted of violating the tenement house homework law—the 56 fines imposed totaled \$1,135, the remaining offenders received suspended sentences.

Statistics gathered in five "child labor states," according to the last annual report of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, showed that of 19,696 children to whom employment certificates were issued, 188 reported that they had never been at school at all, 1,615 had not gone beyond the 1st grade, and more than half were in or below the 4th grade when they left school. Only 2.7 per cent. had reached the 8th grade and 1.3 per cent. were in high school.

A survey made by the Wisconsin Industrial Commission shows that 42 per cent of the children of Milwaukee between 14 and 17 years of age are employed on child labor permits.

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CHILDREN OF THE KENTUCKY COAL FIELDS

MABEL BROWN ELLIS

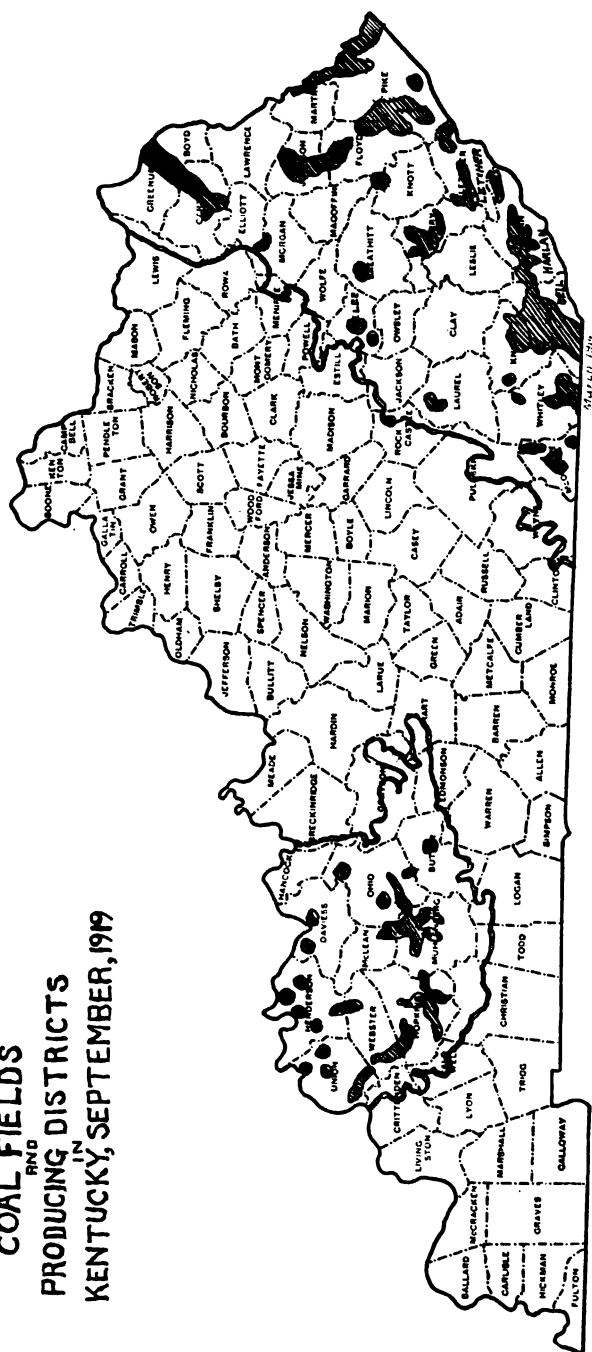
Kentucky is the only state in the Union which contains areas belonging to two great coal fields. Fourteen counties in the western part of the state are wholly or partially included in the Central Interior Coal Field which underlies Indiana and Illinois as well, and 34 eastern Kentucky counties belong to the great Appalachian Coal Field, the most important deposit of bituminous coal in the United States. Northward through West Virginia and Ohio, the Appalachian coal extends into Pennsylvania and southward through Tennessee into the hills of Alabama. At either extreme blaze the furnaces of Pittsburg and Birmingham. Between are hundreds of smaller industrial communities and thousands of acres of mineral lands which still lie undespoiled, awaiting the coming of the railroads.

Of all these states, Kentucky has been the last to open her Appalachian coal lands for large-scale commercial production and a glance at the accompanying map will show how little of the field she has even now under development. Yet, according to the United States Geological Survey, Kentucky was probably third to enter the list of regular coal-producing states and the first Kentucky coal mined for shipment came from the Appalachian field.

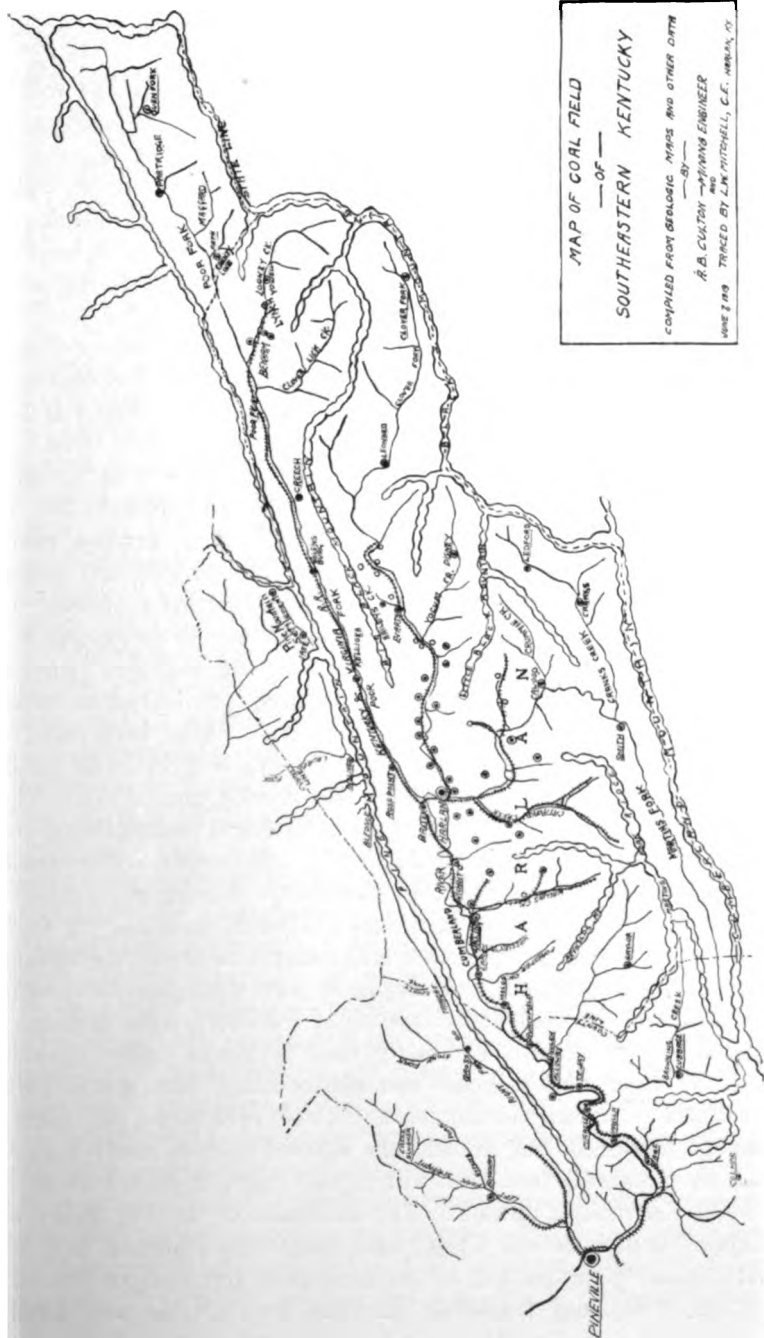
In 1807, a traveller writing of the Kentucky River said, "Coals are brought down it nearly 300 miles and delivered in Frankfort at sixpence a bushel but wood being tolerably plentiful, they are used only in the penitentiary and by blacksmiths." In 1827, the shipment of five boat-loads of coal was reported from mines "on the right side of the Cumberland River below the mouth of the Laurel" to Nashville, Tennessee, and from 1825 to 1834 probably 25 to 35 boat-loads of about 66 tons each were sent out every year. In 1837, coal sold at the pits for two and one-half cents a ton; in Frankfort it cost 15 cents a ton, wholesale.

KENTUCKY

COAL FIELDS AND PRODUCING DISTRICTS IN KENTUCKY, SEPTEMBER, 1919



Map No. 1274



The failure of the Appalachian section to hold this lead resulted from lack of adequate transportation facilities. The shipment of coal down either the Kentucky or Cumberland river was fraught with great difficulty and could be carried on only at certain seasons of the year when the water was high. A project of opening the Kentucky River for navigation in which both the state and the federal governments took a hand proved unsuccessful so far as any extensive transportation of coal was concerned.

Railroad construction through the mountains was extremely expensive and difficult. Beginning in 1854 with the charter of the Kentucky Union Railway, but interrupted by the Civil War, negligible progress was made until 1870-90. Since that time development has gone slowly, because large capital was not available in the state, because there were no natural resources in the hills to attract foreign capital except the coal which was not needed so long as other fields furnished an abundant supply and because the eastern mountain region was so sparsely settled that there was no great demand for the transportation of people or supplies. A fourth factor of importance in delaying development was the instability of land titles which made investors fearful of risking their money in the purchase of property. The Louisville and Atlantic Railroad, now a part of the Louisville and Nashville system, did not reach Irvine until 1891 or Beattyville until 1903. There was no railroad in Harlan County until 1910 and not until two years later was transportation available for the enormously valuable coal mines in Pike and Letcher Counties. Eventually extensions will connect the entire eastern coal field with lines leading to the Atlantic seaboard, but there are still counties to which the railroads have barely penetrated, and service is poor throughout the region.

Although its coal deposits were of inferior quality and not so extensive, the western Kentucky coal field was easily accessible both by river and railroad and consequently was much earlier developed on a commercial scale. Until 1912 it led the state in tonnage produced, but in 1915 the eastern field suddenly took the lead by 2,500,000 tons and within two years it furnished 65 per cent of Kentucky's output. The extension of the Big Sandy and Elkhorn branch of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad into Pike and Letcher Counties and of the Lexington and Eastern branch of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad into Harlan and Letcher

Counties resulted, according to the United States Geological Survey, "in the development in eastern Kentucky during 1910, 1911, and 1912 of probably more absolutely new coal territory than has been opened in the same time in all the rest of the United States."

Nineteen hundred and fourteen brought the war and with it such a speeding up of industry as the world has never seen. Coal was needed for munitions, for ships and trains and factories; and bituminous coal is "primarily the fuel of transportation and industry." In four years, the United States increased its production of bituminous coal by 28 per cent. In this increase Kentucky bore her full share. Between 1910 and 1918 she rose from eighth to fifth place in the list of coal producing states, doubling her tonnage and more than quadrupling the value of her product.

Spectacular contributions to this increase came from three counties in the eastern coal field: Pike, Letcher and Harlan. Typical of the others are the figures for Harlan County. In 1880, according to the federal census, the county had only "farmers' diggings" at which the total wages paid for the year amounted to \$45. In 1890, 785 tons of coal were produced for the local market. In 1910, the first out-spurs of the railroad reached Harlan County and 1,440 tons were shipped out. By 1918, when the tracks had been extended throughout the eastern half of the county, 3,201,-733 tons were mined. The number of employees increased from 169 in 1911 to 4,123 in 1918.

Behind these figures lies a story of industrial transformation almost unbelievable. For few of the men and women and children who lived in the recesses of the eastern hills had progressed far in habits of thought or life since their ancestors followed the Wilderness Trail into Kentucky, a century and a half ago. Hemmed in by the mountains, theirs was more than the isolation of the country-bred; it was the isolation of the pioneer of colonial days, prolonged and intensified by being handed down from generation to generation. It was a primitive society of self-sufficing households, upon which twentieth century industrialism descended, over-night, with the coming of the railroads.

What has been the result to these people whom many of us learned to know and love as we followed with them "The Trail of the Lonesome Pine" or talked with "The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come"? Will the development of Kentucky's mineral resources

mean the wholesome development of her human resources as well? What is happening to the children?

If Kentucky wishes her mountains to produce citizens of the commonwealth, as well as laborers in the coal mines, she must give thought to these questions, for there is now grave danger, in certain sections of the state, that all sense of human values may be swept aside by the down-rush of coal to the freight cars.

SCOPE OF STUDY

This report is an attempt to show what is happening to the children in a region typical of the entire eastern coal field. Harlan County was chosen for the study because it illustrated the two most important types of coal mining operation in every stage of development. At the far northern end of the county, the greatest corporation in the world was creating a city over night—blasting its streets into the side of the mountain, moving a river from side to side of the valley, erecting a metropolitan hotel, where stood a log cabin barely two years ago, bending every resource of large capital and the trained intelligence which money can buy, to the making of a modern town. So far as the workmen were concerned, Lynch did not differ greatly from other industrial communities of the United States Steel Corporation. Two transportation trains a week brought in the men from the four quarters of the globe, Mexicans, Poles, Hungarians and Russians, some Italians, many negroes, and a few native born Americans of mountain stock.

In this respect Lynch differed widely from Benham, its neighbor, down the Fork, where the International Harvester Company has for eight years, through its subsidiary, the Wisconsin Steel Company, employed largely native-born labor, white and negro. Benham represents a corporation town which is completed—not in the sense that it will do no more growing, but in the sense that its public utilities are provided for, its schools are established and its health policies are not only determined, but are in actual operation. Child welfare in the northern end of Harlan County, then, is a question of corporation policy: in the making at Lynch; well-established at Benham.

In the central and southern part of the county, however, the small independent companies still dominated the field. Although

loosely united for business purposes as members of the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association, there was no evidence of any effort on their part to work out a uniform or a co-operative policy along the lines of social welfare, or indeed, any general recognition of the existence of a situation which warranted such a course. The miners were almost exclusively native-born whites from the mountains of Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia, with a few negroes here and there. The child welfare problem of the small mining camps of



HARLAN COUNTY BOYS.

Harlan County is the old problem of the Kentucky mountaineer, complicated by such difficulties as always accompany any new industrial development at a distance from an established town. Standards of living in the group from which the great majority of these miners come are not high enough to have taught them what their rights are, and both workmen and managers must realize the importance of those rights of which the children are in many cases being deprived, before they can be expected to take much interest in securing them. Here the state has a definite responsibility which so far it has largely failed to assume.

In May, 1919, according to the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association, there were 33 mining operations in Harlan County. Five of these were new operations. Of the remaining 28, sixteen chosen at random from representative sections of the county were visited by the agents of the National Child Labor Committee, seven of whom spent from two to three weeks in the field studying child welfare conditions with particular attention to health, education, child labor, recreation, dependency and delinquency. A special investigation of food budgets was made in three camps. The findings are based upon interviews with miners and their families, mine superintendents, physicians, nurses, storekeepers and other company employees; teachers, health officers, county judges, and other public officials; and upon personal inspection of houses, school buildings, mines, places of amusement and stores, supplemented by consultation of official records and other literature and by much correspondence with persons familiar with the situation.

The time spent in the field was too short to permit the gathering of conclusive data. We have endeavored however, to present a truthful picture of conditions as we found them and to point out the need for more extensive research in certain special fields. Some conditions were so bad that no research was necessary to establish the need for action. He who ran might read. It is true that conditions change rapidly in communities of this sort and certain details found true today may not be true tomorrow, but the broad general outlines of the picture remain accurate for they follow a pattern which can be traced not only during the period of development, but in the present state of many older mining towns of Virginia, West Virginia and Tennessee.

The manuscript has been submitted in advance of publication to the following persons who have permitted us to profit by their expert criticism: Miss Katherine Pettitt and Mrs. Ethel DeLong Zande, of the Pine Mountain Settlement School, Dr. Arthur T. McCormick, of the Kentucky State Board of Health, Mrs. John C. Campbell, of the Russell Sage Foundation, Mr. M. R. Campbell, of the United States Geological Survey, Mr. Van A. Bittner, statistician of the United Mine Workers of America, Mr. Arthur H. Young, manager of the Industrial Relations Department of the International Harvester Company, Mr. C. L. Close, manager of the Bureau of Safety, Sanitation and Welfare of the United States

Steel Corporation, Miss Florence Nesbitt, Institute Instructor, American Red Cross and Professor H. S. Sherman, professor of dietetics, of Columbia University. To them and to the many others who have given generously of their time and interest, we extend our sincere appreciation.

Acknowledgment should also be made of our indebtedness for many of the facts used in the section on The Old Harlan County to two volumes by Miss Mary Verhoeff of Louisville, "The Kentucky Mountains," and "Kentucky River Navigation," which form a part of her series on *The Economic Development of a Coal Field*.

The field work was done by the following agents of the National Child Labor Committee: Mrs. L. B. Bush, Child Labor; Charles E. Gibbons, Agriculture; Raymond G. Fuller, Recreation; Dr. H. H. Mitchell, Health; W. H. Swift, Laws and Administration; Mabel Brown Ellis, Juvenile Courts. The section on Food Budgets is the work of Mrs. Helen McKee Brenton, formerly executive secretary of the Chicago Day Nursery Association.

HARLAN COUNTY—TOPOGRAPHY AND RESOURCES

Harlan County is located in the extreme southeastern corner of Kentucky on the Virginia border. It is about 40 miles long and 20 miles wide and has an area of 478 square miles. From southwest to northeast through the entire length of the county and quite cutting off the western third from the rest, runs the unbroken and almost impassable ridge of Pine Mountain. The Cumberland Mountains form the eastern and southern boundary of the county and between them and Pine Mountain rise wave after wave of hills with broken and irregular crests which lift themselves in places to an elevation of 3,500 feet above sea level. The Big Black and Little Black Mountains cut through diagonally, numbering among their peaks the highest point in the state of Kentucky.

The drainage of the eastern end of the county is entirely into the Cumberland River either through Poor Fork, Clover Fork and Martins Fork which unite at Harlan to form the Cumberland River, or through the smaller tributaries of the Cumberland, of which Wallins, Puckett, Yellow and Clear creeks are the principal ones below the forks. One branch of the Kentucky River rises in the grounds of the Pine Mountain Settlement School at the



OXEN AND SLED READY FOR HEAVY HAULING OVER MOUNTAIN ROADS.

junction of Greasy Creek with Isaacs Run and drainage of the western section of the county is through the Kentucky. The main streams have developed some bottom lands, but the smaller tributaries generally flow in narrow valleys with steeply sloping sides, often known as the "cliff and gorge" type.

The climate is mild, the mean annual temperature being 56 degrees. The thermometer rarely falls below zero and never remains below for 24 hours except at long intervals. The summers are warm with short periods of intense heat. Open air work is possible the year round.

The average annual precipitation in the Cumberland basin is from 50 to 60 inches; something more than half of this rain falls between April and September. Since the storage capacity in the region is slight and there are no glacial lakes to act as reservoirs, the water runs off quickly and the supply is irregular and uncertain. During the summer the rainfall is not sufficient to offset the loss by evaporation. During the winter, on the other hand, springs are abundant, the dry stream beds are often filled with rushing torrents and roads are impassable.

The first definite study of the soil and mineral deposits of Har-

lan County was made during the first geological survey of the State of Kentucky which was begun in 1854 under the direction of Dr. David Dale Owen. Joseph Leslie who surveyed the eastern coal field of which Harlan County is a part, reported that the soil, although not equal to the blue grass, was "fair and susceptible of successful cultivation" and estimated that there was enough of the richer soil to "supply the demands which would follow the development of the mines."

There were then throughout the county, great bodies of virgin timber; chestnut, oak, poplar, yellow and white pine, red cedar, cherry and black walnut.

Large quantities of coal were found which tested high and it was Dr. Owen's prediction that when the coal fields of the state were properly developed, they would surpass in value the mines of Great Britain to which, he said, "Great Britain owes more than to any other cause her present greatness."



**BAD ROADS ARE AN OBSTACLE TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.
An example from Eastern Kentucky.**

Some iron ore was found accompanying the coal, but this has proved to be of small commercial value. All succeeding surveys, however, have confirmed and strengthened the early findings as to the quality and quantity of the coal and later surveys have delimited certain well-defined fields within the Appalachian field. Harlan and Bell Counties in Kentucky, and Claiborne and Campbell counties in Tennessee form what is now known as the Cumberland Gap Coal Field which extends in a general northeast-southwest direction between Pine Mountain and the Cumberlands, from the Fork Mountains on the southwest to the heads of Poor and Clover Fork on the north. The coals of this field belong to the Pottsville group of the Alleghany formation. They are mostly high grade gas or coking coals with some cannel. In Harlan County the formation is "about 5,000 feet thick and carries nearly 50 coal beds of which a dozen or more are locally of workable thickness and quality." In 1877, the state surveyors reported that the coal measures in the region between Pine Mountain and the Cumberlands "were over twice as great a thickness as those known anywhere else in the state." In 1906, tests made by the United States Geological Survey established the fact that "in percentage of moisture, ash and sulphur the coals of the Cumberland Gap field showed a purity equal to probably the best of the Appalachian coals." All reports emphasize the quality and thickness of that bed known as the "Harlan Coal" which averages a thickness of 4 feet over an area of 100 square miles. Directly about Harlan Town twelve or more beds of workable thickness are known to exist. The beds lie flat in the middle of the synclinal trough east of Pine Mountains and are easily entered by drift mining.

Yet from 1854 to 1910, these valuable deposits lay practically untouched, although they showed, black and shining, in every mountain stream bed and outcropped on nearly every farm.

To understand why development was so long delayed, and rightly to evaluate the magnitude of the transformation which came to child life in Harlan County along with the opening of the mines, it is necessary to look for a moment at the Old Harlan County.

THE OLD HARLAN COUNTY

Harlan County was created by Act of the Kentucky Legislature in 1819, from the tract of land known as Lincoln County. Origin-

ally it was much larger than at present, including all of what is now Bell County and part of Leslie. It was named in honor of Major Silas Harlan, a gallant young Virginian who commanded a company of scouts in the Indian campaigns of 1779 under George Rogers Clark, and was killed in the battle of The Blue Licks. The first settlement was made by Samuel Howard, a soldier of the Revolutionary War, on the spot where Harlan Town now stands. The early settlers came largely from Virginia, and were of Scotch-Irish and English descent; among them were the Smiths, the Howards,



AN ANCIENT CABIN.

Until the present generation a large percentage of the poorer people of the Kentucky Mountains lived in log houses of this kind, or worse.

the Creeches, the Lewises and the Skidmores, whose descendants are still prominent in Harlan County affairs.

Although just north of the Wilderness Road along which the great migration to Kentucky took place during the decade from 1790 to 1800, Harlan County was difficult of access and offered few advantages to the farmer in comparison with the fertile fields of the Blue Grass. Hence it grew slowly. The census of 1820 listed 1,961 inhabitants and in the next 50 years the population had little more than doubled, being 4,415 in 1870. The figures for the next two census years show gains of less than 1,000 during

each decade, but between 1890 and 1900 there came an increase of 58.8 per cent due to the development of the lumbering interests and to the approach of the railroad. The period 1900 to 1910, however, saw a gain of only 7.4 per cent and left Harlan County at the time of the last federal census with fewer inhabitants to the square mile than any other county in Kentucky. Its density of population was 22.1, while the average for the state was 57 and for the United States as a whole, 30.9. The number of houses and the number of families were almost identical.

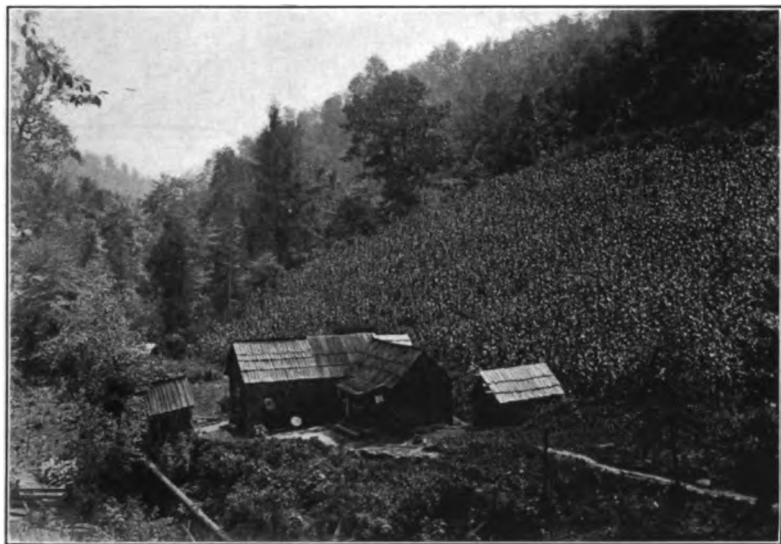
Nowhere in the county was there a town of any size. Writing in 1882 of the county seat, under its old name, Mt. Pleasant, Lewis Collins, the Kentucky historian, says quaintly: "Mt. Pleasant is the county seat and only town. It contains a court house and four lawyers, five stores, a grist and saw mill and four mechanic shops. The population is about 50. Elsewhere in the county," he adds, "are one lawyer, one doctor, three stores, two saw mills and seven grist mills." By 1910, as Harlan Town, Mt. Pleasant numbered 657 souls.

Like most of eastern Kentucky, backward in industrial development and without facilities for transportation, the Old Harlan County was practically untouched by immigration. The census of 1910 found only 10 foreign-born males of voting age in the entire county and the foreign-born group formed less than one-tenth of one percent of the population. The native white of native parents made up 94.4 per cent and the negroes 5.3 per cent.

Slaves were held in Harlan County prior to the Civil War, but never in large numbers, since the topography of the county made large scale agriculture impossible, and few mountain farmers had capital enough to purchase negro labor. Since the war, the "rigorous conditions of life and lack of opportunity for employment at domestic service" have, according to Miss Verhoeff, "made the region unattractive to colored people."

The result has been one of the most homogeneous populations to be found in the United States. Their racial and geographical isolation have aided in the preservation of the customs and traditions of that seventeenth century England from which their ancestors came to the new world. In the Old Harlan County the rule of the road was "Turn to the left," as it still is in England; the old English method of measuring timber was followed; many words of Shakes-

pearean flavor were in common use; in 1878, Shaler of the Geological Survey, reports that he saw men using the cross-bow in the chase. The old English ballads are still the delightful heritage of little children who sit, entranced, to hear them sung before the blazing backlogs on the mountain hearths; and the Pine Mountain Settlement School reports that the Running Set, one of the gayest and liveliest dances of the young people, has just been pronounced by no less an authority than Mr. Cecil Sharp, head of the English Folk Dance Society, "a most interesting form of the



MOUNTAIN CABIN WITH ITS "PERPENDICULAR CORN-FIELD"

English country dance . . . not hitherto recorded . . . and of great aesthetic value." Most beautiful of all survivals, the tradition of "Old Christmas" was still cherished—"Old Christmas," January 6th, when at midnight the elder blossoms and the oxen kneel in their stalls to commemorate Christ's birth.

But the same mountains which guarded much that was beautiful shut in also much that was not good. Transportation and means of communication were poor. In 1906, the state surveyor found bridges almost entirely lacking and roads so poorly adapted



THE POST RIDER WITH HIS SACKS OF MAIL BROUGHT ON HORSEBACK FROM YON SIDE PINE MOUNTAIN.

for hauling produce or merchandise that almost everything was carried in bags slung across the backs of horses and mules. There were no telephones and no telegraph wires. The mail carrier rode his route and when the creeks were high, he might be unable to make his rounds for weeks at a time. Thanks to Kentucky's method, or lack of method, of conducting land surveys when the state was opened for settlement, there were many overlapping boundaries, and quarrels arising over land, helped along by a liberal indulgence in moonshine whiskey, led to the bloody feuds which culminated in the Turner-Howard "war."

But more serious far than the feuds in their effects upon the children were the bad health conditions and the poor schools which characterized not Harlan County alone, but the entire mountain region.

In 1913, the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission carried on a hookworm campaign in Harlan County. Out of a population of 10,566, 4,957 persons were examined and 2,096 or 42.3 per cent were found infected. Of 278 homes inspected, 261 had no privies of any sort; 16 had the open back privy and one had a pit privy. This inspection did not include Harlan Town.

The United States Public Health Service in 1915 examined 816

school children in 13 schools in Harlan County and found 19, or 2.3 per cent, suffering from trachoma. "Many children," said the surveyor, "are kept from school on account of the disease."

In 1910, thirty-four feeble-minded persons in the county were drawing allowances from the state, under the provisions of the Pauper Idiot Act. Mountain folk have a horror of institutions and rarely is a feeble-minded child sent away from home for care, although it may be impossible for his family to give him proper protection. Failure to segregate feeble-minded girls almost inevitably means the birth of more defective children.



READY FOR THE HOOKWORM CLINIC AT A MOUNTAIN SCHOOL HOUSE.

Even families in which no definite defect or infection existed lived most of the time under conditions which tended to impair their vitality. "Endurance and muscular strength are common," says Miss Verhoeff, "but a strong constitution is exceptional. Bad housing and sanitation, ill-cooked and insufficient food, exposure to weather and other evils incident to poverty, have had their detrimental effects, which have been augmented by a close inter-marriage of families and by an inordinate use of liquor." Kephart* mentions the constant exposure which produced rheumatism and

* *Our Southern Highlanders*, by Horace Kephart.

the bad food which produced indigestion, but says that the mountaineer is saved by his love of pure water and fresh air. The Children's Bureau study of a mountain county in North Carolina, similar in many ways to Harlan County, noted the overcrowding and poor light and heat in most mountain homes; the lack of sanitary toilet arrangements; the early marriages, with high infant and maternal mortality; the lack of pre-natal care and of adequate care during confinement; and the great need for medical inspection of school children.

The Old Harlan County had few physicians and no trained nurses. Physicians in the county were then members of the Kentucky State Medical Association. There was no hospital within 50 miles.

Schools were few and poorly taught and were in session rarely more than four months a year. In 1910, according to the federal census, only 68.2 per cent of the children between 6 and 14 were in school and of the children 15 to 20 years of age, only 38 per cent. Illiteracy was high. Over one-fourth of the white voters and nearly two-thirds of the negroes could neither read nor write, and among the total population over 10 years of age 31.3 per cent were classed as illiterate.

Yet the Pine Mountain Settlement School, Berea College, and all the institutions of higher learning set down among the hills have stories by the hundred descriptive of the longing for "book larning" which brings the mountain boys and girls many miles on foot to earn their way through school. A mountain mother, asked if she made her children go to school, replied, "Lord, they hain't to make! They cry to go!"

Youth itself had views upon education. A delightful story is told of one little boy 7 years old, who was encountered by the side of a mountain spring. He had a fine head, splendid eyes and a great deal of intelligence in his face, but he said that he was a bad little boy and "cussed like hell." While his auditors were trying to recover from their surprise at the exhibition of his ability, which he promptly vouchsafed them, he said, "But I wouldn't cuss like that if I had a school to go to; thar hain't one nearer than four miles, and I don't git to go to hit."

It might be claimed with some justice that what the children missed in academic instruction they gained by actual contact with

industry in the handicraft stage. In the mountain home the father was blacksmith, cobbler and frequently miller; the mother busied herself at loom and wheel. The household was practically self-sufficing.

In Dr. Daniel Drake's reminiscences, he paints a vivid picture of the activities of a small boy in pioneer days, which might be accepted almost without modification as true of the small boy in Old Harlan. "I was provided with a small ax," he says, "to hack down saplings and cut off the limbs of trees and pile them into brush-heaps. . . . Before I was 12, I could do nothing about fencing but haul the rails—placing the log-chain round the ends of six or eight and driving the horse to the place where they were wanted. Too small to lay them up, I undertook to lay the "worm," that is, the ground rail. When I was 14, I could cut and split 75 rails a day. To prepare the raw field for cultivation required only the ax and mattock; but the cultivation itself called for the plow and hoe. In rooty soils it was often difficult to hold the plow and guide the horse; it was the employment of small boys therefore, to ride and guide the animal. To sit bareback on a lean and lazy horse, under a broiling sun and every now and then to have the plow suddenly brought to a halt by running under a root and the top of the long hames to give you a hard punch in the pit of the stomach, is no laughing matter." So he followed the year around, dropping the seed; sling shot in hand, guarding the young ears from crows and squirrels; garnering and husking the corn; shelling it, "the work of nights, or rainy days," when "a sheet was laid on the floor and all the children old enough to hold an ear were set to work;" pounding it into meal in the hominy block or grinding it in the hand-mill; baking the Johnny cake on a clean ash board set on the hearth before a buckeye backlog and a hickory forestick.



FOLK DANCING AT THE PINE MOUNTAIN SETTLEMENT SCHOOL.

"Killing time" in December was followed by the labors of trying out the fat, chopping the sausage meat, stripping and twisting it into links, and hanging it on poles in the smoke house.

Clothing manufacture meant shearing the sheep, weighing the wool, picking, carding, double twisting it, reeling it into skeins and finally winding it into balls. Small boys did not often help with

the spinning as their sisters did, but they were sent to the woods in search of the black walnuts and oak bark with which their mothers dyed the wool.

Odd moments were filled by broom-making from hickory saplings, in which "when I was 12 years old, I was decidedly dexterous," by the manufacture of cheese and charcoal, and by such familiar domestic occupations as splitting wood and bringing water from the spring.

Logs for the cabin wall were hewn by hand and put in place by a community log raising.

The furniture was largely of home manufacture, split bottom chairs of hickory, cherry wood bedsteads with corn husk mattresses or feather beds. The big kettle for soap-making stood in every dooryard. Often pine knots or hogs' grease in a saucer with a rag for a wick were used for lights. Kitchen utensils were frequently limited to a frying pan, an iron pot, a bucket, a coffee pot and gourds of various sizes and shapes. Picturesque in the extreme they were, these one-room mountain homes, with their big stone chimney at one end, a turkey wing to sweep the hearth stone clean and a blazing fire of logs upon which all the cooking was done; beds gay with homespun coverlets and fresh with hand woven linen; walls hung with strings of dried apples and pumpkins, bunches of fragrant brown-grey herbs, bright red peppers, twists of tawny tobacco, yellow gourds full of seeds. More pretentious homes would have a lean-to in the rear where the cook-



A HOUSEWIFE OF OLD HARLAN COUNTY.

Note the handwoven baskets on the porch.

ing was done and a loft above or extra bed rooms, but there were of course, no modern conveniences in the way of light or heat or sanitary plumbing in any home. The result was hard work for everyone, particularly for the women and children.

Nor were the labors in the field less arduous than those in the house. The tracts of rich bottom lands along the borders of the mountain streams were comparatively small in area. They were supplemented by little clearings in the hill-sides where the slope was often so steep as to justify the phrase "perpendicular corn fields." Few farmers used horses or mules for farm work, believing oxen better adapted for the heavy hauling over poor roads and finding sleds better than wagons for the same reason. Modern farm machinery could not have been handled to advantage under such conditions even had there been a railroad to bring it in or money to pay for it. Scythes, cradles, flails, wooden harrows with locust-wood teeth, were in common use. Sometimes the bull-tongue plow was used and sometimes the ground was simply "drug" with a big green bough. All cultivating was done with a hoe, women and children working in the fields with the men. Since the soil was tilled without the rotation of crops or use of fertilizers, it was usually necessary to let land lie fallow every third year.

All the crops found in Kentucky were produced on the mountain farms, but according to Miss Verhoeff, "the average return per acre is about half that of the state as a whole." Corn was everywhere throughout the mountains, as it is still, the most important crop, depended upon to furnish food for man and beast in the form of corn-meal and fodder. Oats, rye, a little wheat and buckwheat were also grown. Every cabin had its tiny patch of tobacco for home consumption only and its vegetable garden in which beans, potatoes and cabbage were the staple crops. Orchards



AUNT LEAH WHO PLAYS THE DULCIMER AND SINGS OLD ENGLISH BALLADS.



A ONE-ROOM MOUNTAIN HOME. NOTE THE BEE-GUMS BEYOND THE FENCE.

were not frequently found, although apples, pears and peaches thrive in Harlan County and apples wherever grown, were popular articles of diet, sun-dried or made into cider and vinegar. Huckleberries, blackberries and other small fruits grew wild. Sorghum was raised for the molasses or "long sweetening;" flax and hemp were generally grown.

Stock was turned loose to roam at large over the hills to the great detriment of the young forest growth and to the gradual deterioration of the breed. Little attention was paid cattle except for an occasional salting down or a round-up of calves. "The backwoodsman," says Kephart, "does not want 'critters that hafter be gentled and hand-fed.'" A few sheep were raised for their wool, but the main dependence of the mountain farmer were his razor-back hogs. Chickens were kept for home consumption, but turkeys were raised for the eastern markets and driven over the moun-

tains in great flocks to the railroad, while goose feathers have been shipped away from early times.

Some Harlan County products are vanishing as the forest is cut away; such are wild honey and beeswax, furs and skins, roots and herbs. Traffic in ginseng was once so well established that the root served as a medium of exchange. A skilled "sang-digger" could make \$2 a day. Michaud, a French traveler, who visited Kentucky in 1802 says that ginseng was then worth 10 cents a pound dried; after preparation, it brought \$6 to \$7 a pound from Philadelphia merchants; and they resold it to Canton, China, at prices ranging from \$50 to \$100 a pound according to quality. One of Harlan's early representatives in the state legislature was always known as the "Harlan County Sanger."

Such avocations as "sanging" or gathering medicinal roots were frequently resorted to as one means of supplementing the family income. As civilization came nearer to Harlan County, it became not uncommon for men to cross the mountain and go to "public works" during the winter months when they were not busy on the farm, thus earning a few dollars in cash by working on the railroad or at some lumbering camp. Many spent the winter getting out logs from their own timber lands.

The growth of lumbering in Harlan County forms the second chapter in its industrial development. The county is located in the Appalachian hardwood region and in 1910, according to a special report on forest conditions in Kentucky, made by the United States Forestry Service in co-operation with the Kentucky State Board of Agriculture, Forestry and Immigration, it was the best timbered county in the state. Eighty-five per cent of its area was then covered by forest with an average stand of 6,000 feet per acre. There was still good poplar at the head of the smaller streams; the white oak was practically untouched; chestnut oak, black oak, beech, sugar maple and cucumber trees formed the chief part of the remaining stand, but the magnificent black walnut trees which the Geological Survey reported in 1877 to be the "finest growth of old forest timber" the surveyor had ever seen, were gone and even their stumps had been dug up and floated down the Cumberland to the saw mills:

There were in 1910 few saw mills in Harlan County and no stave, bark or railroad-tie operations, except on a small area near

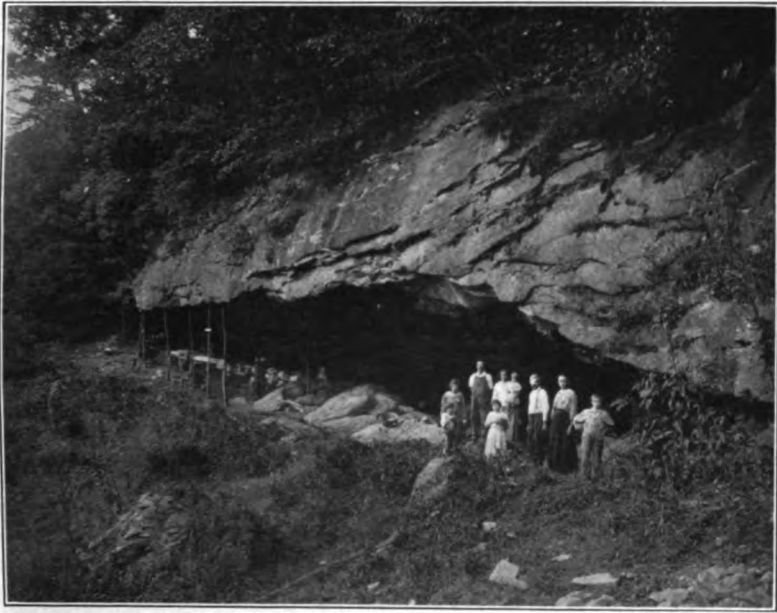
the Virginia line, from which the more valuable products were hauled across the Cumberland Mountains to the railroad. The tributaries of the Cumberland and Kentucky Rivers were too rough and the falls too rapid for rafting and stave timber was little cut because of the risk of loss in floating it down, but many thousands of rough logs, 20,965,000 feet of them in 1909, were carried out by the stream.

The boys of Harlan County grew up with an instinctive knowledge of woodcraft. From childhood they went with their fathers to the woods and early learned to pick out at a glance "trees with a diameter limit below the standard, tell to the fraction of an inch the size a tie should be hewn and select an oak tree that will rive straight and true into stave billets."

Harlan County timber and coal land 20 to 50 miles from a railroad was in 1910 assessed at \$5 to \$10 an acre. Nearly two-thirds of the total area of the county was then owned or controlled by large corporations most of whom were primarily interested in the development of the coal mines and were holding the timber for use in the mines. Having bought the land at a low price from the original owners, it was customary to let them occupy their former freeholds on lease, but to condition these leases upon an agreement



NATIVE MOUNTAIN CABINS AND SAW MILL SHANTIES.



UNION CLIFF, LYNCH.

TWO FAMILIES WERE FOUND LIVING IN THE CAVE UNDER THIS CLIFF IN SEPTEMBER, 1917.

to cut no more trees except on order from the company. This meant that no more land could be cleared for agriculture, and as the farmers of Old Harlan County knew nothing of commercial fertilization, the soil of the tenant farms has grown steadily more impoverished and the renters have been more and more forced to supplement their income by day-labor for the mines which have dispossessed them.

While the development of the coal mines in Harlan County belongs properly to the story of the New Harlan, a certain amount of rather primitive mining had been carried on from early days. A "farmer's-digging" or a "wagon-mine" was exactly what its name indicates,—an outcropping of coal on a farm whose owner from time to time dug out what he needed for his own use and perhaps a little for the neighbors. Such a mine might produce all the way from 5 to 75 tons a year. The coal in this region is soft and can readily be removed with a pick; most of it is near the surface, above drainage and easily reached. Excavation was rarely carried more

than 40 or 50 feet beyond the outcrop; the mine would be worked until a fall of the roof was imminent; then would be abandoned.

Such were the industries and such the life in Harlan County prior to 1910. Even today in remote coves on the western side of Pine Mountain, conditions similar to those we have tried to picture still exist, but with the completion of the road from Harlan to the Settlement, they are doomed to pass away. It was no easy life for children. There was no doctor to help them into the world; no nurse to guard their infancy; little protection from disease; much hard work, little play, and little chance for an education. Yet it was a life full of constructive activity, stimulating invention and developing resourcefulness and those who survived its rigors have often demonstrated keen intellectual ability.

The transition from a mountain farm to a mining camp has taken away, at one stroke, from women and children, all the familiar activities of field and forest, and has greatly reduced the labors of the household. It has left them, bewildered, idle, uprooted from the past and unable to take root in the present, face to face with an industrial transformation which looms large, even in these days of munition towns and shipyard cities.

THE NEW HARLAN COUNTY

The story of that transformation is clearly written in the figures which give the increase from year to year, in the number of tons of coal taken from Harlan County mines.

TABLE No. 1

TONS OF COAL MINED IN HARLAN COUNTY, KENTUCKY, 1910 TO 1918.

Figures from United States Geological Survey.

Year	Tons of Coal Mined	Increase or Decrease
1910.....	1,440	.....
1911.....	17,860	16,420
1912.....	332,392	314,532
1913.....	750,267	417,875
1914.....	1,264,066	513,799
1915.....	1,726,798	462,732
1916.....	2,214,228	487,430
1917.....	2,167,741	-36,487
1918.....	3,201,733	1,033,992

The production of coal does not increase from 1,000 to 3,000,000 tons without a corresponding increase in the number of men employed at the mines. In 1918 there were almost half as many men working in the mines of Harlan County as there had been men, women and children in the entire county in 1910.

TABLE No. 2
NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES
IN COAL MINES OF HARLAN COUNTY, KENTUCKY, 1910 TO 1918

Figures from United States Geological Survey.

Year	No. of Employees
1910.....	Not available
1911.....	169
1912.....	483
1913.....	1,014
1914.....	1,461
1915.....	1,496
1916.....	2,086
1917.....	2,708
1918.....	4,123

Many of these miners were young unmarried men but many others brought their families with them. The school census shows what an influx of children resulted.

TABLE No. 3
SCHOOL CENSUS RETURNS, HARLAN COUNTY, KENTUCKY,
SELECTED YEARS, 1910 TO 1919

Figures from County Superintendent of Schools.

Year	Ages Included	Children	Increase	Period Covered
1910.....	6 to 20	4,200	....	....
1911.....	6 to 20	4,708	508	1 year
1918.....	6 to 20	6,947	2,239	7 years
1919.....	6 to 18	8,580	1,633	1 year

All this new population had to be fed and housed and clothed and the children had to be schooled. This meant that still other workmen had to be imported to satisfy the demands created by the

first arrivals. Mining villages sprang up on every creek. The fertile bottom lands where the best farms had been were often the only level land suitable for the erection of mine offices and houses. The former independent landowners either sold at a profit and retired or parted with their land for a song and became day laborers. With the passing of the farms came the importation of food and the substitution of store products for the household manufactures of the past. The wage system replaced barter and exchange.



HOUSING IN LYNCH, DECEMBER, 1917.

The extension of telephone and telegraph service was an immediate necessity by which the county profited. Electric power was needed for the mines; its introduction brought electric lights into the houses. Large projects for road-building were contemplated. The purely rural, slow-moving life of the past was replaced by a rapid development of communities which were urban in spirit, if not in conveniences, and which were strictly industrial in type.

The static, homogeneous population of the Old Harlan County was replaced by a quickly shifting mass of men from every corner

of the earth, and of every degree of education and experience. Along with the unskilled laborers of the construction gangs and the mines came a group of highly trained men, young engineers, chemists, physicians, business men of ability, who brought new standards of living with them. Harlan Town soon had a commercial club, a coal operators' association, a hospital, a good high school.

In 1919, the county was in the first stages of a transformation which has already taken place, according to the Federal Commission on Immigration, in the older coal-mining states of the south. Alabama, West Virginia and Virginia have, in turn, seen the native white and negro labor in their mines largely, and in some cases wholly displaced by foreign-born labor because, in the first place, the industry has expanded beyond the point where the native-born supply is large enough to fill the demand for workmen and, second, because both the negroes and the mountain born white men are universally considered by mine operators more inefficient and irregular employees than the foreign-born, and are replaced by them whenever possible. Harlan County began to produce coal on a commercial basis only four years before the world war cut off immigration from Europe and the small independent mines were in 1919 still largely manned by native-born miners. But the two great corporations had already many employees of foreign birth and they were beginning to arrive, usually in little groups of the same nationalities, at the smaller mines. Lynch brought in two trainloads of men a week, the majority of them other than American born, and at Benham, which started operations eight years ago with a purely American group and which does not use the "transportation trains" for procuring its workmen, there were, in 1918, nearly thirty times more men of foreign birth than there were in the whole county in 1910; among them, 35 Mexicans, 28 Italians, 29 Poles, 35 Russians, 63 Hungarians, 45 Austrians and men born in Croatia, Roumania, Serbia, Lithuania, Greece, Porto Rico, Cuba, Spain, Sweden, Belgium, Canada, England, Ireland and Scotland. Although the cessation of immigration from Europe may delay the process somewhat for Harlan County, it seems inevitable that this last stronghold of unmixed American stock will shortly house as cosmopolitan a group of citizens as may be found in any other industrial center of the country.

There also entered Harlan County during these years of trans-

formation, an influence of quite another sort which, though its efforts have been thus far confined more particularly to the western side of Pine Mountain, is destined, with the completion of the road to Harlan Town, to play a larger and larger part in the future of the county's children. The Pine Mountain Settlement School was founded in 1913 by Miss Katherine Pettitt and Miss Ethel DeLong for the purpose of giving industrial, moral and intellectual education, Christian but non-sectarian; to serve as a social center in an isolated, intensely rural neighborhood; to further by teaching and by the wise use of its own 365 acres of land, the agricultural and economic development of the county. Most beautifully does its founding link the best of the Old Harlan County with the



THE BIG LOG HOUSE AT THE PINE MOUNTAIN SETTLEMENT SCHOOL.

Twenty-five children live here.

New Harlan, for its buildings stand upon land given by William Creech, pioneer settler and farmer of "yon side Pine Mountain," who deeded his entire worldly wealth to the Settlement "to be used for school purposes as long as the Constitution of the United States stands. Hopin' it may make a bright and intelligent people after I am dead and gone."

Today the plant consists of 15 buildings, waterworks, coal bank, sawmill, chicken, dairy and forestry department and about 60 acres of land are under cultivation. Some 100 children live at the school. The course of study carries them through the 8th grade and a normal course is offered those who wish to teach. All the children earn a part of their expenses by helping with the work, gardening, carpentry, cooking, laundry, care of poultry and stock. A trained nurse supervises their health and gives simple lessons in personal hygiene. A medical settlement has just been established at the mouth of the Big Laurel, four miles from the school, the residents being a graduate of the Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia, a trained nurse and an extension worker who also assists the district school teacher in playground work. Both doctor and nurse

are to make physical examinations of school children and to hold infant welfare and other clinics. The nurse will teach classes in hygiene and home nursing in the schools and in the homes. It is the hope of the Settlement that soon there may be ten such centers in isolated districts, sustained and inspired by the school.

In these and in many other ways, the desires of Uncle William, the founder, are being carried out. One of the Pine Mountain residents acts as supervisor of rural schools, helping the teachers with equipment and programs, organizing box-suppers to raise money for a library fund, seeing to the building of toilets and coal-bins, as well as giving demonstration lessons for the teachers. Christmas and Fourth of July celebrations, the community fair, an Old English May Day and the weekly parties for the young people of the neighborhood provide wholesome recreation in which everyone joins. The Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops supplement and strengthen the ideals of the school in the children's development.

An important civic undertaking is the construction of a macadamized road over Pine Mountain to connect the Settlement with Harlan Town and the railroad. It is estimated that to build the six miles of road will cost over \$100,000. Harlan County has given \$5,000 of this amount; State aid will pay from 50 to 60 per cent; the rest has been raised by the Settlement.

The School has been fortunate, from the first, in securing workers trained in the best colleges of the country and it is quite possible that the most valuable contribution it can make to the New Harlan County is to continue its present demonstration of the value of expert service as applied to any social problem.

LABOR CONDITIONS

Essential to an understanding of child welfare conditions in any community is some idea of the economic forces which shape the lives of the wage-earners in the family of the child. It is characteristic of the industry of mining that the women and girls seldom contribute to the family income, except in the instances, comparatively rare among American families, where boarders are taken. Mining from its very nature, must be carried on in more or less isolated communities. Women can not enter the mines and they have no opportunities for employment in stores or factories, because

there are none accessible, and few chances for domestic service because few families in a mining camp can afford to pay a maid. The mother is ordinarily in the home.

For the same reasons, no occupation outside the mines is open to father or older sons. The child dwells in a one-industry community. What are the conditions under which, in Harlan County, his father earns his bread?

The United Mine Workers of America claim a membership of 3,900 in Harlan County and their success in closing practically every small mine in the county during the recent strike shows how strongly the industry is unionized. The International Harvester Company and the United States Steel Corporation are run as "open shop."

During the period covered by our study, the Harlan County mines were operating under the wage-agreement of the Fuel Administration but rumors were even then heard of the big strike which was to be called "thirty days after the signing of the Peace Treaty." During the war, several disputes had been referred to the federal arbitrator at Knoxville for settlement and both men and superintendents said his awards had given good satisfaction. One operator expressed the opinion that some such system of federal arbitration continued after the war would do much to solve the handling of labor disputes.

One company in Harlan County was working out a system of arbitration of its own. As a means of bringing company and men together, the International Harvester Company in April, 1919, adopted what is known as the Harvester Industrial Council Plan which provides, in brief, for the appointment by the management and the election by the employees of representatives to meet regularly once a month to consider all questions of policy relating to working conditions, health, safety, hours of labor, wages, recreation, education and other similar matters of mutual interest. Labor and management have an equal vote and the representatives of labor are elected by secret ballot. In case questions arise upon which no agreement can be reached by the Works Council, provision is made for arbitration, one arbitrator to be elected by the employees, one by the company, and in case the two can not agree, a third to be chosen by them. The plan had been in operation only one month at the time of our visit to Benham,—too short a time to permit any judgment as to its efficacy—but it was interesting to observe

the attention which the smaller camps nearby were giving to its development and one superintendent told us he was definitely planning to install a similar organization at his mine.

The Harvester Plan, it is to be noted, does more than provide an instrument for settling industrial disputes. It is a substitute—whether adequate or not is a different question—for the municipal government which is wholly lacking in Benham, a town of 3,000 people, just as it is lacking in the smaller mining camps.

How large a part the lack of local citizenship plays in industrial unrest is a matter for conjecture. Bernard Shaw says that the best way to make a man conservative is to give him something to conserve. The coal miner in Harlan County can not own his home; he can not vote for a village ordinance penalizing insanitary sewage disposal; he has no voice in the selection of the physician toward whose pay he is compelled to contribute monthly; he has no share in the government of the community in which he lives. The company owns the houses, the store, the land on which church and schoolhouse stand; and it is the largest contributor to the pay of teacher and minister. If it is a benevolent company, living conditions are undoubtedly much better than those of the surrounding country; if there is ignorant or unscrupulous management, the situation may be unspeakably bad; but in either case the miner feels no responsibility for the conditions under which his children must grow up. He is the more ready to throw up his job at a moment's notice for slight reasons, or none at all, because he has nothing to tie him to the place.

Thus labor consciously or unconsciously takes its revenge upon capital, for a high labor turn-over is expensive to handle and cuts down profits. As to the percentage of labor turn-over in Harlan County coal mines, opinions varied but all agreed that it was excessively high. Various mine superintendents gave us estimates which ranged all the way from 50 to 100 per cent. Of 887 men on the pay-roll of one company in October, 1919, 45.5 per cent or almost one-half, had been employed for less than three months and only 12.5 per cent had been on the pay-roll longer than two years.

It is generally assumed that the unmarried men shift about more frequently than do those with families but a surprisingly large number of children are being moved from place to place within

and outside of the county at a rate highly detrimental to their school work. Eight families, all with children of school age, who lived on a typical street in Camp No. 5 were asked to give the length of time they had been in the camp. Only one had lived there over a year. The periods reported by the others were: two months, one month, eight months, seven months, "nearly a year," two weeks, and the last family, which was interviewed on Saturday had moved in the day before and were planning to leave on Monday. This household had come from East Bernstedt and their moving expenses had totalled nearly \$40. They were leaving because the man did not like the height of the tunnel in the mine—he said the entrance was too low—and because the mine was running only three days a week. They were going to Camp No. 3 where a miner had just told the investigators that he had averaged only three days' work a week for the past month. The one woman whose family had been in camp four years said, "It 'pears like thar ain't no one here I know. They jest keep movin' in and movin' out all the time."

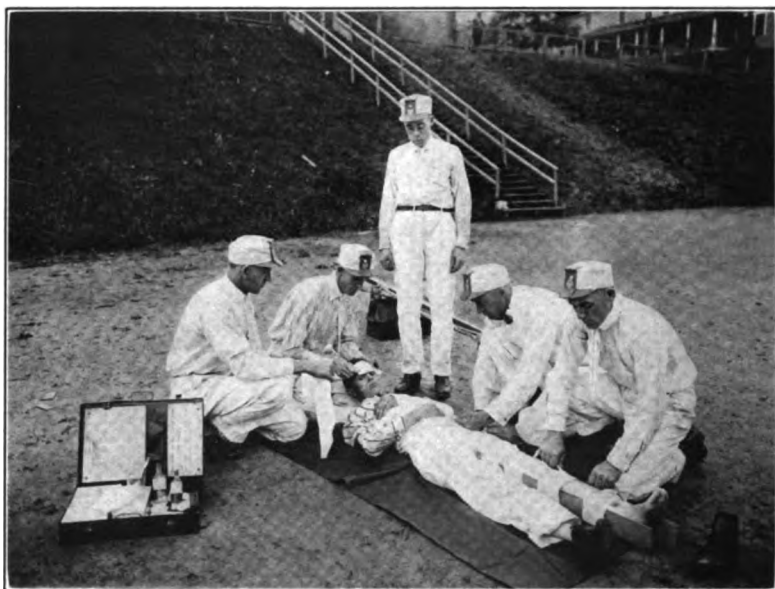
This situation is to a certain degree characteristic of bituminous coal-mining towns everywhere, for the demand for bituminous coal has never become as regularly distributed throughout the year as is the case with anthracite. The mines consequently operate more irregularly and the miners become accustomed to go at frequent intervals from one field to another, or from mine to mine in the same field seeking work. In the mining regions of Virginia West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, this tendency is increased by the well-known instability of the mountaineer as a laborer. "Since the mountain laborer still relies upon his farm as his main source of support," says Miss Verhoeff, "his services can not be depended upon. To work when the larder is empty and to rest when it is full has always been his economic ideal. Accustomed to do his work in his own way he is quick to resent dictation or interference and with little sense of the value of time or the moral obligations of a contract, will forsake his task because of a fancied slight, regardless of consequences to employer and industry. Without disposition to co-operate, he is at once the menace and the despair of the labor union, although temporarily influenced by each walking delegate."

Official reports on the number of days a coal mine has been in

operation in any district during any year give little idea of the regularity of employment of individual miners. A breakdown of machinery may tie up production for two or three men for a week; a fall of roof in one branch of the mine may stop operations there for several hours; a shortage of cars may make it impossible to keep the men busy to their full capacity. While the limitations of this report forbade any effort to enter at all thoroughly into the question of hours, wages and regularity of employment, it did prove possible to copy from the books of one company the employment records of 513 men during the first two weeks of January, 1919, and from another company's books, the records of 161 miners during the month of April, 1919. Of the 513 men listed for the 15 day period, 251 worked from one to seven days and 262, from eight to fourteen days. Only three men worked every day. Of the 161 men employed during the month of April, 5 worked every day, 58, from five to fourteen days and 103, from fifteen to twenty-six days. Naturally, it was not possible to learn the reason for the unemployment of nearly one-half the first group and one-third of the second for half the time. It may have been entirely the fault of the men themselves. Again, the figures cover too short a time and too small a number of men to be interpreted as conclusive, but they do throw some light on the claims of the miners regarding the amount of idle time in the bituminous coal-mining industry.

The wage of a miner, however, is determined only in part by the number of days he works. He is not paid by the day or hour, except for certain jobs rated on a time basis, but by the amount of coal loaded. Daily averages of wages paid show only the money actually drawn by the men and give no idea of the number of hours actually worked. Of 668 miners whose wages were tabulated from the company records for a two-week period, 14 earned less than \$3 a day; 197 under \$5; and 578 under \$8. 93 received \$8 and over. The lowest wage was \$2.66, paid to one man, and the highest was \$23.95, paid to one man.

Of 48 men employed by another company during April, 1919, 11 earned less than \$50 a month; 31, under \$100; 44, under \$150. One man earned \$172.86; one, \$185.13; one, \$250.71; and one, \$311.40. The total earnings of the group for the month were \$4,165.35 and of this amount, there was deducted for expenditures



FIRST AID TEAM AT WORK, BENHAM, WINNERS OF FIRST PLACE IN HARLAN COUNTY FIRST AID CONTEST.

in the company store paid for by "scrip" or company money, \$1,878.64 and for rent, fuel, car checks, blacksmithing and hospital charges, a total of \$214.15. In other words, 45 per cent of the earnings of the 48 men was spent in the form of "scrip" in the company store, in addition to cash purchases, amount unknown, and 49 per cent, or almost half their earnings, was returned to the company for merchandise, rent, fuel, car checks, blacksmithing and hospital charges.

No effort was made to study the sanitation of the mines or the adequacy of the precautions taken to avert accident. All but one of the mines visited had accepted the provisions of the Kentucky Workman's Compensation Act and all had either trained or were in process of organizing First Aid teams. Several spoke with pride of the extent to which they had reduced their insurance by the installation of safety devices. The mining laws of Kentucky provide for the establishment of five "rescue divisions" in the state, where apparatus and supplies for use in mine rescue and

relief work are to be kept and where miners can be trained for rescue work. The Federal Bureau of Mines has also helped in the training of first aid teams. All operators are required to keep stretchers and emergency supplies on hand at the mine, ready for instant use.

The office of state inspector of mines for Kentucky was created in 1884 and from time to time, as the number of mines in the state increased, assistants have been added to the staff. The office of one of these assistants is in Harlan Town and the incumbent spends his time in inspecting the mines of the district for sanitation and safety provisions, and for violations of the child labor law.

HEALTH

Any effort to study child welfare conditions in the mining camps of eastern Kentucky as exemplified by Harlan County, must differentiate between the large corporations and the small independent companies. This is especially true as related to the health situation. Of first importance in determining the health of the children of a community are its provisions for sanitation. In mining camps where one group of men representing the company absolutely controls the choice of site, the water supply, the sewage disposal and the housing, it ought to be possible to create a village as free from disease-producing conditions as an army camp. This possibility has been recognized by the great corporations which are fully alive to the real economy of keeping their workmen well; it is almost wholly disregarded by the small independent companies, which even if they comprehend the value of preventive measures are too apt to think that because their lack of large capital prevents them from carrying an elaborate work, they should do nothing at all. The real health problem in the Harlan County mining field is that of the smaller camps and this will be true also in the new territory in Kentucky which is still open for development. Conditions are not ideal either at Lynch or Benham, but the headquarters staff of both the United States Steel Corporation and the International Harvester Company know what the best modern standards demand and have a definitely established policy tending to their attainment. In these villages, not the policy but

the local administration is at fault when health conditions are not what they should be.

On the other hand, the independent companies have naturally no uniform policy. Many of them operate on a very small scale and are not sure of the permanence of their work. Some are managed by men who are not familiar with the possibilities of village planning without excessive expense and do not realize what state and federal resources are at their service free of any charge. A few are frankly out for what money they can get irrespective of the health of their employees. All have been caught up by the intense pressure for production necessary during the war period, when haste was the one essential and all other considerations went by the board. All are greatly handicapped in the development of a health program by the constant shifting about of the workmen and their families, which necessitates constant re-instruction, and by the fact that large numbers of the miners come from communities where the simplest provisions for hygienic living are not known.

Under such circumstances, what is it fair to ask of the smaller companies? What are the essentials with which the State Board of Health, for instance, might demand compliance? What other measures might it suggest as desirable if the best results were to be attained? And are there ways also in which the state could be of greater service to the corporations?

No one can conceive how urgent is the need for formulating an answer to these questions until he actually sees for himself the surroundings amid which the children of certain mining camps are now being born and nurtured.

SITE

Without exception, all the small Harlan County operations which were visited are located on a stream-bed in a narrow valley with wooded hills rising abruptly on either side. Frequently the slope is so steep that the houses have no space adjoining for yard or garden; schools are perched upon the hillside with no room for play; and in more than one camp there is literally not enough unoccupied level ground for a baseball diamond. Nor is there much room for expansion laterally, since the settlements already elbow one another all the way out from Harlan in every direction. The

result is that houses are crowded together about the streams which are so polluted by surface drainage that they are practically open sewers.

The railroad tracks follow the course of the streams through the center of the camps. To the noise of the trains is added the constant clatter of the coal in the tippie and the smoke from the engine joins with the coal dust to pollute the clear mountain air. The hills shut off the breezes which would normally carry away the smoke and dust and unpleasant odors from the stagnant water.

The railroad is a constant source of danger to the children, who have to cross the tracks frequently and the mothers of those boys and girls who daily "walk the ties" to school, say they never have an easy moment until the children are back at nightfall. In one camp, the tracks literally ran between the door yards of two rows of houses. Anxious mothers tried to confine the little children to the very narrow porches and to the fenced-in yards, but one mother of three said she was at her wit's end from morning till bedtime, trying to keep the children off the tracks. The only way to get to most of the camps is to take the train which makes one trip in each direction daily, or to "walk the ties." Roads suitable for automobile travel are practically non-existent and at least half the camps visited could not be reached by wagon road.

With such transportation facilities, it is not easy for miners to live in Harlan Town and go back and forth to work, although some of them do so, and the suggestion of the Federal Bureau of Mines that the houses for employees be built at some distance from the mining plant, thus permitting the selection of a more desirable site, would hardly be practicable for the smaller mines in Kentucky under present conditions.

Expenditures for construction are considerably less if the shipment and hauling of building material for both plant and village can be planned for one place and if one water supply and heating plant can be arranged. It is more convenient for the miners, also, to have their homes near to the mines.

The sites now occupied, however, could be greatly improved by electrifying the railroads and establishing safe crossings and by such town-planning as will guarantee good drainage and sewage disposal, a safe water supply, and comfortable houses.

DRAINAGE AND SEWAGE DISPOSAL

At present, a heavy rain turns the lower section of the smaller camps into a mud puddle. No sidewalks were anywhere seen, the most ambitious approach to such a luxury being the cinder paths found in one camp only. Occasionally railroad ties had been stretched, end to end, through some of the worst hollows, and sometimes boulders were conveniently placed for stepping-stones, but mostly, one waded.

In Camp No. 9, no attempt whatever had been made at drainage. On the day of our visit, stagnant water stood in pools in the so-called streets. Tin cans, garbage, dish water, refuse of all sorts was dumped in front of the houses. Pigs, cows and chickens roamed in the streets and both pigs and chickens were seen in the family sitting rooms. Many of the houses were without toilets of any sort. Some had privies which were located over the river and discharged into the stream. Others had open vault privies which were in a filthy condition. None were screened and no houses were screened. The miners had threatened to appeal to the County Board of Health if conditions were not made better before summer. One man told the visitor in deep disgust: "This is the nastiest place on the line, and if it is not cleaned up before hot weather comes, half the people will be dead."

Similar conditions prevailed in all or parts of practically every camp visited. Yet drainage by ditching would have been a comparatively simple matter, since the slope of the hills was so great that the water, diverted into proper channels would quickly have run off into the stream.

Closely related to the question of drainage is the method of sewage disposal. A general underground sewerage system is usually impracticable about mining camps, since such a system demands a fairly uniform supply of water and is excessively expensive to install on account of the broken nature of the ground. But it is certainly not too much to expect that some decent method be provided for the disposal of human waste. The Kentucky State Board of Health has urged the installation of an inexpensive sanitary toilet for every house, but in May, 1919, only one of the small camps visited had accomplished this. Eight camps had no sanitary toilets at all; two reported a few; one camp had six; one, forty-five; one

planned to install toilets throughout the camp but had none in place at the time of our visit.

At Camp No. 3, which had the distinction of being first to put in the complete installation, the superintendent reported great difficulty in teaching the people how to use the toilets and how to keep them clean. When they were first set up, the company tried to get all the families to purchase toilet paper and a sanitary inspector was engaged to supervise the condition in which the toilets were kept. This man, in pursuit of his duties, became engaged in a dispute with a housewife who drew a gun on him. In trying to get the weapon from her, he is said to have knocked her down. Within a few days, he was shot from ambush by an infuriated miner. Now the company hires a man to clean out the concrete tanks once a year but makes no further effort to supervise their condition. As a result of this policy at least one-half dozen of the toilets have been partially torn down; insufficient water was being used in those still standing and they were in a filthy condition. Miners blamed



MINERS' HOUSES IN LYNCH. NOTE VARIETY IN ARCHITECTURE, FENCING, COAL-SHED AND SANITARY TOILET.

the children saying they put sticks and stones down the toilets and stopped them up.

In Camp No. 6, where six "Sanisept" toilets had arrived and one was being installed on the day of our visit, the superintendent planned to placard them with printed instructions as to their use and to furnish toilet paper for a time free of charge.

At other mines, a few sanitary toilets had been installed for the camp, but in neither instance were they well kept and both officials and people said they were no good.

It is quite obvious that no installation of new devices of this nature will be wholly successful unless it is preceded by a definite campaign to enlist the co-operation of the miners' families who are to use them, and followed by a tactful but unremitting supervision. In camps of shifting population, each new family would need to be interviewed on its arrival and the company, as renting agent, might well hold itself responsible for seeing that its tenant finds all his new property in a sanitary condition to start with.

For the miners' families, contrary to the impression of some superintendents, do, for the most part, appreciate cleanliness and decency. In a camp where the superintendent spoke in the most contemptuous way of the attitude of the people toward modern improvements, the women who were interviewed expressed the greatest eagerness for the arrival of the new sanitary toilets, of which they had heard, hoping that they might be in place before summer.

A condition common to many camps is the inadequate provision of toilet facilities. Some of the families had no toilets at all and used the yard or the woods. Others shared toilets built for the use of four families with the seats separated by wooden partitions. The moral dangers to children and adults of such an arrangement are sufficiently clear. In one community with 29 houses, only 4 pit latrines were found in the entire camp; in another 4 privies were counted to 10 houses.

Little effort seemed to be made to keep such outhouses as there were, in good condition. One manager frankly stated that the vaults had never been cleaned out in the history of the camp, but said he was planning to move all the old wooden buildings away and fill the pits with lime. A woman sent for the visitors to look at her neighbor's toilet. The refuse had com-

pletely run over the pit and was passing down the hillside through the yard. The toilets here, crowded together as they were, had sacks hung up for doors. Twelve toilets inspected at random in another camp were all, without exception, in fearful condition. The pits were shallow and there was no drainage, except as the rain washed the refuse away; none were screened; some were seen without any doors. A man said: "I tell you, Mister, it is pretty hard in the summer time when it gets hot and the flies are bad."

WATER SUPPLY

Ten of the fourteen independent camps reported drilled wells cased-in to the rock; three had dug wells; and for one the information was not obtained. A few of these wells were protected from surface pollution by concrete shields; the majority were curbed by rough boards not water tight. None of them were located with the slightest regard to the proximity of privies or stables.

According to the statement of the company physicians, only three camps regularly sent specimens of water from all wells to the State Board of Health for analysis as often as once a year. One reported that analysis had been made "several years ago" and never since. Five had never tested the water.

The number of families compelled to draw water from one well varied from five to twenty-nine. This meant in many cases, a long carry for a woman, or children; it also meant an inadequate supply of well water for at least half of the camps. In several places the women were forbidden to use well water for washing or scrubbing. They then had to resort to the polluted waters of the stream, or as in one case, to an abandoned dug well. In another camp the people still drew drinking water from a well which had been condemned by the company physician some time before.

In several camps, springs served to supplement the wells. In no case had these springs been covered or walled up to prevent surface pollution. One was said to be the outlet for refuse water from the mines; another flowed out beneath the burial ground of the camp dogs.

It is always difficult to prevent the use of springs by people who have been accustomed to regard them as the most to be desired source of drinking water, but unless the water is tested and found

pure and the springs are then covered, provided with a concrete basin and piped so that it is not possible to dip buckets into them they are a potential source of serious infection. The Tennessee Coal and Iron Company has found it useless to request its Alabama employees to discontinue the use of springs. Now if it is found impossible to purify the water or to protect it at its source, the spring is stopped up.

GARBAGE DISPOSAL AND FLY PROTECTION

Only at Lynch and Benham was garbage regularly removed by scavengers in the employ of the company. Elsewhere the responsibility fell upon the individual miner. Two of the smaller camps, however, reported an annual "clean-up day." In Camp No. 3 the company hired men to remove tin cans and other rubbish and provided teams and wagons to haul it away. The usual custom is to throw rubbish in the backyard where the pigs and chickens feed upon it. Since all the houses are raised on piers with large open spaces between, much refuse is thrown under the house where it attracts flies and breeds vermin and creates odors. In the winter time when the house is warm it acts as a chimney and the offensive odors are sucked up through the cracks in the flooring, into the living quarters of the family. No garbage cans nor rubbish barrels had anywhere been provided.

A large corporation in its coal mining villages in Alabama, where the workmen represent much the same group as in the Kentucky coal fields, provides a galvanized iron garbage can and a wooden trash barrel for each house and these are removed weekly and emptied by a company employee. If tenants then fail to keep their premises clean, the company cleans up for them, at the tenant's expense. The rubbish is burned or buried at a point distant from houses or sources of water supply.

The practice of keeping cows, pigs and chickens, common in all the camps, also creates a nuisance which should receive attention. The health of the community demands that some arrangement be made for caring for pigs and cows outside the camp limits and for keeping chickens in runways or fenced-in yards. There is certainly no place in the average small backyard of the mining village for a stable or a pigpen.

The managers of two camps reported that the companies had provided free, fenced-in pasturage outside the camp limits for cows and that the keeping of pigs had been forbidden, but both cows and pigs were seen freely roaming about the streets in both places. The women of the camp explained this by saying that the pasture gates were frequently left open and the animals walked out.

As manure is not properly removed and as practically no houses are screened, the camps are never free from the danger of a fly-borne epidemic during the hot weather.

HOUSING AND GARDENS

The houses in mining camp villages are in most cases erected by the company and remain its property. Most of those seen in Harlan County were what is known as the "pattern-house type," a rectangular box-like frame building of matched boards, one story in height, raised on brick piers and having a narrow veranda across the front. The houses are usually left unplastered inside. They are heated by open fire-places and by the coal ranges which are used for cooking.

Often they are wired for electric lights from the company power-house. The toilets, as before indicated, are all out of doors; there is no sink and no supply of cistern water is piped into the kitchen.

In seven of the fourteen camps visited the houses were badly in need of repair. Some had never been painted and others had apparently received only a single coat of paint and that so long ago that the remains were barely visible. The houses in the negro quarters were always in a worse state of repair than those provided for the white workmen, though they were frequently more neatly kept.

The majority of the houses had four rooms, although a few two or three room houses were reported from each camp. The monthly rent is usually about \$2 a room. Typical of the rent scale in one of the better type towns is the following: a plastered house of four rooms with electric light and garden plot rents for \$8.25 per month; the same house, sealed instead of plastered, rents for \$7; a box house of three rooms, rents for \$6 with the lights installed; for \$3 without lights; a two room house rents for \$4.75.



TYPICAL OF THE MINING CAMPS IN HARLAN COUNTY.

Two superintendents laid special stress upon the fact that the company wished only one family to occupy a house. Unfortunately it proved impossible in the time at our disposal, to get figures on the number of persons to the room, which would determine the degree of overcrowding. The typical miner's family is a large one and many interviews were taken where the children seemed literally to overflow the three or four small rooms which the family occupied.

Almost none of the houses were screened. A miner in Camp No. 14 said that some of the men had put in screens at their own expense but the company had given them to understand that the screens could not be removed, and naturally no one wished to continue the installation under such conditions.

Yards were noticeably well kept in only one camp. Here the company had set out maples along the main street and several miners' families had lawns with flowers and shrubs. Another camp had many porch swings and rockers and a half dozen verandas boasted plants or hanging baskets. These were exceptional. Usually the one touch of color in the grey streets came from the green of the little gardens which in eight of the camps nearly every family possessed.

Except in the bottom lands adjoining the streams the soil on these hillsides is thin and stony, needing much fertilization to make it really productive. One miner reported that the men could get manure for this purpose from the company stables, free of charge, if they wished it and commercial fertilizers were sometimes sold at cost by the company stores, but in general, the management made little effort to encourage the enrichment of the soil.

In Camp No. 3, the company furnished fencing free and charged \$1 a day for the use of the company mules for ploughing but if a man was unable to pay, he was given the use of the mule free. About 20 families had large gardens back on the hillside on company land which was given to them rent free.

At Camp No. 5, nearly everyone had a small garden plot and between 20 and 25 families had additional gardens on the hill on mine land which is furnished them free. The company guaranteed that a man might retain the same plot for two consecutive years. Mule manure which according to the clerk of the company store was worth \$2 a load was sold to miners for \$1 and the company permitted them to rent mules for ploughing at 25 cents an hour. The men said, however, that mules were not always avail-



A MOUNTAIN HOME OF THE POORER TYPE: FATHER, MOTHER AND FIVE CHILDREN OCCUPY THIS WRETCHED CABIN.

able when wanted. The superintendent said he encouraged gardening because he thought it helped out the men with their living and because it helped keep them steady workers. He said he had noticed that \$10 worth of garden in this camp was a more powerful inducement than \$100 in cash somewhere else.

This is a refreshing contrast to the attitude of another superintendent who, when asked what the company did to encourage gardening, reported that the miners would resent any such effort on his part as an unwarranted interference in their affairs, so nothing was done. In this entire camp there was only one small garden.

The cost of fencing prevents some garden work from going on. One man was interviewed who was just having his fence put up at a cost of \$15 although he had been notified that he could not afterwards remove it. Not many men would be willing to do this and it is not surprising that there were not more than one dozen gardens for the 90 houses in this camp.

Gardens combine recreation and utility for every member of the family. Good economy demands that camps should be laid out in large enough lots so that a fair sized plot may adjoin each house, or if the nature of the site renders this impracticable, that tracts on company land nearby be set aside for this purpose. Fencing should be provided and kept in repair by the company free of charge since it represents a permanent improvement on property which remains in the hands of the company, but the miners might well pay a small fee for the use of the company's mules or fertilizer. An important provision in case of gardens located away from the house should be that the men are guaranteed the use of the same plot in successive years.

It is elsewhere suggested that the unions and the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association call the county agent into consultation and enlist his aid in interesting the boys and girls, particularly, in the possibilities of gardening, not only at their own homes but at the schools. The beginnings might be very simple, but with tactful encouragement on the part of the companies, a spirit of wholesome competition might be aroused between families in the same camp, or between camps, which would transform the barren yards, would permit more variety in diet and decrease food expenditures, and, not least in importance, would give the children

a harmless vent for their surplus energy and a taste of the supreme joy of "watching things grow."

For help in solving the many technical difficulties which accompany the selection of site, arrangement for satisfactory drainage, disposal of sewage and garbage, protection of water supply and provision of good housing for employees at reasonable cost, the companies with small capital must probably turn to the State Board of Health. Indeed the State Board has already issued a ruling, which in Kentucky has the force of law, which requires every person, firm or corporation employing labor and providing houses for its workmen to submit all plans for new construction or for the alteration of existing houses to the State Board of Health before starting to build. The minimum requirements set forth in the law are: a pure, abundant and accessible supply of drinking water, connection with a sanitary sewage system, or the installation of Kentucky sanitary privies, fly-proof screening for dining rooms and kitchens and adequate room for each family.

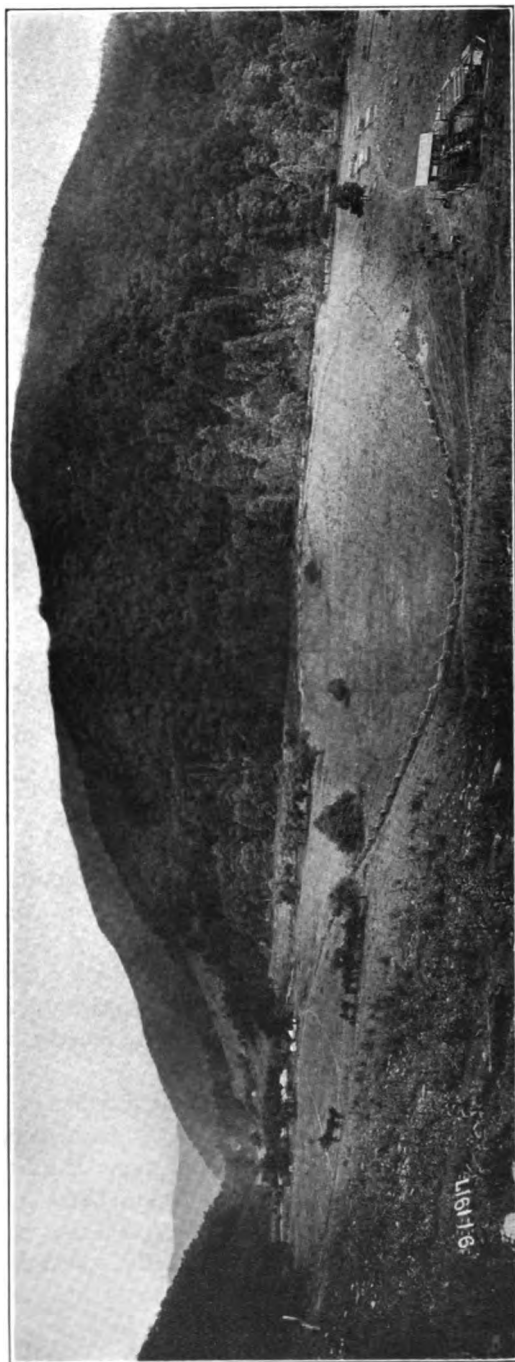
At Lynch and Benham, the necessity for building along scientific lines has already been recognized.

LYNCH

The town of Lynch has been carefully planned with streets to be macadamized, of easy grades and with electric lights. Gutters and curbs will supply good drainage into the creek, which is walled with stone. The hotel, schools, churches, hospital, commissary, and amusement buildings are conveniently located and will add to the appearance of the town.

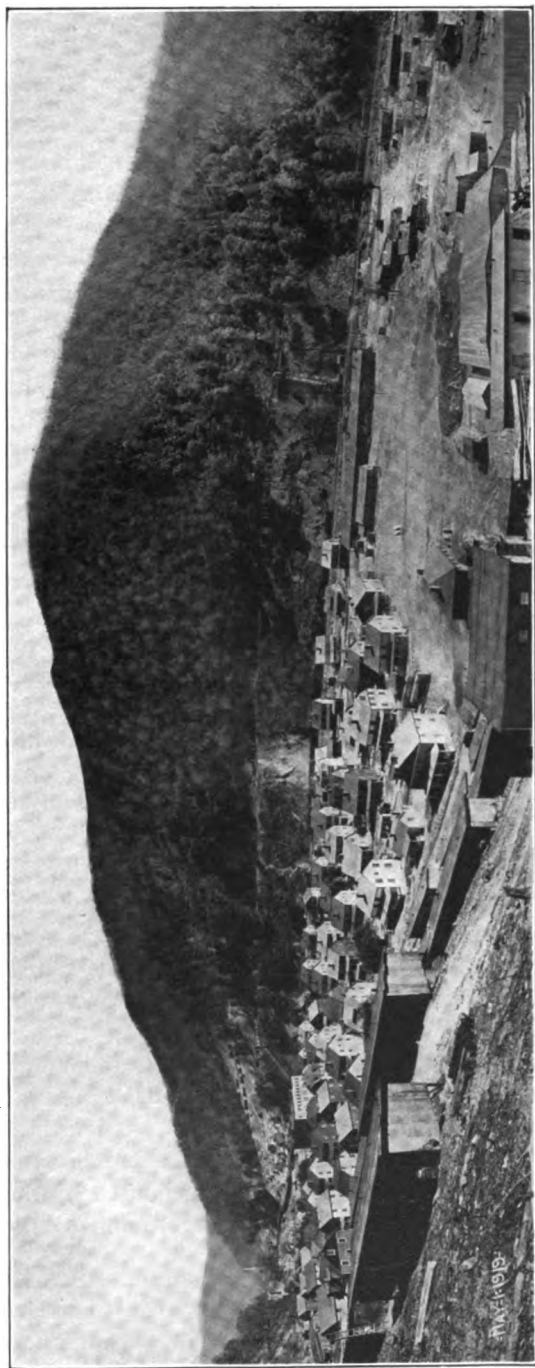
The houses are new, well constructed, and of varied sizes and designs. All are ceiled or plastered and their appearance is very pleasing. The company has provided a uniform fencing for the yards, and small gardens will be possible.

There were still in May, 1919, an insufficient number of houses to supply the needs of the camp, but the houses were being used for the most part by the married miners and their families. A great number of single men were living in crude barracks, with double decker bunks holding four men. Many of these barracks were found in a very dirty condition with badly soiled bedding and overcrowding which would compare with some of the worst barracks conditions the American soldiers suffered in France.



LOWER END OF THE TOWN OF LYNCH, SEPTEMBER 1, 1917.

This photograph was taken from the hills overlooking the site of the future Lynch. The fence incloses the corral for mules used in construction work, and their stable is in the right foreground. How well mules and men and engineers pulled together can be seen from the photograph on the following page, which shows the same spot just one year and eight months later.



LOWER END OF THE TOWN OF LYNCH, MAY 1, 1919.

The large brick building in the left background is the company store. The two-story houses are occupied by four families each or are used as boarding houses. The railroad runs along the base of the hills and a coal chute can be seen toward the right center. Back on the slope of the hill are the barracks occupied by the single men of the construction gangs.

WATER SUPPLY

As an emergency water supply deep driven wells had been placed throughout the camp. Most of these wells were curbed with concrete and thoroughly protected against surface pollution. Bacteriological examinations of the water have been made about once per month. Under such conditions, with so much digging and construction in the vicinity, it is unfortunate that examinations are not made more frequently. The company employs a chemist who will be able to make the tests as soon as a laboratory can be provided. A laboratory has been planned as a part of the hospital.

At present a great many people in the community are using water from the numerous springs in the mountainside. The camp surgeon has caused signs to be placed near some of these springs, warning people of the danger of drinking the water, but in a camp with so shifting a population, much more strenuous efforts are necessary to prevent its use.

The company has under construction deep wells with a reservoir upon the hill which will supply pure water to all parts of the camp. A tap and a sink with waste pipe attached which will carry the water into the town sewer are to be placed in each house in the camp.

SEWAGE DISPOSAL

The present methods of sewage disposal are far from satisfactory. The rapid growth of the camp has undoubtedly made this proposition a serious problem and the company has had an honest desire to meet the situation, but with the conditions found, it is surprising that there have been no more typhoid and diarrhoeal diseases.*

"Sanisept" closets constructed by a company in Wilmington, North Carolina, on the principle of a septic tank, have been installed through the camp. These closets are to be connected with a sewer system which is now under construction. At present they are supposed to be cleaned when full by a scavenger hired by the company, but on the date of inspection, some were found overflowing.

*Under date of January 20, 1920, The United States Steel Corporation reports that only one death from typhoid fever has occurred at Lynch and that there have been "very few cases of the disease."

Many of the seats had no covers. We were told that some months prior to our visit a little child had fallen into the vault through one of these uncovered seats and had been killed.

The most dangerous condition, however, is that of the open privy vaults on the outskirts of the camp. A number of these were open in the rear and exposed to flies, pigs, and small animals. Within less than 100 feet from a bakery supplying bread for the camp was seen an open privy in a filthy condition; and nearby was a horse stable that will, in all probability, with the advance of the fly season, supply plenty of flies to add another link to the chain of disease producing conditions.

At the colored school house near the bakeshop the outhouse was in the worst possible condition, with excreta running out upon the surface of the ground.

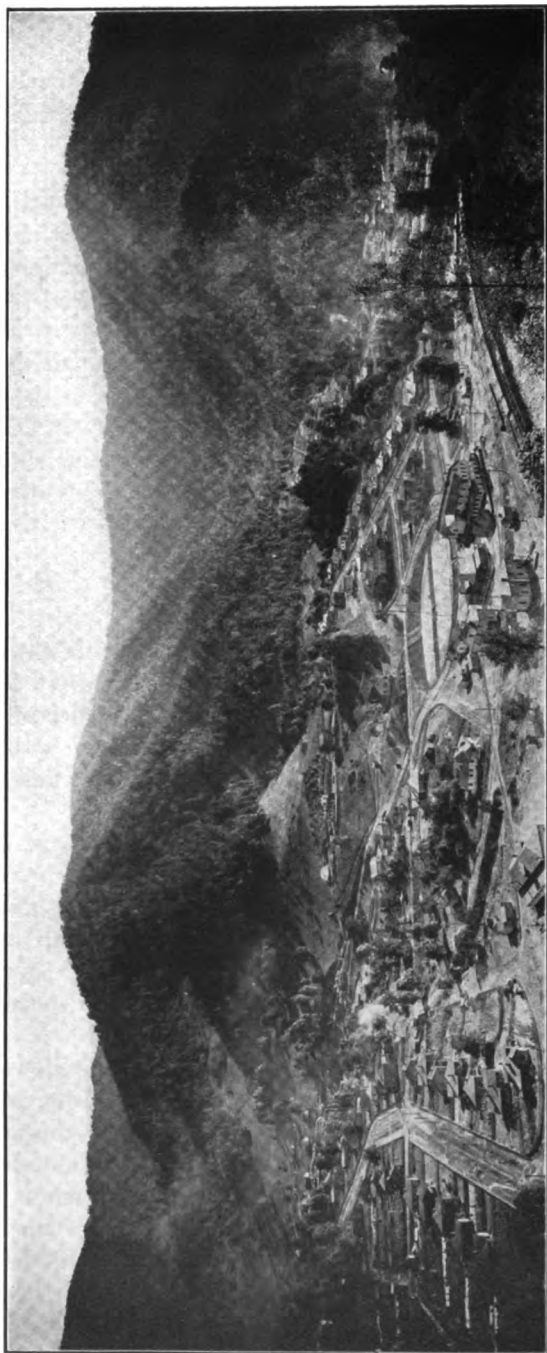
GARBAGE DISPOSAL AND FLY PROTECTION

Garbage and trash is removed from the vicinity of the camp by company scavengers. New covered garbage cans were seen at the back door of many houses; however, a large number of dirty open barrels were noted, which will probably swarm with flies as the season advances, unless removed. Tin cans were fairly well policed up throughout the camp.

Several large horse and mule stables in and at the edge of the camp were breeding some flies, and can be expected to become a fly menace at a later part of the season, unless manure piles are kept removed. At one of these stables in the center of the camp, a daily removal had been started.

The company intends to promote as far as possible the screening of all the houses.

Although the officials stated that pigs were not allowed on the streets of the town, this rule was evidently not being strictly enforced. Probably there were insufficient police or sanitary inspectors. A number of pigpens were seen in the camp and several times cows were noted in the backyards or on the streets. The management have laid out several places at the edge of the camp where animals may be kept adjacent to pasture land on the hillside, and it is very likely that these rules will be enforced as the camp becomes better organized.



THE VILLAGE OF BENHAM.

Especially noteworthy is the location of the recreation field, the circular plot of land in the heart of the town. About it cluster the Y. M. C. A. building, the Company store and offices. Toward the left of the picture can be clearly seen the size of the lots on which the houses stand. A yard and a garden are possible for all.

BENHAM

Benham is situated on an elevation with good drainage, cinder roads, and electric lights. The houses have from two to four rooms and in the new camp which is lower in the valley, the houses are all of four rooms. Many of the houses in the older camp are dingy in appearance and need painting but practically every house has a large yard and a very good garden. The negro population is in a segregated district.

WATER SUPPLY

Water is piped throughout the camp from a central reservoir supplied from deep wells. The water is examined about once every month, although it is not done regularly. The company physician said that all examinations had shown the water to be satisfactory.

SEWAGE DISPOSAL

Leaching privy vaults are used throughout this camp. Many of these vaults were found in bad condition, exposed to flies and polluting the ground. Apparently no effort has been made to provide sanitary sewage disposal.

GARBAGE DISPOSAL AND FLY PROTECTION

The company provides scavengers for removal of garbage and waste. The streets were fairly clean and conditions about the camp appeared well policed. Numerous pigs were seen in the streets and pigpens were seen about the camp.

MORTALITY AND MORBIDITY

Under such living conditions as prevail in most of the smaller mining camps, what is the situation as to sickness and death rate? Unfortunately it is impossible to get accurate statistics for individual camps since the returns from small, unincorporated communities such as these are not separately kept by the State Board of Health. Even if they were, the figures would not present an accurate picture of actual conditions for a sick man is not long permitted to remain in the ordinary mining camp. The company

houses are needed for its workmen and when a miner becomes too ill to work, he moves out, "down the hollow" or "up the branch," and his death takes place elsewhere than in the camp.

Nor can the statistics for the county, as compiled by the State Board of Health be quoted with assurance because they are based upon an estimated normal increase of population since the last federal census and disregard entirely the abnormal increase due to the opening of the mines. When it is fairly certain that the two largest camps alone contain nearly as many people as the estimate allows for the entire county, it is obviously unfair to accept a typhoid death-rate based upon the latter. It proved impossible to get any reliable figures from any source upon which death or sickness rates could be computed.

Certain totals, however, are in themselves of significance. Seven hundred and eighty-five births were reported from Harlan County in 1918 and there were 110 deaths of infants under one year of age, approximately one death to every eight births. Thirty babies under two years of age died from diarrhoeal diseases; 12 deaths occurred at other ages from the same cause; 16 deaths from typhoid fever were reported. This indicates a high death-rate from preventable causes and a comparison of the proportion which such deaths bear to the total number of deaths from all causes reported for the last eight years shows that in Harlan County, the situation is growing worse, instead of better. During the five-year period from 1911 to 1915, inclusive, an average of 47 out of every 100 deaths in Harlan County were due to preventable diseases. In 1916, the figure was the same; in 1917 it had risen to 56, and by 1918, to 73. During the same period, the rate for the state rose from 41 to 45. The increase in both state and county in 1918 was due in large part to the influenza but that extraordinary epidemic had nothing to do with the fact that in 1917, more than half of the people who died in Harlan County lost their lives because of inadequate protection against preventable diseases.

Although the state law requires the reporting of contagious diseases to the State Board of Health, no reports were on file from Harlan County for 1918. Our interviews with company doctors indicated that there was a considerable amount of sickness most of the time, especially among the women and children. Girls marry young and are soon prematurely aged by excessive child-

bearing and its attendant ills. Families are large and the infant mortality rate is high. In practically every household which was visited, conditions were evident, even to the casual observer, which indicated the crying need for a well trained public health nurse.

One woman, still in her thirties, who was interviewed, is now almost completely paralyzed. She has four living children and has lost seven, only one of whom lived over three months. Her 15-year old daughter has chronic appendicitis, but refuses to have the needed operation performed. Bad health has kept her out of school so much that she has only reached the second grade.

A mother with three living children has lost three and has had six miscarriages. One of her babies died at three months of small-pox.

A woman with all the symptoms of advanced tuberculosis, says the doctor pronounced her "weak-breasted," but not tubercular. She is living on patent medicine because it "makes her stomach set better than anything else." She does not cough much now but has some pain in the chest and is badly emaciated. One summer she had pellagra, but she "took 14 bottles of Indian Herb medicine and got well." She lost six children in infancy.

A mother says that every one of her six children has trachoma. A 12-year old daughter, the only one to receive treatment, has been twice in the Government Hospital at London. The child can now see only a little. She has attended school only three months and of course can neither read nor write.

A physician reported an epidemic of venereal disease among the men, after the visit of a travelling carnival which featured dancing concessions. It was naturally almost impossible to get any information in personal interviews about the prevalence of venereal diseases. Two boys, 18 and 13 years of age, told the men investigators that they had been infected by two young girls who plied their trade of clandestine prostitution at the company boarding house.

MEDICAL AND NURSING CARE

The medical care available to miners and their families was, so far as could be learned, wholly remedial in character. No preventive work except an infrequent inspection of the water supply and an occasional vaccination was being done by physicians and no public health nurses were at work in the county except at Lynch and Benham.

Each camp had a "company doctor" paid by cuts taken from the wages of the men by the company, usually 75 cents or \$1 a month

for a bachelor and \$1.50 for a married man. Thus ordinarily the monthly salary of the physician varied with the number of employees, but one camp was found where the doctor was guaranteed \$100 a month and the company furnished medicine free. The physician is supposed to care for any case of accident or sickness occurring in the camp without charge either to the men or their families. He is allowed, however, to ask a fee for the treatment of venereal



MEDICAL EXAMINATION OF EMPLOYEES, WISCONSIN STEEL COMPANY, BENHAM.

diseases, for obstetrical work and for major operations, except those covered by the Workmen's Compensation Act.

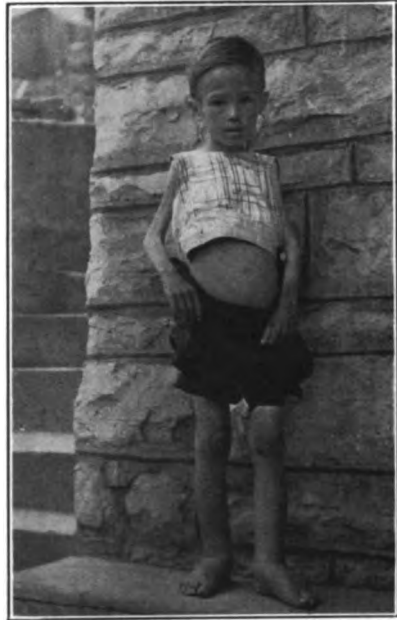
The usual fee for obstetrical cases is \$15 and this rarely includes any supervision during pregnancy. No cases were reported to us where the urine had been tested or measurements had been taken, even in the case of a primipara. The physician assists in the actual delivery and makes one or two calls afterward, but the essential preliminary precautions are seldom if ever taken. Yet the miner prefers to have a physician care for his wife during childbirth. Midwives are resorted to only as a second choice when a physician

is unobtainable. The number of registered midwives in Harlan County is 34.

Although each doctor is supposed to be on call at any time, several miners reported great difficulty in getting medical services promptly. One physician was said to refuse altogether to make night calls. With two exceptions all the physicians interviewed live at Harlan Town and the lack of good roads leading to the camps has already been described. One man frequently serves several camps besides carrying on a private practice. The miners are convinced that the private practice profits at their expense and it is certain that under the present arrangement their wives and children are not receiving the medical attention which they need. The following brief extracts from individual reports indicate the seriousness of the situation:

Camp No. 1.—During the last year, the doctor said there had been ten cases of small-pox. He quarantined them but did not compel vaccination. He spoke of the deplorable condition of certain homes, saying the filth and stench were worse than in some toilets, but stated that he did not feel free to go in and order the people to clean up because they might get up a petition to have him removed. "You know a miner is always a miner," he said, "and one can not do anything for these people."

Camp No. 3.—Small-pox vaccination is not enforced; typhoid inoculations cost \$5; at the time of our visit, a case of diphtheria was not quarantined, except that the family was told to keep out visitors. The house was not placarded and the husband of the patient was working in the mine as usual. Several other cases of diphtheria had been previously reported in this camp. Although



BADLY INFECTED WITH HOOKWORM.

Note the lack of expression, emaciation, pot belly and swollen feet.

the physician lives within a stone's throw of the schoolhouse, the two teachers, both of whom were interviewed and both of whom had taught in the camp school more than two years, said that so far as they knew, the physician had never visited the schoolhouse. He had never given them any instructions as to the detection and exclusion of contagious diseases and had never made any physical examinations of the school children.

Camp No. 4.—Here the physician is selected by joint agreement between the miners and the company. He stated that if the mine owners would hire him outright so that he was not dependent upon the favor of the miners for his living, he would require the men to clean up and maintain sanitary conditions. He stated that no attempt had been made to vaccinate for small-pox at the time of one epidemic.

Camp No. 14.—This doctor, who also serves Camp No. 12, frankly admits that he does no preventive work. Vaccination is not compulsory although there has been a good bit of small-pox in the camp at different times. There is no typhoid inoculation except when persons request it. The doctor believes that "half the people in camp have hookworm," but he said, "Cases seldom become serious. You treat a child having hookworm and there is no difference. The worms are so few they are not taking much of the blood."

Camp No. 6.—The manager said there was one case of small-pox in camp last year but when he tried to get the county health officer to enforce quarantine, he could get no response. The family were left at large. "But the force of public sentiment really compelled them to confine themselves pretty closely to their own quarters."

The only hospital in the county at the time of our visit was a private institution at Harlan Town and a temporary structure at Lynch which was to be replaced by a permanent building later. To the Harlan Hospital were sent operative cases from any of the camps and to defray the cost of their care, it was customary in certain camps to deduct 25 cents a month from the wages of each miner. Two men in one camp said they were not "cut," because they had objected on the ground that the Workmen's Compensation Act furnished hospital care. In two camps where the cut was optional no one was taking advantage of it and figures given by the chief nurse at the Harlan Hospital indicate how little the hospital is used by miners or their families. She reports that from January, 1919, to December 1, 1919, 24 patients were received from mining camps: 11 were surgical cases; 6 injuries; 4 dysentery; 1 maternity; 1 pelvic peritonitis; and 1 catarrh of stomach.

In addition to making deductions from the men's wages for hospital care, certain camps take also \$1 a month for a burial fund. The influenza epidemic made deep inroads upon this fund. In one camp miners considered it particularly desirable that both burial and hospital fund should be audited and a report made to the men of the way in which the money had been spent.

HEALTH WORK AT LYNCH AND BENHAM

Two nurses both with good previous experience in public health work and a staff of two physicians are employed by the Wisconsin Steel Company at Benham to safeguard the health of the village. Each applicant for a position in the mines is physically examined and is assigned to work fitted to his capacity. All sickness and accident cases are given medical and nursing care in their homes when necessary and the families of the miners receive the same benefits as the man without extra charge except for confinement cases.



NURSES ASSISTING PHYSICIANS IN DISPENSARY MAINTAINED BY THE
WISCONSIN STEEL COMPANY AT BENHAM.

Between January 1, 1918 and January 1, 1919, the nurses made 1,286 nursing calls, and 100 welfare calls in the homes. In the first three months of 1919, the doctors averaged 542 calls a month; the nurses, 134. Plans for an infant welfare clinic were under consideration.

The work is paid for in part by deductions from the wages of the men, amounting to 50 cents a month for the single and \$1 for the married man.

A similar scheme of health care was in process of development at Lynch, and there as already indicated, the company will erect its own hospital.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The solution of the health problem in the small camps of Harlan County is probably the creation of the county health unit, as advocated by the State Board of Health. This would consist of a typical all-time county health officer and assistant physicians as needed, with public health nurses and a county board of health to back them up. "It is thoroughly impracticable," says a recent report on health conditions in Kentucky, "for the State Board of Health to spread its activities so as to demonstrate to the miners and mine operators what might be done to prevent disease and even if it did succeed in convincing them that the company physicians might be used for preventive work, it could not supervise that work and make it effective. . . . The United Mine Workers of America and the Mine Operators' Association should prove excellent channels for collective education and effort along health lines."

Prior to the passage of the Workmen's Compensation Act it is possible that cutting wages for medical and hospital care may have been defended on the ground that better care could be provided for the men on such a basis than they would be apt to secure for themselves. It was a system designed primarily to get the workman back to work again and only incidentally to care for his wife and children. The miner is now protected against accident by the Workmen's Compensation Act and he would prefer to choose and pay his own physician in case of illness. His family, as already indicated, are receiving little help through the company doctors and the preventive features of public health work are being almost wholly neglected. In the course of an investigation into the health

of coal miners, carried on in Ohio, Dr. Emory R. Hayhurst found that contract practice had been almost wholly discontinued in coal mining villages because it was looked upon with disfavor both by the county medical society and by the local unions, and because the doctors themselves regarded it as "not feasible or satisfactory."

It is suggested that the Workmen's Compensation Act of Kentucky be amended to include compensation for occupational diseases as is now the case with the laws of California, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Wisconsin, and that the employers who maintain substitute benefit funds be required under penalty to report annually on the medical arrangements made and on the income and expenditures of such funds, as is now required in Nevada.

EDUCATION

The public schools in the mining camps of Harlan County are maintained jointly by contributions from the mining companies and by taxation. The arrangement usually followed is for the mining company to give a site for the schoolhouse, to bear one-half or one-third of the cost of construction; to have a voice in the selection of the teachers. The company may also supply extra teachers or increase the pay of teachers, as in one camp where the principal drew \$70 of his salary from county funds and \$40 from the company, and where the grade teacher's pay had been in the same way raised from \$50 to \$60. In seven camps out of twelve where schools were carried on, the company in addition bore the entire cost of extending the school year from the six months allowed for by the county funds, to eight or nine months. At least one company provided free textbooks. The county provides such school equipment as desks and blackboards, assists in the selection of teachers, and supervises the work of the school.

Part of the money contributed by the companies—no one seems to know exactly what proportion—is derived from deductions, or "cuts" arbitrarily taken from the wages of the men. It is not uncommon to find that men are thus being compelled to pay for the support of the schools, whether or not they have children in attendance, but arrangements vary in the different camps.

At Camp No. 8, a "cut" of \$1 for married men, and 75 cents

for bachelors, was made without consulting them. The local union sent a delegation of protest to the county superintendent of schools, but he persuaded them to give the plan a fair trial and the improvement in the school finally convinced them of its value. Two other camps reported that the men had themselves voted a "cut" of 25 cents a month for schools. In Camp No. 14, the salary of the principal is paid by the county, but the salary of his assistant is made up by public contribution, the company paying one-half and the miners the other half. This is voluntary on the part of the miners. In Camp No. 4, only those men who send children to school, pay for the two months extension.

Camp No. 12 is now an independent common graded school district. The mining camp district has been consolidated with the village district and all the school tax voted in the new district goes back into its own schools. Nothing is paid the county and nothing is received from the county except general supervision. A tax of 25 cents has been voted, which is five cents in advance of the county tax. This plan is also to be followed at Lynch, but at Benham the old system of "cuts" is still used.



LENGTH OF TERM

Twelve of the 32 mining companies listed in the membership of the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association in May, 1919, had public schools in session upon their ground. Of these, five has a six month's term; two, eight months; one, eight and one-half months; two, nine months; one at a new mine had been opened only two and one-half months, and for one, while it was clear that the school year had been extended beyond the customary six months, it was not definitely stated for how long a period. All these schools were closed from two to three months during 1918-19 on account of the influenza.

TRAINING AND SALARY OF TEACHERS

Because of the comparatively high wages which mining camp schools offer for a longer school term than the six months of the ordinary county-supported school, it was not difficult to supply them with teachers distinctly above the average for the county,

so far as training goes. Twenty-four out of 87 Harlan County rural school teachers in 1918-19, according to the statement of the county superintendent of schools, had not gone beyond the 8th grade, and eight of the 24 had not even completed a common school education. Among the 12 teachers in charge of mining camp schools, for whom information was secured, two were normal school graduates, one was a college graduate and had attended four sessions of normal school; three had attended three normal school sessions each and two, two sessions; and three had attended high school for periods of one, two and three years respectively.

Salaries ranged from \$50 a month paid to one teacher, to \$125 paid to one teacher only. The average was \$83. The average salary of teachers in the graded schools of Harlan Town is \$65.

TABLE No. 4
SALARY SCHEDULE OF 12 TEACHERS IN HARLAN COUNTY
MINING CAMP

1 teacher.....	\$50.00
2 teachers.....	65.00
2 teachers.....	68.00
2 teachers.....	70.00
3 teachers.....	100.00
1 teacher.....	115.00
1 teacher.....	125.00

Schools were closed at the time of our visit and although several teachers were interviewed in their homes, it was naturally impossible to form any judgment as to the quality of instruction given.

COURSE OF STUDY

All schools followed the state course of study, but none offered instruction in household economics, manual training or agriculture, except at Benham where the girls were given credit by the public school for work in domestic science classes taught by a social worker at the Young Men's Christian Association building.

Eighth grade work was offered in only seven of the twelve schools and the 8th grade pupils formed only 4 per cent of the whole number enrolled. The following table which is based upon figures given by the county superintendent of schools, indicates the startling



DOMESTIC SCIENCE CLASS. UNDER AUSPICES OF COLORED YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, BENHAM.

fact that although there was no evidence of an abnormal age distribution of children in the camps, less than one-fourth of the mining camp children had in 1918-19 progressed farther in school than the 4th grade.

TABLE No. 5

GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF 2,037 MINING CAMP CHILDREN

Grade	No. of Children	Percentage
1st.....	700	34
2nd.....	377	18
3rd.....	242	12
4th.....	292	14
5th.....	192	10
6th.....	55	3
7th.....	103	5
8th.....	76	4
Total.....	2,037	100

RETARDATION

Every one who was interviewed emphasized the retardation of the children and when one recalls what the school situation was in Old Harlan County, and the high rate of illiteracy in the eastern mountain district of Kentucky generally, their assertions can hardly be doubted. "It is nothing uncommon," said one superintendent, "to have 16, 17 and 18-year old children come into the camp who can neither read nor write." At Benham during 1918-19, thirteen children over ten years of age were unable to read or write when they entered school.

House to house interviews gave us age and grade figures for 82 children taken at random in four mining camps. Using the three year basis for estimating retardation, 46 of these children or 56 per cent were retarded from one to eight years. Seven other children of compulsory school age in the same families had never attended the school at all and only six of those in school had advanced beyond the 4th grade.

TABLE No. 6
AGE AND GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF 82 MINING CAMP CHILDREN

Age	GRADE						
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh
Six.....	4						
Seven.....	7						
Eight.....	6	5					
Nine.....	4	1	1				
Ten.....	2	2	5	2			
Eleven.....	3	3	2	4			
Twelve.....	2	3	3	5			
Thirteen.....	1	..	1	1	1	1	
Fourteen.....	..	4	3				
Fifteen.....	..	1	..	1	1		
Sixteen.....	..	..	..	..	3		
Total.....	29	19	15	13	5	1	
Total Retarded	12	13	9	7	5		

In one small camp within a mile of Harlan Town a complete census was taken of the children. There were only 25 houses in the camp and although the numbers were naturally very small, the following table is of some value as illustrative of typical conditions in certain recently opened mining territory. This camp had no school of its own and the children had either to go to Harlan or to the school at Camp Number 7.

TABLE No. 7

GRADE AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF 15 CHILDREN IN CAMP No. 9

Sex	Age	Grade	School Attended
M	6		Never attended
M	6		Entered primer class at Camp No. 7, but sent home by teacher. No room for him.
F	7		Never attended
M	8	1st	Harlan
F	8	2nd.	Harlan
F	8	1st.	Camp No. 7
F	8	2nd.	Camp No. 7
F	8	In 1st grade, but has never entered school in this camp, though here two months.	
M	9	In 1st grade, but has been out of school for 9 months; never entered here.	
M	11	1st.	Camp No. 7
F	12	In 1st grade, but has been out of school for 8 months; never entered here.	
M	12	2nd.	Pine Mountain Settlement School
M	12	In 3rd grade at Harlan, but out of school for 2 months on account of eyes.	
M	14	2nd	Camp No. 7
F	15	In 4th grade, but has not attended for a year and a half. Mother sick.	

A 16-year old boy from this camp was attending school at Harlan where he was enrolled in the 5th grade. Until October 7, 1918, he had been employed as wagon driver at the mine. On that day he was run over by a car in the mine and his leg was broken. At the time of our visit, in May, the boy was still unable to go back to work and with the \$9.40 a week which he drew as compensation for the injury, he was pluckily trying to get a little more education.

The only high school in the county is that at Harlan. The principal reports that during the school year 1918-19, five children from mining camp communities outside the city limits were enrolled in high school classes.

Benham plans to offer 9th grade work next year and Lynch will eventually provide high school training for both white and colored children.

The statement was generally made that few children of miners were sent away to school either for grade or high school work.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS

SANITATION AND EQUIPMENT

School buildings were inspected in ten camps. Certain outstanding facts were true of all. None had adequate space for playgrounds and none had any play apparatus at all; none had adjustable desks, although the patent single desk was usually found; no floors had been oiled and dry sweeping with its accompanying dust nuisance prevailed. There were no drinking fountains and so far as could be learned only the common drinking cup was to be found. All but two schools subjected the sight to a severe strain by cross lighting; none of the few shades found at the windows were in good condition. The stoves, upon which all but one school-house depended for heat, were unjacketed and usually stood in the center of the floor with desks crowded about them. The toilets were invariably in bad condition.

Typical of the worst of these conditions was a building which was supposed to house a school population of 137 children. The door leading into the one large school room was found open, although school had been closed for six months. The floor was filthy and

torn textbooks lay scattered about in the dirt. The desks, which were of the patent non-adjustable type, were not fastened to the floor, but were piled together in one corner. Two unjacketed stoves stood in the center of the room. There were windows on three sides and the arrangement of the blackboards indicated that the children sat directly facing the light. The floor had never been oiled. A



A MOUNTAIN SCHOOL.

This building is better than many still found in the Hill Country.

rickety table was provided for the teacher's desk and a few cheap unframed pictures hung crookedly upon the walls. The outhouses were open surface privies without pits. The door was gone from one; the seats had no lids; the floor was covered with excreta. Both toilets were located about 100 feet down hill from the well. The well was driven, of unknown depth, with a wooden crub of rough boards insufficiently protected from surface pollution. It

is not strange that many parents shared the feeling of one mother of four children who said: "When we came here, seemed like it was such a turrible large place they'd orter have a good school and I was plumb disgusted when I found out what it was."

Even the best building seen suffered from certain bad features. This schoolhouse stood on a hillside so steep that there was no level space for a playground. The building was well constructed on a concrete foundation, was plastered inside, and was heated by a hot air furnace. A large central hallway connected the four class rooms, two of which opened together by folding doors thus forming an auditorium capable of seating 200 people. Two of the rooms were properly lighted from the left side and the rear, and the two others could easily have been so arranged that the light fell from the left, as it should, instead of from the right, as it did. All were equipped with single non-adjustable patent desks. Good pictures hung upon the walls, a flag staff stood in the front yard, a cabinet organ and a small library helped to make the building attractive. Sanitary toilets of an approved type had been provided, but at the time of inspection they were in bad condition. There were no lids for the seats and the floor was extremely dirty. One building with a partition was used for both boys and girls.

HEALTH WORK

Health work was chiefly conspicuous by its absence. Medical or nursing care had not been provided for any of the school children in the mining camps visited except at Benham, where the company doctor had given all the white children a routine physical examination and a trachoma specialist from the United States Public Health Service had inspected eyes. During the preceding school year the Young Men's Christian Association had brought on a physician from Louisville who had examined eyes, ears, nose and throat. The visiting nurses employed by the International Harvester Company at Benham feel that they are accomplishing practically the same work as school nurses, since they care for any sick children referred to them by parents or school teachers. This may take care of contagious diseases or actual illness, but it gives too little opportunity for the preventive work which ought to be constantly under way, especially with the shifting population of a mining town.

ADEQUACY OF SCHOOLS PROVIDED

When it is remembered that between 1910 and 1919 the public school population of Harlan County more than doubled and this in spite of the fact that the upper age limit was changed from 20 to 18, it can easily be seen that the construction of school houses to keep pace with this increase has been no easy task. In discussing the adequacy of the provision of public schools for the mining camps of Harlan County it must also be remembered that the camp settlements are close together and that several of them run into the outskirts of Harlan Town. For industrial purposes, they are separate communities but they have no political organization and for governmental purposes they are simply parts of the county. It is quite to be expected that the camps which are close to Harlan Town should send children to the city schools and that there would be combinations among adjoining camps. The consolidation of schools ought to mean better opportunities for the children. Accordingly, when the statement is made that five of the sixteen mining villages visited have no schools at all, either for the white or the colored children, it does not necessarily mean that those children are deprived of all opportunities for education. It may mean, however, that unduly heavy difficulties are placed in the way of their getting it.

Camp No. 7 maintained a school which received children only up to the 3rd grade. The older boys and girls went to Harlan. They were obliged to walk down the railroad tracks and to cross several trestles on their way. They left home shortly after seven in the morning and returned about five in the afternoon. The trains ran a little too late in the morning and a little too early at night to enable them to ride and no free transportation scheme had been developed. A woman who sent two little girls, said she had not an easy moment until they were back at night. A miner said the boys were so rough that "everybody dodges when the children go by to school;" they "rock" each other and the passers-by and "fight all the way down the track." The company doctor had just told one colored girl that she was not physically able to walk so far and she had already dropped out of school. A white boy who would finish the 3rd grade in May, had a foot so badly crippled by infantile paralysis that he was unable to walk far with-

out falling. His parents were planning to move to Harlan in the fall so that he might continue in school there, but the other children whose parents were indifferent or were unable to move continued to "walk the ties" in good weather and bad.

In Camp No. 1, rather than allow the children to walk a mile up the track to the nearest school, the parents decided to start a subscription school. The miners who were willing gave \$1 a month from their wages and the company gave dollar for dollar. This school was in session four months of last year.

Overcrowding within the building was common. At one camp where 137 children were reported by the school census taker, a one-room building was provided within which two teachers struggled to maintain order. At another, two rooms were the only accommodation for 147 children. At a third, which prides itself upon its good schools, 366 children were enrolled under five teachers, an average of 70 children to the room. The average attendance however, was only 191 which brought down the numbers to 38 to the room.

Combinations among camps also produced certain difficulties. To the one building at Camp No. 7, which received only white children of the 3rd grade and under, came all the little people from two neighboring mines. Last year the room was so overcrowded that the teacher sent home several of the younger children, saying the county superintendent had told her to do so. The mothers of four of these children, who were interviewed during our visit, expressed their regret at this situation.

In another camp the school was extended two months by "cuts" from the miners' wages. Children from a second camp attended throughout the school year and also during the extra two months, although their parents were not assessed for the upkeep of the school during the period of extension.

NEGRO SCHOOLS

Inadequate as the present schoolhouses were to meet the needs of the white children, the situation was even worse with regard to the negroes. In the small camps, comparatively few negroes were employed and there were not enough colored children to warrant starting a school. Consequently the little ones stayed out

altogether and the older group walked to Harlan or not, as they pleased.

In Camp No. 7, ten colored children of school age were found, four not attending school at all, six walking to the colored school at Harlan, a distance of approximately two miles. One colored woman had taught her little girl at home until she was ready to enter the 4th grade, but the other 12- and 14-year old children were in the 2nd and 3rd grades. In Camp No. 3, where 12 colored children were without any school facilities at all in 1918-19, the superintendent of the mine had set aside an old dwelling to be used as their schoolhouse another year. In 1918-19, the county superintendent reported that there were only three colored teachers in the county, outside of Lynch and Benham.

At Lynch one colored school with two teachers was conducted in temporary quarters. The school census at Benham listed 135 colored children, but the average attendance at school was only 65. There were two teachers, both well trained and well paid. Plans were on foot for the erection of a \$6,000 brick schoolhouse which is to have adequate provision for playgrounds, but the present school was conducted in the colored church building which is poorly equipped and has no playground.

There were in 1918-19 six colored children in the 8th grade at Benham. It will be impossible for them to continue their education without leaving home, for Harlan County has no high school which negro children may attend.

ENFORCEMENT OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION LAW

Since only one of the mining camps visited is incorporated as an independent school district, the other schools must depend upon the county superintendent for assistance in enforcing the compulsory education law. Harlan County has no county truant officer, but in 1918-19 the superintendent divided the county into six educational divisions, selected the best school in each division and made the teacher of this school attendance-supervisor of the district. Service was upon a volunteer basis but the superintendent estimated that during the first month of the school year, each school was visited two or three times. Then came the influenza and all

schools were closed. When the "ban" was lifted, two or three months later, children and schools were thoroughly demoralized and little effort was made to enforce attendance.

The percentages of daily attendance based upon enrollment, as entered in the records of the county superintendent need to be studied with thought of the shifting population in mind. According to those figures, the average daily attendance for the children of 12 mining camp communities was 62 per cent. The children who were enrolled attended less than two-thirds of the time, and, as already indicated, many never entered school at all.

So far as we could learn, Benham was the only camp where the compulsory attendance law had been invoked. There, warrants were sworn out against 13 parents, charging them with failing to send their children to school, and they were tried before the local justice of the peace. All demanded a jury trial and when the hearing resulted in a "hung" jury, all were dismissed.

ATTITUDE OF PARENTS

The comments made by miners and their wives upon the school situation were at times caustic. Indifferent as a few members of the labor group seemed to be, there was evident among the great majority a pathetic eagerness that their children should have the advantages of an education which had many times been denied their parents. But they wished it to be an education which meant something. Said one mother: "We don't force our children to go to school because we ain't had no good teacher and if your children don't learn nothing they're better off out of school than in." A Scotch woman spoke with pride of the excellent schooling she had enjoyed in the grades at Edinburgh. "If you stayed out of school a single day there," she said, "they came and got you. And here we haven't even had a school in session all year." The youth and inexperience of certain teachers did not pass unremarked. "Yes, she probably did the best she could," the mothers would say, "but she was just a little young thing."

Members of the field staff attended a union meeting where some 80 men, both white and colored, were present, and talked with the men about the school situation. While union sentiment was strongly against "cuts" for medical care, everyone was willing to be assessed

for the upkeep of the schools, whether or not he had children in attendance.

At a meeting of the Industrial Council at Benham, schools were under discussion. Said a miner, "We want the best there is for our children. If the best teachers are in New York, send to New York for them. We are willing to pay."

RECOMMENDATIONS

At bottom, the failure of most mining camp schools in Harlan County to get the children into school in the first place and to hold them, once they are enrolled, goes back to defects in the educational system of the state. The education of the young is a public responsibility and it should not be necessary for the mining companies, by deductions from the wages of their employees and by contributions from the management, to supplement the county funds in order to provide decent schooling for the children of the community. When taxes in Kentucky are equitably assessed and when the school funds are distributed upon the proper basis, so undemocratic an arrangement as company subsidized schools need no longer be followed. When this is done, one of the chief difficulties in the way of consolidation will be removed. But pending the arrival of that much to be desired time, it is probable that the present system must be continued. Are there ways in which the county and the companies, working together, may improve the schools of Harlan County?

The first and greatest need is the appointment of a county truant officer with assistants sufficient in number adequately to cover the county, who should be rather visiting teachers with a social viewpoint than persons of the deputy sheriff order, and who would concern themselves, not only with getting truant and non-attendant children into school, but with removing the causes of their absence. The salaries offered should be large enough to attract workers of the highest type. Harlan County can well afford to make such an investment and if its fiscal court has the wisdom to do so, it will be repaid a hundredfold.

In the second place, those concerned with the schools need to realize that they are dealing with abnormal communities, quite different from the villages where men own their homes and work at

different trades and where the children have varied household tasks and pleasures. When the schools are closed, the child in the average mining camp has very little to do. It is not strange that he frequently gets into mischief. His thwarted play instincts must find vent somewhere. The absolute monotony of life in a place where all the men do the same thing, where all the houses are alike and where there is little or no natural opportunity for wholesome recreation is a factor which must be seriously considered in planning the school work.

At a conference recently called by the Federal Bureau of Education to discuss the best kind of schools for mining towns, two propositions which received much favorable attention were the development of all-year schools and the introduction of the work-study-play plan. The suggestion of the all-year school brings with it the need of erecting simple residences for the teachers, so that they may really share the life of the community for twelve months of the year. The work-study-play plan is an adaptation of the Gary system whereby the child spends a part of his school day at academic work, a part at manual work and a part in free play. This plan should be followed throughout the year but when school is conducted for twelve months, the proportion of time given to recreation and handwork should be increased during the summer. It goes without saying that if the county public health unit is created, the sanitation of schoolhouses and the medical inspection of school children will receive attention.

The school buildings should be so planned that they can be used by adults for night classes, clubs, motion picture shows, dances and other forms of community education and recreation. Harlan County has now a serious problem of adult illiteracy to overcome; there is every indication that it will soon have the problems of Americanization as well. The public school is the logical center of attack for both, and all new construction should be designed accordingly. The schoolhouses need not be overelaborate or expensive, but they should be capable of adaption to the various purposes indicated and such others as may from time to time arise. In spite of the obvious advantages of consolidation, it will probably be true that a simple building, easily accessible, will prove more valuable than one more completely equipped at a greater distance from the homes of the people.

CHILD LABOR

While there is practical unanimity of opinion on the value of good schools, the corollary of that assumption, which is that children should be in school and not at work, is not so generally accepted. The United Mine Workers of America as an official group heartily endorse the provisions of the federal child labor law, but a few individual members of local unions and many non-union men are not in entire sympathy with the law, as applied to their own families. "Boys are better off at work," was the general opinion, freely expressed.

The demand for child labor in mines is greater than is generally supposed.* Boys of 12 and 14 make good "trappers," for the task of guarding the trapdoors by which ventilation is regulated is easily within their strength, although the men generally regard it as the least desirable kind of work from the standpoint of physical comfort. Boys are also employed as "greasers" or "couplers" but by far the greater number seen in mines were assisting their fathers in loading coal.

The federal child labor law prohibits the employment of children under 16 in mines or quarries and imposes a tax of 10 per cent over all other taxes on the net profit of mines employing children in violation of this ruling. Prosecution is in the hands of the Department of the Treasury.

The child labor law of Kentucky prohibits the employment of children under 16 years in any capacity in, about, or in connection with any mine, coke oven, or quarry, and specifies that this provision shall be enforced by the state inspector of mines and his assistants, who shall prosecute for violations. Truancy officers are authorized, under the law, to visit mines, as well as factories; however, no reports of any visits by them could be had, except in one case, and a lack of co-operation in enforcing the child labor law is apparent.

The superintendent of schools and the compulsory attendance officer at Harlan Town both testified that boys under 16 are regularly employed in the mines about this city. The records kept by the attendance officer were seen and the cause of absence from school in a number of cases was "Working in mines."

* Most of the following section is quoted verbatim from the report on child labor by Mrs. L. B. Bush published in *Child Welfare in Kentucky*.

The superintendent of schools said he had made an honest effort to secure the co-operation of the state authorities in the enforcement of the law. He had on file in his office much correspondence which clearly substantiated this assertion. In 1917, the superintendent wrote the state inspector of mines as follows: "I am writing to inform you that children below the age of 16 are working in the mines in this section." The inspector answered and expressed surprise, referring the superintendent to the assistant mine inspector of that district. Immediately the assistant inspector was advised of the situation and replied, calling the attention of the superintendent to the scarcity of labor, but promising to look into the matter. Nothing more was heard from him, so a year later the superintendent again wrote, renewing his request and naming the operators violating the law. This time he was advised to call on an inspector recently appointed and living in the town of Harlan. A letter was at once addressed to this officer, but no answer was ever received.

The investigator sought an interview with the local inspector, who explained his work regarding safety appliances, drainage, etc. He said that he inspected for child labor and during his experience had put out of the mines some half-dozen boys under age. He had not made any prosecutions for these offenses and had not seen any boys for four or five months.

The following morning the investigators visited a mine within walking distance of Harlan, arriving at the hour the men went to work, and went in with them. The following boys were seen at work on this occasion:

John.....	14 years	Driver
Edgar.....	14 years	Trapper
Robert.....	15 years	Driver
Major.....	14 years	Trapper
Alfred.....	14 years	Loading coal with father
Alvin.....	12 years	Loading coal with father
Richard.....	13 years	Loading coal with father
George.....	13 years	Loading coal
Clarence.....	15 years	Loading coal
George.....	14 years	Loading coal (was formerly trapper)

At the close of the day the foreman said that the father of Alfred and Alvin had earned \$14 that day by using his two sons.

The father of Richard, age 13, said his son had been helping him since he was 8 years old. In the camp or village here three women admitted that their small sons were employed in the mine. These are not included in the list above.

There was not an affidavit on file at the office, nor an age certificate, and practically half of these boys testified that they had been employed in other mines in the community, giving their names. This was borne out by the records of the truancy officer.

In three other camps, children whose parents stated they were under 16, were reported to be regularly employed in the mines.

On passing beneath the tippie at a fourth mine, agents of the Committee caught sight of a little boy so small that his head was barely visible above the top of the freight car in which he was shovelling coal. He gave his name as Will B——, said he was past 16, although he admitted that he was only in the 2nd grade, and stated that he had been working on the tippie for one month. A miner standing near promptly informed us that the boy had been working over three months and various boys interviewed later, confirmed this statement and said the lad was not yet 16.

Charles, then 12, and in the 3rd grade, according to his mother, was trying very hard to get a job in the mines "because Will works." "That little peanut!" scoffed Charles, "he ain't 16!" But Charles' brother John, now 18, who has been the mainstay of the family since he was 11, thought differently of the value of child labor. "Yes, they had laws," said his mother, "but his paw got them to let the boy go in with him." "He got hurt, you see," explained John. "A mule drug him about two hundred foot an' after that he couldn't push any more, so they let me help him. I can read and write a little but I've never had much show." This boy had looked forward to being drafted, in the hope that army service would give him an opportunity for further education.

At the same mine a woman interviewed in her home on May 8th, gave the age of her son as 15 and said he would not be 16 for another month. For about two weeks the boy had been employed as a trapper at \$2 a day.

While all the mine managers clearly understood the terms of the federal law, they did not seem so familiar with the state law. Thus at one large corporation camp, where no evidence of the employment of children in the mines was observed a number of

young boys were regularly employed to carry water to a gang of construction men. This practice was stopped by the officials of the company when their attention was called to it.

In the same camp a 13-year old boy in the 5th grade was found selling ice cream cones in the motion picture theatre. His father was a skilled workman drawing good pay. The boy earned 50 cents a night and was supposed to remain until the show closed, about 11 o'clock. A bowling alley employed two little boys, 9 and 12 years of age, to set up pins. They said in the presence of the manager that they worked until 11 o'clock at night. A second visit was made and another boy 10 years of age had in the meantime been taken on.

Small boys delivered papers in at least three camps.

There were no opportunities for employment for girls except at domestic service in the boarding houses or in the families of the more highly paid employees, and few were qualified to hold such positions or wanted them. Early marriage offered much more attractive possibilities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The standard set by both the federal and the Kentucky child labor laws are high enough to give ample protection to children if properly enforced. The state department of labor as well as the mine inspectors should be empowered to inspect mines for violations of the child labor laws and the staff should be increased sufficiently to permit frequent inspections. The suggested enrichment of the curriculum of the public schools should also aid in diminishing the illegal employment of children by making school more attractive than work.

RECREATION

The physical limitations which the sites of Harlan County mining camps place upon the outdoor play of children have already been indicated. Lack of level ground, the proximity of railroad tracks, small yards and houses crowded together do not make for freedom. Indeed, the listless inactivity of the women and children is one of the most pitiful impressions which the visitor carries away with him. Life in a mining camp takes away many of the normal

tasks with which people have been familiar in their farm homes and it gives them no wholesome substitute. Loafing about the company store is a poor exchange for roaming the hills. The schools have failed completely to stimulate or direct the child's impulse to play. None of them have playgrounds, apparatus or instructors qualified to lead group games. This is especially to be deplored in Kentucky mining camps because many of the mountain children are individualists born, and have never come into contact with the socializing influences of team play. A man's sport in Old Harlan



JIGGING IT OFF TO THE MUSIC OF A
MOUNTAIN FIDDLE.

County too frequently meant moonshine and shooting and the boys early became familiar with these standards. Even today attempts at sport sometimes degenerate into free for all fights. A few years ago the county sheriff was killed at a ball game where he was trying to enforce good order. On a smaller scale the boys imitate this lawlessness. A well meaning mining superintendent in Harlan County built a merry-go-round for the children of his camp and left them to enjoy it unsupervised; the result was riot and debris—the strongest demonstration of the need for continued work along recreation lines, although the superintendent,

naturally, could hardly view the matter in that light.

Only three of the fourteen small camps had baseball diamonds and the boys had access to those only when the men did not want them. A fourth camp had plowed up its baseball field and its tennis courts for potatoes, during the war. One croquet ground was seen. These were literally all the provisions for non-commercial recreations to be found in any of the small camps, unless one includes a poorly selected school library of some 200 volumes which was locked up in the schoolhouse during the entire vacation period.



BASEBALL DIAMOND, LYNCH.

The small boys of course, made opportunities for themselves; they went swimming in the polluted waters of the "Fork" and with invincible optimism spent hours in fishing where no fish were. They played ball in the so-called streets at considerable risk to themselves, the bystanders and the windows. They accompanied their parents on those wildly exciting excursions known as "riding the train" when the whole family would solemnly enter the accommodation coach, journey to the end of the line and without leaving the coach come back again, covered with cinders but satiated with the wares of the "candy butcher."

The girls said that about all they had to do when their household work was over, was to crochet or walk to town. There were no decent dances which they could attend and the indecent Forty-Niners were a great temptation. In several camps dances had been forbidden altogether because of the disorder which almost always accompanied them.

One demure looking damsel of 15, when asked what she did for her good times, replied briskly, "I take my pleasure in serving the

Lord," and it is certain that the only social enjoyment which comes to many women and girls is that which they gain from some form of religious service. The religion of the mountains is apt to be of a highly emotional sort. The Holy Roller and other peculiar sects thrive and the ineradicable love for the dramatic finds some satisfaction in watching a sinner "Take a big through," as the process of conversion is called. Baptism is always by immersion and the baptising is a social event of the first importance to which people come from miles about. It is accordingly a real deprivation for the people of the ten camps to have no regular church service of any kind. Of the four camps where services were conducted only two had resident pastors. These four and one additional camp maintained Sunday Schools which met in the schoolhouse. Said one forlorn woman, "I ain't heerd a kind word since I been here; I ain't seen a church house; and I ain't seen or heerd a preacher."

The commercial amusements were limited to motion picture shows found in three camps and planned for in two others, pool rooms found in one camp and an occasional traveling carnival.

The motion picture theatres were commonly open three nights a week, Monday, Thursday and Saturday; prices were 10 and 15 cents. One theatre had a balcony to which negroes were admitted. Many children attended these shows regularly and a number of them in addition went in to Harlan theatres. One group of three small boys went to Harlan every Thursday night to see the Wild West serial films. If they went oftener than once a week they said they could not remember them all—"it gives us too much to think about."

The class of film shown at the camps, according to teachers, miners and managers, is very fair; comedy films and serials were the most popular, and the children were quite familiar with the leading actors in both fields. In Harlan Town a censorship board was established last year by action of the city council. It is composed of five women. The ordinance provides that this board shall examine and pass on all picture films before public presentation and shall eliminate anything tending to be of an immoral or improper nature. The board, however, does not view the pictures before they are shown. Films arrive in Harlan only a few hours before they are to be exhibited. Rejection then would leave the proprietor in a position of having to pay for a picture for which he would be

unable to secure a substitute; very likely he could not open his theatre at all that evening. These conditions of film distribution may have helped determine the policy of the board. The policy adopted is to make it plain to the proprietors that they must select and insist upon getting good pictures from the distributors. A Harlan pastor said, "The mere fact that there is a board and that these women have access to the shows at any time keeps a fairly high standard of film showing." The mayor concurred in this opinion.

Pool rooms had been closed by the manager in one camp because of the gambling and fights which took place there and in the one village where they were still to be found they bore a very bad reputation. The Kentucky state law provides that no minor shall be allowed in a pool room without written authorization or without parent or guardian, but the law is generally disregarded. Equally bad were the reports given about the traveling carnivals which from time to time passed through Harlan County. The following excerpts from a recent report on recreation in Kentucky* give an accurate picture of the carnival in a mining town.

"A typical carnival—note the quotation marks—is 'a grand aggregation of high grade canvas and platform shows.' There are also the gambling stalls. Thirty were counted with a single carnival. The gambling games and devices are many and various; some involve a bit of skill, as in throwing balls at dummies or pitching rings over jack knives, but in general the element of skill is slight or supposititious. The wheels usually are gambling devices in the strictest technical interpretation of the term; no skill whatever is involved and the losers get nothing at all. The losses of patrons are enormous in the total during the week's stay of a carnival in a town and frequently fall in places where they can not well be afforded. Some of the carnivals because of the immorality connected with them, may be fitly described as traveling bawdy houses, unlicensed, unregulated, uncontrolled. Prostitutes are either attracted to these carnivals or permitted to accompany them, leaving behind them a trail of physical as well as moral contamination. According to informants in whom the writer has confidence, boys 12 to 15 years old in Kentucky cities and towns have contracted

* Report by Raymond B. Fuller in *Child Welfare in Kentucky*.

venereal diseases from carnival women. In a mining camp the writer was told by the camp doctor and the mine superintendent that shortly after the arrival of a carnival last year a large number of men were incapacitated for work because of venereal diseases.

"Besides the immoral women accompanying the carnivals or attracted to the show grounds, there are in many cases other disreputables of divers sort, such as pickpockets and bootleggers. The carnival grounds seem to be a natural rendezvous of these folk and the whole motley crew of roughs and rowdies; once in a while a shooting affair takes place.

"The carnival is a great event in the lives of hundreds whose opportunity for amusement or recreation is otherwise meagre. Whole families attend every night. At one carnival the writer saw a child of 5 who had been brought by his parents five evenings that week; and twice the trio stayed until midnight. School superintendents report an increase of truancy when a carnival is in town. At one carnival in the evening the writer found six boys who were confirmed truants."

RECREATION AT LYNCH AND BENHAM

At Lynch and Benham, definite provision had been made for recreation in planning the towns and in engaging the staff.

Benham was unique in the approximate equality of recreation facilities afforded the negroes and the whites. Each race had its own Young Men's Christian Association building, which was the center of all social activities in the community, and each had two welfare workers, a man and a woman, who gave their full time to the services. The buildings were practically identical in equipment, except that the rooms used by the white employees were somewhat larger as they needed to be to accommodate the larger numbers found in the camp. All the recreation in Benham, except that afforded by an occasional traveling show or carnival, was under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association.

The Wisconsin Steel Company furnished the buildings and the sites and contributed \$75 monthly for the upkeep of the two branches. The State Young Men's Christian Association operated them and made up any deficit at the end of the year. No membership dues were charged, but the men paid for the use of the various facilities.

Ice-cream, soda-water, pop, candy, fruit, cigarettes, newspapers and magazines and the usual accessories were on sale at reasonable prices. This part of the undertaking was expected to clear expenses and a commercial spirit was rather evident in the management.

The buildings contained assembly room, with motion picture screen and stage, club rooms, bowling alleys, pool room, barber shop and shower baths. The assembly room in the white branch seated 150; in the colored branch, 100. Motion pictures were shown on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights. Ten and 15 cents was charged for admission. On Sunday afternoon two reels were shown free. The Association had an understanding with all the film supply houses that if the pictures did not "come clean," the contract was to be cancelled. The same films were shown at both white and colored assembly rooms.

On Sunday forenoon, a church service was held for the whites under the direction of the Y. M. C. A. secretary, with a speaker from outside whenever available and a song service was conducted at 2:15 each Sunday afternoon. There was no regular church



FLAG DRILL, GIRLS' CLUB, BENHAM.



A GARDEN FESTIVAL. COLORED CHILDREN'S CLUB, BENHAM.

organization in the camp for the white people. The Association secretary planned to start a "Liberty Church," along the lines of the undenominational churches of the munition cities, and at the time of our visit was negotiating with a prospective pastor. The colored people had a resident pastor and a church building which was used as a school during the week. Both groups had well-attended Sunday schools which met regularly.

The hotel at Benham, which was built and is operated by the company, had an attractive parlor with a good dancing floor, a piano and a Victrola. Weekly dances were held here for the clerical and office employees. No miners were admitted.

A large athletic field in the center of the village gave good opportunity for sports of various sorts and it seemed to be generally used. The baseball diamond was free to all but the two tennis courts were reserved for the office force. There was a band stand and a good band was said to have been organized among the employees.

The colored worker had both small boys and girls in a singing class which met weekly, and gave 24 small boys military drill in the

afternoons after school, using wands they made for themselves and utilizing discharged soldiers among the miners for drill masters.

Her book of games was in constant use at the school and at the Association building, and the colored people had many private parties in their own homes where they played these simple games, danced and sang, "spoke pieces" and "listened to the Victrola." Birthday parties were especially favored.

The singing classes were an important feature of the work among the negroes. A choral club of 35 men and women met weekly. They were attempting nothing ambitious but sang humns, war songs and simple music, and anyone who wanted to sing was welcome. The children were given an hour's instruction once a week in school and those who liked came to the Association building every Thursday afternoon for another hour.

Two cooking classes of eight girls each had been organized for the colored girls, one for the 12- to 16-year old group and the other for the 8- to 12-year olds. The Association kitchen had an electric plate and a small electric stove, dishes and kitchen utensils. The



A FAVORITE RECIPE WITH THE GIRLS' COOKING CLASS AT BENHAM.

instructor planned in addition to the work here to give demonstration lessons in the kitchens of the girls' own homes with such equipment as they had there. Her cooking classes often prepared and served simple refreshments to the parents who came to the auditorium for an evening literary program given by the children.

A sewing machine had just arrived and four girls who had machines at home were learning to use it.

The white worker, who was a graduate of the Young Women's Christian Association Training School at Chicago, used the Camp Fire and Blue Bird forms of organization for her girls' clubs, thus combining recreational and educational purposes, for she taught cooking and sewing to all groups. The Association building for the whites has a good domestic science equipment on a larger scale than that furnished the colored girls.

On the day of our visit, a group of Camp Fire girls and some of the older Blue Birds were starting on an all-day hike to the Pine Mountain Settlement School.

So far as the machinery of play is concerned, the girls, the men, and the older boys seemed to be fairly well taken care of, but several persons mentioned the lack of suitable recreation for the little boys and they, according to the camp constable, were the only ones who ever gave trouble by the commission of lawless acts.

LYNCH

At Lynch, the plans of the company called for the erection of two amusement houses, one in the upper part of Lynch and one in the lower. In the upper district, a two-story house built for two families had been converted into a temporary moving picture theatre and pictures were shown each afternoon and evening. This house was leased and the prices charged were those usually charged for the same pictures in the cities of the state. The superintendent stipulated that the prices might be the same but no more. The picture seen at time of visit was a very good film starring Douglas Fairbanks. He was popular, the manager said, and added that the most popular pictures were those showing scenes and customs of the West.

The building planned for the lower part of town had been completed at a cost of \$60,000. It was called the Victory Building. It was a three-story structure. The first floor contained two

restaurants, one for the white and one for the colored, both using the same kitchen. The same food was served and the same prices prevailed. One-half of this floor was given over to the theatre. The second floor contained an up-to-date pool room and bowling alley and the gallery of the theatre. Half of the third floor had been made into a dance hall with two good dressing rooms, one for men and one for women, provided with lavatories. The other half of the third floor contained a lodge room 35 x 60 feet and off this room were a number of dressing rooms and a reception room.

The other amusement building will cost \$125,000. The plan will be the same as the first. The foundation of this building had been laid and work was progressing rapidly at the time of our visit.

The Victory Building was leased to a group of men who operated the restaurants, the pool room and bowling alley, and the theatre and dance hall. The contracts were so written that the superintendent might remove any of these managers within five days. The lodge room was rented for \$4.50, each order paying this monthly rent.

One man rented and managed theatre and dance hall. The weekly program at the theatre included:

Tuesdays and Thursdays...	William Fox pictures are shown, Thursday having all comedy
Monday.....	Serial with three reels, comedy
Wednesday.....	Serial with three reels, comedy
Friday.....	World Features
Sunday.....	World Features
Saturday.....	Big Feature Rights

The manager stated that very few children visited the picture show, the largest attendance which he recollected being 60. The galleries were reserved for the negroes.

The dance hall was sublet on Friday nights to a colored man who had entire charge of the colored dances. Admission was 50 cents for the single men and 75 cents for a couple. The manager gave a dance for white people every Thursday night, admission \$1.50 and \$2.00. The miners' families were not admitted to these dances, or to the parties given every Saturday evening in the hotel. Admission to the hotel dances cost often as much as \$3.50.

There were to be two baseball parks, one in the lower part of town and one in the upper, costing approximately \$15,000 and a park playground fully equipped near the center of the town. The plan called for five tennis courts: two at the hotel, one at the superintendent's residence, one in the lower town and one in the upper.

Three temporary church buildings were in use. The plans of the company called for three permanent structures, Catholic, Protestant white and Protestant colored. In each case the company will give the land for the building, deeding it to the church, and liberal donations have also been promised the churches. All three churches had resident pastors and were holding regular services.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The problem of furnishing recreation of the right sort to the children of the mining camps can probably best be approached by those changes in the public school program which have already been suggested. A resourceful teacher will overcome the disadvantages of site and will teach the children how to make their own playground equipment if none is provided for them.

But it is good for old and young to play together and as an additional agency for developing community good times, the local home service branch of the Red Cross might well be utilized. The miners of this county almost without exception contributed a day's work or two to the Red Cross and did it gladly at a time when money was badly needed. Often the only touch of color in a bare little house would be the Red Cross membership card upon the wall. To such a group, rightfully proud of the share they had in supporting the Red Cross during the war, the home service worker may come, not as an outsider, but as one of themselves, and if she is tactful and sympathetic, she may gradually stimulate the inarticulate to expression and the recreationally starved to a satisfaction of their normal longing for pleasure. It may be done through a revival of such old time festivities as the quilting-bee, or the apple-paring, or the barbecue, or by the introduction of modern innovations like the motion picture or the pageant, but however it is done, if it is to be wholly successful, it must be what the people want and not something which is forced on them from outside. The Pine Mountain

Settlement has conclusively demonstrated how rich a recreational life may be provided for both children and adults without an elaborate equipment or the expenditure of large sums of money.

DELINQUENCY AND DEPENDENCY

Such juvenile delinquency as was reported to the investigators was directly connected with the lack of recreational facilities. For the most part, it was confined to petty thieving and window smashing by idle boys, but an occasional case of serious sex immorality among young girls was also mentioned. Three instances of girls with illegitimate babies were reported from two camps. In two other camps, it was claimed that girls of immoral character were employed at the company boarding house. In general, however, so far as the investigators could learn in the short time spent in the field, there was comparatively little open or clandestine prostitution among the young girls in the mining camps.

But in that No Man's land which borders upon camp property but is not under the control of the mining company, some very unsavory situations were alleged to exist. On the edge of one camp was located a pool room, lunch counter and barber shop, all in one building and all operated by a barber who was said to be living with a woman not his wife. Adjacent to this building was a grocery store run by a woman who bore a bad reputation in the camp and who was said to be under indictment for bootlegging. It was claimed that a number of the young women of the camp frequented this grocery store and that women from elsewhere often stayed there. A girl of 12 was alleged to have been abused by a man while in company with a woman who was stopping at this place. About the two stores nightly gatherings took place in which there was a great deal of disturbance, shooting, fighting and gambling.

Cases of dependency and neglect are often shunted off by the mines into this No Man's land. Repeatedly the investigators were told of instances where women with young children had, after the husband's death, been compelled to move out of the camps, in order to make room for incoming workmen.

The real disadvantage which children sometimes suffer from

the lack of any representative of law and order in the community who is not directly connected with the management of the mines is illustrated by the story of three little children, 12, 10 and 8 years of age, whose mother died two years ago, leaving them to the care of an ignorant and neglectful father. None of them went to school—the 12-year old girl had attended only eight months in her entire life—and they were ragged, dirty and generally miserable. It was clearly a case for court action. But no one connected with the company wished to run the risk of antagonizing other workmen at a time of labor shortage by filing a petition against the father in the county juvenile court and there was no one not connected with the company in the camp. So the father was ordered to leave town and was permitted to take all three children with him to a wretched little shack “up the Hollow” where they were living at the time of our visit, in a deplorable state of neglect.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The state of Kentucky has endeavored to guarantee protection to any unfortunate child within her borders by conferring upon the judges of her county courts, known when acting in this capacity as juvenile courts, full jurisdiction over dependent, neglected or delinquent children and by giving them the right to appoint probation officers charged with seeking out and bringing to the attention of the court just such children and such conditions as those described in the preceding paragraphs. But Harlan County has not, as yet, realized the need for probation service and her county court still follows the traditional criminal procedure in handling the cases of delinquent children.

If the staff of attendance officers recommended in the section on Education could be given the powers of peace officers and could be brought into close co-operation with the juvenile court of Harlan County, as volunteer or part-time probation officers, there is little doubt that they could handle most of the juvenile delinquency and dependency without ever resorting to court action.

But the problem can better be solved by increasing the forces which make for clean and happy living than by increasing agencies to deal with children after they become dependent or delinquent. If Harlan County will look to her schools, her playgrounds and her

public health, she will have little need to be concerned with children before her courts.

Dependency resulting from injury in the mines is now cared for by the Workmen's Compensation Act. The American Association for Labor Legislation states that the Kentucky law compares favorably with similar legislation in other states, but suggests three changes which would render it more effective in reducing dependency. The limitation of medical and surgical attendance to charges of \$100 to be spent within 90 days, except in cases of hernia is considered poor economy since hernia is by no means the only form of injury which may need more prolonged or expensive medical treatment than the act now provides. The present law permits compensation for total disability to an eight year period and compensation for death to 335 weeks, approximately six years. Obviously a totally disabled man or the young child of a deceased employee is no more able to support himself at the end of the compensation period than before. It is usually the case that the need for money would be greater at the end of the compensation period in the former case, because of increased age and in the latter case because of the increased demands upon the family budget for schooling, etc. It is recommended that in cases of total permanent disability compensation be paid for life and that in death cases compensation be paid to the widow until she dies or re-marries and to the children until they reach the age when they may be legally employed. The Kentucky law limits compensation to \$12 a week with a \$5 minimum. In view of the present high cost of living, these limits should be raised to \$15 and \$6, respectively. It is further suggested that the act be amended to include compensation for occupational diseases.

FOOD BUDGETS

In three mining communities, a brief study was made of the spending habits of the people with reference to food buying and the use of the company store. Estimates of the amounts of certain articles consumed in proportion to population were secured from commissary heads in three mines; an analysis of grocery purchase slips was made in two stores; food budgets were obtained in a

limited number of families; and all observations made have been checked over by interviews with mine superintendents, foremen, storekeepers, physicians, nurses and other welfare workers in the camps, the miners and their families and mountain workers who are familiar with living conditions among the southern highlanders. The findings are presented with a full realization of their insufficiency as a basis for definite conclusions but they aim to present an accurate picture of actual conditions in a few camps and a few families which are believed to be typical of Harlan County, and, indeed, of the entire eastern Kentucky coal field, and it is hoped that they may lead to more intensive research along the lines indicated.

Two large mining operations, with populations of 3,000 (Community A) and 8,000 (Community B), respectively, were chosen for study and one small camp, of 300 population (Community C), located on the outskirts of Harlan Town. The miners in Community C were of American birth exclusively, most of them being Kentucky stock, mountain-bred or of similar stock from Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia. The same group were greatly in the majority in Community A and were largely represented in Community B, although foreign-born labor was being shipped into the latter place by the trainload. In our study, the foreign-born group has been practically ignored, as having made little or no impression on the habits of the American born and as not typical of the general situation.

The health of children varies directly with the kind and quantity of food they get. The mother who buys wisely can make the same amount of money accomplish twice as much in body-building as can her neighbor who does not know how to plan her children's diet. But the judgment of the buyer is to a certain extent controlled by the limitations of the market. In a community where pasturage is insufficient to keep milch cows in good condition and where transportation facilities are so poor that fresh milk can not be shipped in from outside dairy farms it does not rest with the mother to decide how many pints of milk a day her child shall drink. She can not give him what she can not buy.

A study of the food habits of a mining community is, accordingly, not complete without some discussion of the resources of the market, which is, for all practical purposes, limited to the "company store." No attempt will be made in this section of the report

to present the arguments for and against company ownership of camp commissaries. Whether right or wrong, the fact remains that mine owners operate stores in everyone of the mining villages visited in Harlan County and that no other merchants have, in these villages, set up rival establishments.

The Kentucky law forbids any attempt to compel miners to trade at camp commissaries, either by direct order or by black-listing those who fail to make purchases and we found no evidence of any improper efforts to solicit trade from the miners, such as the Federal Immigration Commission reported in the Pennsylvania coal field. Hucksters were permitted in the camps and it was nothing uncommon to see a farmer from "yon side the mountain" come riding into camp, astride of saddle bags which bulged with vegetables and eggs or to which were tied a dozen flapping chickens. Children went to the hills and gathered greens and berries. The mail order houses were available to those with money and intelligence enough to use them and the merchants of Harlan Town were not far distant from many of the mines. Yet the fact remained that the bulk of the miners' food was obtained at the company store.

There are many good reasons why this should be true. The company store is accessible. It is usually the geographical center of the village, under the same roof with the post office and with the mine office where the men go to draw their pay. It is much easier physically for tired men or for women with young children to walk a short distance to make their purchases than to go a long way, and frequent visits to the store are necessary because miners' houses in Harlan County are without the storage space which would make buying in bulk practicable. None of them have cellars; few have cupboards of any sort. The winters are open and no ice is available for general use during the summer months except at prohibitive prices. Perishable products can not be kept long except in the big refrigerators at the store. They must be purchased in small quantities and used at once. "Meal-to-meal buying" is common.

But the fact that "scrip" is current at the company store and nowhere else is the determining factor. Miners in Harlan County must according to law be paid every two weeks. The Kentucky law provides that this payment must be in "lawful money of the United States," but it does not forbid the issuance of "scrip," or company money, for other purposes. The custom prevails of permitting the

miner, or his wife to draw from the mine office "scrip" or paper money, up to the amount of wages due for services to the preceding day. When pay day comes the value of "scrip" drawn is deducted from the two weeks' wage. The whole system has grown out of the alleged inability of the worker to live from one pay day to the next without an advance in wages and the desire of the company to avoid carrying credit accounts in the store. But the psychological effect upon the purchaser has been distinctly bad. The miner does not regard "scrip" as equal in value to money, even though its purchasing power in the store is the same. It is said that in exchanging "scrip" for money, it is frequently subject to a discount of 10 per cent or more. The miner and his family unconsciously discount it in use. They do not spend five dollars worth of "scrip" with the same care which they would show in expending five dollars in cash. Though elusive of proof, the truth of this statement is admitted by both miners and store keepers. "Scrip" is comparable to the check book and the credit account in a group whose sense of money values is weak. A bookkeeper in one camp said he had frequently seen a number of women draw the amount of "scrip" they had heard one woman ask for, then follow each other into the store and stand around, gossiping and aimlessly adding to their purchases until they had spent up to the total amount of issuance. Nor are the women the only ones to be affected by the system. The story is told of one man who spent much time in the store, looking for things to buy and finally departed, the proud possessor of eye glasses which he did not need. In certain camps no "scrip" is issued for less than five cents and all articles in stores are priced in multiples of five. If a given article is sold at the rate of two for fifteen cents, the purchaser has to pay ten cents rather than eight if he buys one. Although this facilitates the making of change and the conduct of business, it is almost certain to mean loss to the consumer.

How far prices in the company stores made the practice of economy difficult in the camps can not be stated. An attempt was made to compare prices in the various commissaries with prices in the city stores of Louisville, Knoxville and Cincinnati, but it was impossible to draw any conclusions from the data secured, as there was no way of judging quality, except in the few cases where a familiar brand of goods was sold. Flour was priced about the

same in all the stores as in city markets. Sugar was a cent and a half higher in the company stores. Many of the canned goods appeared to be higher than city goods, but this was a comparison by weight, not quality. Fruits and vegetables were much higher in many instances, to cover loss from deterioration and because they were bought in small lots. The excessively high cost of getting supplies to this isolated county is an element which in justice to the company stores must not be ignored in a comparison of prices. It is unquestionably overbalanced, however, by the profits from an exclusively cash business, with little cost for delivery service or rent. A comparison of prices charged for the same articles by a commissary near Harlan and by a local store in Harlan showed the following differences, but the comparison took no account of quality:

	Commissary	Local Store
Apples.....	\$0.05	2 for \$0.05
Butter.....	.80	.75
Cheese.....	.55	.45
Coffee.....	.35-.45	.25-.30
Eggs.....	.50	.45
Flour.....	1.75	1.70
Lard.....	.35	.30
Meal.....	1.20	1.25
Pork.....	.40	.40
Steak.....	.45	.40
Sugar.....	.15	.12½

So far as cleanliness of the premises and care in handling food products are concerned, the stores of the two large corporations are distinctly superior to those of the surrounding country. The meat market end of the store in Community B was carefully screened. The salesmen wore washable clothing and conditions compared favorably with those of a well-managed city market. Loose milk is not dispensed at the stores. The custom of selling foodstuffs in packages rather than in bulk, makes for cleanliness, but not for economy in buying. It is admitted that the canned and boxed articles yield a higher percentage of profit than do flour, sugar and other staples.

Dried vegetables, such as lima beans, peas, lentils and kidney beans, and dried fruits, such as prunes, apricots and peaches are not carried by most of the stores. Oleomargarine, which came into extended use during the war, is rarely sold. It is safe to assume,

however, that if the people were familiar with these articles of diet, and wanted them, the stores would carry them. Naturally, the store keeper is expected to run his business with the maximum of profit and he is more interested in that than in encouraging economical methods of buying. As one manager said, "the store attempts to supply the demand of the people and not to direct or suggest in any way."

Undoubtedly direction or suggestion if given in a dictatorial manner, would not accord with business sense, but tactfully to educate the buying public to new food habits is merely good salesmanship. The buying public in Harlan County mining camps have, it is granted, certain long-standing likes and aversions which must be reckoned with.

As already indicated the majority of the miners in the three communities studied came from American mountain stock. They are accustomed to the food and the cooking of the mountaineers. Of this diet, Kephart, in *Our Southern Highlanders*, paints a rather depressing picture.

"The backwoodsmen," he says, "through ruthless weeding-out of the normally sensitive, have acquired a wonderful tolerance of swimming grease, doughy bread and half-fried cabbage; but even so they are gnawed by dyspepsia. Many a homicide in the mountains can be traced directly to bad food and the raw whiskey taken to appease a sour stomach." Fresh milk, butter and beef are scantily used in mountain homes. Kephart hazards the opinion that perhaps the extraordinary distaste for fresh milk and butter, or the universal suspicion of these foods, that mountaineers evince in so many localities, may have sprung up from experience with "milk-sick cows." The cattle forage for themselves through eight or nine months of the year, running wild like the razor back. Nearly all the beasts are scrub stock. The result is that many families go without milk a great part of the year, and seldom indeed taste beef or butter. The mainstay of every farmer aside from his corn-field is his litter of razor back hogs. "Old cornbread and sowbelly" are a menu complete for the mountaineer.

The Children's Bureau in its report on *Rural Children in Selected Counties in North Carolina* noted of the mountain county a more varied diet than in the lowlands but said that the mountain mothers lacked "an understanding of the needs of the growing child. This was shown in the unsystematic, promiscuous feeding, in the preparation of under-done starches, in excess of fats, and in a too hearty

diet. Three heavy meals a day were served and food *ad libitum* between times—potatoes, beans, meat, and big doughy biscuits or partially cooked corn-bread.” Breast-feeding of infants was universal, but “in addition to the breast-milk, the average baby is given from an early age a taste of everything the mother eats.”

Professional workers among the Kentucky mountain people, a dietitian, a doctor and a nurse, who were consulted on the subject expressed the opinion that the diet was even less balanced and healthful in the mining camps than in the mountains because of the lack of milk and butter, and vegetables. The mountain diet of corn, “shucky” beans, string beans grown large and eaten for the beans rather than the husks; sorghum, cabbage, onions, greens, potatoes, apples, milk, eggs, pork and chicken, is varied in the mining camp with the substitution of sugar for sorghum, the almost complete elimination of milk and apples and greens, and the addition of all sorts of canned and ready prepared foods, and of fresh meats.

In the crowded camp, it is hard for the individual family to keep a cow, since pasturage is limited, the danger of accident on the railroad tracks is great, and the cost of upkeep is almost prohibitive. To plant a garden one must have space enough to pay for cultivation, must spend time and money in the preparation of the ground and finally must erect a fence to protect it from the neighbors' chickens and live stock as well as from their children. These difficulties, combined with the desire to be ready to move at short notice, keep many families in the camps from planting gardens. The women do not can vegetables and fruits to any extent, because they are hard to get, storage space in the houses is exceedingly limited, and again because a supply of canned goods would be a hindrance in moving.

In the company stores, the supply of fresh vegetables and fruits is small, since there is almost no truck farming in the vicinity of the coal fields and the cost of shipping in green foods from distant markets is great. The result is a preponderance of meat and canned foods in the diet. The underbaked corn bread, biscuits, and undercooked, greasy foods remain, the wholesome elements in a milk and vegetable content are lost, and unwholesome elements in a too-heavy meat and canned-goods consumption are added. In the mountains and in the country districts, the housewife can feed her family only those things which are grown or raised at home,

with the exception of certain staples, purchased at intervals at a store which is more or less inaccessible and perhaps understocked. In the mining camp, in the nearby company store, she has the choice of practically every article of food that is canned, glassed or boxed. She follows the line of least resistance, and feeds her family on all the ready-cooked, but costly and frequently unwholesome food that the market affords.

The idea that the miner must live well, which means chiefly, eat well, is everywhere voiced. It is the premise he insists on when he talks on the subject of his daily life or when one hints curtailment to him in spending or care in the choice of foods. One miner's wife who had been raised in thrift on a farm said that she and her husband would never have saved if she had managed as her neighbors did. In many cases the man will not permit the woman to do the buying, but whether the result is greater economy or merely the restriction of the woman, could not be ascertained. Lavish spending for food is common, whether by man or woman.

The art of housewifery, of intelligent and economical buying and preparing of food, is almost undiscoverable in the mining camp. A thrifty mountain mother, just returned from a visit to a mining camp, said: "Why, thar the women don't have no gyardens and no smoke-houses: they don't raise no food but they buy everything out of the store in pokes, and havin' nothing to do, they set around and mourn they can't get anybody to cook for them." More than one miner's wife, in answer to the question of how much she spent for food, "I can't say for sure, because I never know how much he's earning." She is governed not by the amount necessary to feed her family comfortably, but by the size of her husband's daily pay slip.

Not only was there direct evidence of extravagance in buying, but much evidence, both direct and indirect, of wastefulness in the handling of food in the home. The prevalence of frying as a method of preparation is a case in point. It makes the product less digestible and therefore less nutritious; the grease is wasted in evaporation over great heat, and the frequent practice is, as stated by several women, to throw out bread and biscuits over a day old, and not to use left-overs of whatever sort. Inquiries concerning the nature of garbage in several camps corroborated the impression that a great deal of it was not legitimate garbage, but food that might have been salvaged.

The budget studies were limited to a few families in each camp. Information was gathered in casual, door-to-door visits, and was not extensive or uniform. In most cases the woman had no idea how much it cost the family to live, or what the income averaged. Sometimes this was because the mine was not running full time or because the man himself worked irregularly.

One family, of man, wife and six children, ranging from eighteen months to 12 years were found living in poverty and filth. The children looked sickly and underfed. All had badly decayed teeth. The boys of 12 and 8 were both in the primer class, the boy of 10 in 1st grade, and the 6-year old boy had never attended school. The mother explained that they did not go to school much because they could not buy clothes. The man earned, she thought, over \$100 a month and she earned \$4 a week washing. The husband estimated that it cost \$100 a month for food alone. Rent was \$6, and of clothes, furniture and extras they bought practically none. Their daily food budget was as follows:

Lard.....	\$0.25
Eggs.....	.50
Ham, Steak or Pork Chops....	.65
Meal.....	.10
Sugar.....	.05
Potatoes.....	.28
Beans.....	.25
Salt Pork.....	.26
Bread.....	.10
Buttermilk.....	.13
Canned Milk.....	.20
Cakes.....	.13
Candy.....	.05
Rice.....	.05

\$3.00 daily \$90.00 monthly

They had eggs or meat regularly for breakfast. If eggs, they used from a dozen to a dozen and a half at a time. In addition they consumed from 50 to 75 cents' worth of meat a day, besides the salt pork which was eaten with the daily allotment of two pounds of beans. They used no butter but spent 25 cents a day for lard; no sweet milk, but buttermilk and canned milk; no fruit, but almost 20 cents' worth of cakes and candy a day. They kept no livestock.

planted no garden, did no canning. An analysis of this diet would probably show that it was enormously high in protein, as shown in the lavish consumption of meat, beans, eggs, and in starch and fats, evidenced in the use of potatoes, meal, flour, beans, eggs, and in salt pork in large quantities. It was seriously lacking in minerals, to be had in fruit and vegetables, and in the essential vitamins to be had in fresh milk and butter. The family, while spending perhaps twice as much as necessary to meet their dietetic needs, was starving for the foods their diet did not include.

In another family of three adults, a working boy of 22 and his mother and aunt, the daily budget was as follows:

Lard.....	\$0.25
Eggs.....	.50
Salt Pork.....	.25
Sugar.....	.03
Flour.....	.13
Meal.....	.12
Potatoes.....	.02
Beans.....	.10
Coffee.....	.02
Canned Fruit.....	.30
Canned Vegetables.....	.13
Rice.....	.04
	<hr/>
	\$1.89

The family "scrip" book for the month showed \$58, tallying closely with the mother's estimate as given above. The mother prided herself on her thrift since she did not buy extras such as cake and candies. The list shows restraint if not good dietetic judgment. The daily expenditure of 30 cents for canned fruit shows extravagance. There is no milk or butter, but a large amount of lard for three people.

A young couple with a baby four months old, spent about \$80 a month for food alone. The wife was pretty and fond of clothes. They had almost no furniture. The man's earnings averaged, they thought, about \$120 a month. Six dollars went for rent, \$1 for fuel, about a dollar more for blacksmithing and other minor charges, \$1 for union fees, and the balance of about \$30 for clothes and sundries. Going to the store before each meal, the wife's daily purchases totalled as follows:

Lard.....	\$0.25	
Salt Pork.....	.15	
Meal.....	.45	
Eggs.....	.25	
Canned Milk.....	.08	
Flour.....	.12	
Meal.....	.09	
Sugar.....	.11	
Canned Fruit.....	.30	
Jam.....	.40	
Potatoes.....	.15	
Beans.....	.15	
Butter.....	.11	
Coffee.....	.04	
	<hr/>	
	\$2.65	\$79.50 monthly

Again is seen the preponderance of high-protein foods, the lavish use of lard and salt pork, and the absence of vegetables and fruits, except the expensive canned and preserved varieties.

A carpenter's family of man, wife and three children, was saving from *thirty to forty dollars a month on their income of one hundred and eight dollars*. They had moved from Louisville to the mine, the wife said, for regular work and because they could save more than in the city, where rent, fuel, light, and their whole scale of expenditure was higher. She pointed out that in camp they spent nothing for amusements and much less for clothing than in the city. She said the children had no advantages there and that she did not like the life, but that they would stay until they had accumulated a certain amount. Their attitude was of course different from that of the miner who expects to spend his life in mining camps.

The weekly food expenditures of this family show more intelligent buying than that of the average miner's family:

Eggs.....	\$1.75
Butter.....	2.25
Lard.....	.60
Rolled Oats.....	.28
Corn Meal.....	1.20
Flour.....	1.80
Milk.....	1.02
Coffee.....	.35

Potatoes.....	1.20
Beans.....	.96
Sugar.....	.25
Crackers.....	.30
Salt Pork.....	2.50
Vegetables (Onions, To- matoes, Green Beans).	1.00

\$15.46 weekly \$61.84 monthly

The wife of a machine helper, who was saving a little on one hundred and four dollars a month, with a family of four children, said she considered it more expensive to live in a mining camp than in a city, because provisions were so high. She bought most of her staples in quantity by mail order which she said greatly reduced her bills.

Their weekly food consumption was as follows:

Butter.....	\$0.75
Lard.....	.70
Corn Meal.....	.40
Flour.....	.90
Eggs.....	.90
Milk.....	.20
Coffee.....	.35
Potatoes.....	1.20
Beans.....	1.00
Sugar.....	.65
Ham.....	5.25
Corn Flakes.....	1.05
Dried Apples, Pears and Prunes.....	.75
Lima Beans.....	.60

\$14.70 weekly \$58.80 monthly

Although this woman showed more wisdom in buying than most of her neighbors, her food list is not nearly so well-balanced as that of the carpenter's wife. The former spends a great deal more for butter, milk and eggs and spends something, although not enough, for vegetables, which the machine helper's wife does not buy at all. The latter, however, partly makes up for this lack in her rather generous use of dried fruits as compared with most families who do not use them at all.

A college woman, the wife of a man holding an important position in one of the large operations, thought that she saved about a third on groceries through mail order buying, although she enjoyed a discount of 10 per cent on her purchases at the company store. She complained of the grade of goods sold there, and said she could always get better quality for less money at the mail order houses. She bought intelligently, and her food list showed items quite different from those of the miners' families. She used dried fruits of all sorts, a great deal of salmon, cheese, butter, milk, eggs and bacon, and no meat except an occasional soupbone or steak a few times a month. She always bought whatever fresh fruit and vegetables the store carried, and was one of those who were trying to create a demand for this type of goods. Her diet was better balanced and more nourishing than that of most of her neighbors, and it cost about half as much per person as compared with other budgets.

The items on purchase slips from one store catering to a mixed native and foreign-born population, representing expenditures of approximately \$100, were divided into three groups: substantial and necessary articles such as potatoes, flour, meal and so forth; luxuries such as preserves, cakes, candy, various ready-cooked but insubstantial cereals, potted meats, sardines, etc.; and third, fresh fruits and vegetables. About 50 per cent of the purchases fell into the first class, as necessary foods; 40 per cent into the second, as luxuries and insubstantial articles; 10 per cent into the third. Purchases of ice-cream, soft drinks and candy were not included in this list. Assuming that at least half of the 157 buyers bought some one of these articles, the proportion for luxuries would be higher.

One of the smaller companies, with a working group of 125 men and a population of about 300 was kind enough to keep a record of the purchases made in one day in the company store. One hundred and thirty-seven sales were made, totalling \$186.25. Expenditures for food amounted to \$147.75; the balance of \$38.50 going for dry goods, patent medicines, carbide, lamp oil, etc.

The appended chart is an attempt to show by an analysis of these slips the dietetic and spending habits of the people in camp. According to the store manager, it is a fairly accurate picture of daily spending throughout the year.

TABLE No. 4
ANALYSIS OF FOOD PURCHASES MADE IN ONE DAY IN COMPANY STORE OF
MINING VILLAGE

TOTAL AMOUNT SPENT IN ONE DAY FOR EACH ARTICLE

Ham \$20.50		Canned Fruits and Preserves \$16.35		Lard \$11.80		Flour \$9.90	
Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts
1	\$5.10	2	\$0.60	1	\$1.30	11	\$0.90
1	1.00	1	.50	1	.60	..	..
2	.75	1	.40	2	.50	..	..
2	.70	1	.35	1	.40	..	..
1	.65	2	.30	3	.35	..	..
1	.55	25	.25	4	.30	..	..
13	.50	13	.20	12	.25	..	..
1	.45	5	.15	6	.20	..	..
2	.40	9	..	13	.15	..	..
2	.35	..	..	1	.10	..	..
2	.30	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	.25	..	..	..	..	..	..
33	\$20.50	59	\$16.35	44	\$11.80	11	\$9.90

Meat \$8.35		Potatoes \$7.10		Bacon \$6.40		Canned Vegetables \$6.05	
Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts
1	\$1.00	1	\$0.60	1	\$0.60	1	\$0.50
1	.75	11	.30	1	.50	15	.25
1	.60	2	.25	1	.35	9	.20
1	.55	4	.20	14	.25	..	..
3	.50	12	.15	5	.20	..	..
3	.40	1	.10	3	.15	..	..
1	.35	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	.30	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	.25	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	.20	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	.15	..	..	..	..	..	..
22	\$8.35	31	\$7.10	26	\$6.40	25	\$6.05

Butter \$5.90		Beans \$5.55		Apples \$0.40		Oatmeal \$0.30	
Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts
1	\$0.25	8	\$0.20	1	\$0.25	2	\$0.15
2	.20	8	.25	1	.15	..	..
8	.15	11	.15	..	..	..	..
5	.10	3	.10	..	..	..	..
<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
16	\$5.90	30	\$5.55	2	\$0.40	2	\$0.30

Peanut Butter \$0.25		Canned Salmon \$0.25		Syrup \$0.20		Puffed Rice and Corn Flakes \$0.30	
Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts
1	\$0.25	1	\$0.25	1	\$0.20	1	\$0.15
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	.15
<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
1	\$0.25	1	\$0.25	1	\$0.20	2	\$0.30

Oranges and Lemons \$0.15		Beets \$0.28		Sugar \$5.45		Sausage \$5.45	
Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts
1	\$0.10	1	\$0.25	13	\$0.25	4	\$0.50
1	.05	..	.25	12	.15	1	.40
..	..	..	..	4	.10	3	.30
..	..	..	..	..	..	7	.25
..	..	..	..	..	..	2	.20
<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
2	\$0.15	1	\$0.25	29	\$5.45	12	\$5.45

Minced Ham \$4.40		Tobacco \$4.15		Coffee \$4.05		Cakes \$4.05	
Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts
2	\$0.45	2	\$0.25	1	\$0.45	1	\$0.40
2	.40	7	.20	2	.35	1	.35
1	.35	7	.15	8	.30	9	.15
2	.30	10	.10	2	.25	18	.10
6	.25	4	.05	..	..	3	.05
1	.15	..	..	..	..	..	..
1	.10	..	..	..	..	..	..
15	\$4.40	30	\$4.15	13	\$4.05	32	\$4.05

Eggs \$3.90		Canned Milk \$3.70		Meal \$3.35		Candy \$3.55	
Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts	Number Pur- chases	Amounts
5	\$0.50	10	\$0.25	2	\$0.65	6	\$0.15
1	.40	1	.20	1	.50	16	.10
4	.25	10	.10	1	.45	..	..
..	..	..	..	2	.30	..	..
..	..	..	..	2	.25	..	..
10	\$3.90	21	\$3.70	8	\$3.35	43	\$3.55

Cheese \$2.30		Bread \$2.30		Onions \$2.10		Macaroni \$0.90		Rice \$0.45	
Num- ber Pur- chases	Amts.	Num- ber Pur- chases	Amts.	Num- ber Pur- chases	Amts.	Num- ber Pur- chases	Amts.	Num- ber Pur- chases	Amts.
1	\$0.35	1	\$0.30	3	\$0.15	3	\$0.10	3	\$0.15
1	.25	3	.20	16	.10	3	.20	..	..
1	.20	14	.10	1	.05	..	..	..	..
6	.15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6	.10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15	\$2.30	18	\$2.30	20	\$2.10	6	\$0.90	3	\$0.45

It will be seen that the orders are all small, only three amounting to over \$4, as contrasted with 102 out of a total of 137, under \$2. Of the 31 purchases under 50 cents, eight were for 25 cents, five for 15 cents, seven for 10 cents, two for 5 cents, a total of 22 purchases for amounts of 25 cents or less. The buying is obviously to meet the day's needs only.

It follows that the items that make up the totals of the slips are also small. In the ham sales there is one of \$5, another of \$1, but 25 out of 33 sales are for amounts between 25 and 50 cents. In canned fruits, jellies and preserves, only one out of fifty-two purchases is for more than one jar at a time. One customer bought \$1.30 worth of lard but the majority bought in 15 or 25 cent amounts. Meat purchases ranged evenly from 15 cents to \$1; potatoes, which are bought to the best advantage in bushel quantities, or larger, were purchased in 30 cent amounts and less. Bacon is bought most economically in strips of several pounds, but the 26 persons who bought bacon on this day, with the exception of three who bought 60 cents', 50 cents', and 35 cents' worth, respectively, asked for 25 cents' worth or less. Miners' families use beans as regularly as potatoes, so that they might be expected to buy enough at a time for a week's use at least, but the 30 sales of beans on this day were for amounts ranging from 10 to 25 cents. Sugar was bought in the same amounts.

The chart analysis of the purchase slips reveals small range in buying, lack of variety in diet, and the emphasis so placed on the articles within the range of selection as to mean a badly balanced dietary.

There are 34 articles of food in the entire list. Twenty-three of these, meat, potatoes, bacon, beans, sugar, canned milk, coffee, butter, bread, cheese, flour, eggs, meal, macaroni, rice, apples, oatmeal, peanut butter, salmon, oranges, beets and syrup, may be classed as either basic or desirable articles in any dietary. Canned milk is included because it is difficult to get fresh milk. Canned vegetables can not be classed as desirable unless it is impossible to get fresh vegetables, as in frontier communities.

Variety is sought in canned fruits and preserves, lard, candy, ham, cakes, sausage, minced ham, puffed rice and corn flakes, ten articles which may be considered as among the undesirable or extravagant classes of food. It is here that the fact of bad selection

and faulty emphasis in the dietary is shown. The above-mentioned ten articles are seldom, if ever, to be found, in the purchasing lists of the housewife who considers wholesomeness of food and economy of first importance in her buying. For canned fruits and preserves she substitutes home-made ones, put up in season, or made from dried fruits. Lard is used for frying, which is an unwholesome way of preparing food, or for pastry, also unwholesome. Candy may be eliminated from the diet entirely, or made at home, if it is used as part of the necessary sugar content. Cakes are less expensive and more desirable as food when made at home. Ham, sausage and minced ham may be classed among the most expensive meats, giving the least return and placing the greatest tax on the digestion. Puffed rice and corn flakes are among the most expensive and least desirable cereals. They cost much more than the substantial, home-cooked cereals such as oatmeal. Canned vegetables are little used by the economical housewife. Granted that the housewife in the mining camp must use them, her range of selection might be much greater, since almost any vegetable canned is procurable. Out of thirty-five cans purchased, fourteen are tomatoes, seven are corn, three are peas and one string beans.

It is noteworthy that the heaviest purchasing was of five of the articles rated as undesirable or extravagant, namely, canned fruits and preserves, lard, candy, ham, and cakes, and that two other articles so classed, sausage and minced ham, are found near the top of the list.

Corn-meal is used extensively, and is a wholesome, highly economical food. It is, however, made into cakes, greasy and frequently underbaked, whereas it yields the greatest returns dietetically in thoroughly baked cornbread, or as mush or puddings. The use of other cereals is exceedingly limited, as note the small consumption of oatmeal and rice.

The amount of butter purchased is lamentably small. Only 16 persons bought it, in a total of a little over seven pounds. Cheese, eggs and peanut butter, three articles high in protein and excellent as substitutes for meat, are little in demand. Fifteen purchased cheese in small amounts, ten purchased a total of eight dozen eggs, and one jar of peanut butter was sold.

The quantity of fresh fruit sold is negligible as compared with the heavy purchasing of canned and preserved fruits. Dried fruits

were not carried in the store. One orange and two apple purchases were made. The only vegetables bought aside from the canned ones were onions, for which there were 20 purchases, and beets, with one.

An analysis of the sales slips of one mine for one day may be considered as indicative only of the buying habits of the people in that camp, but it is surprising to what an extent it confirms and illustrates the facts and impressions gathered from various sources in all the camps visited. The same disregard of food economies is everywhere found. The people in this region seldom bake raised bread so that yeast is little in demand in the company stores. Carrots are never used. Dried lima beans, peas, lentils, kidney beans, dried fruits such as prunes, apricots, peaches, etc., are not even kept in most of the stores. Hominy is used, but canned rather than dry, which is cheaper. Oleomargarine is not carried by most of the company stores, and is little used. The consumption of lard is excessive and that of butter deficient.

One store in a community of from 3,000 to 3,500 population sold 30,000 pounds of meat a month, including salt meat, averaging from $8\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 pounds per person. A week's consumption of fresh pork alone was 1,650 pounds, and the supply fell far short of the demand. In contrast to this about four-tenths of a pound of butter per person was sold. Three thousand pounds of candy at 40 cents per pound were consumed in a month in addition to that sold at the Y. M. C. A. Apple butter, jelly and preserves were sold to the amount of 36,000 ounces a month, in addition to an enormous sale of canned fruits, syrups and a sugar consumption of 5,800 pounds. The sale of dried fruits, on the other hand, was negligible. Twenty cases, or 1,200 ounces of rolled oats were used a month, 250 bushels of potatoes, 200 barrels of flour, 500 bags of meal, and, during the winter months, 200 pounds of dried beans daily.

In a store serving a group of 8,000 population, 50,000 pounds of meat a month, or $16\frac{2}{3}$ pounds per individual, were sold. Butter, on the other hand, was consumed at the rate of nine-tenths of a pound per individual per month, but the supply fell below the demand. The demand for fresh pork was always greater than the supply, yet pork consumption was so great that even the butcher deplored it as a menace to health. Preserves were bought in car-load lots. The supply of candy never reached more than 50 per cent of the demand. Twenty gallons of ice cream, 480 bottles of

pop, 480 bottles of near-beer, 240 bottles of grape juice were sold a week during April, and this was estimated to be about one-fifth of what was sold at the so-called "Tallie" stands which Italians had set up in the camp. (These stands had been ordered closed by the company at the time of the visit.)

In a smaller mining town, with a population of 1,000, 1,200 pounds of fresh meat and 1,000 pounds of salt meat were purchased in a month; 1,600 pounds of lard as contrasted with 100 pounds of butter; 1,500 pounds of dried beans; and 125 bushels of meal. This camp was near enough to a town for people to do some shopping there, so that these figures probably do not represent actual consumption in proportion to population as in the first mentioned communities which were practically self-sufficing.

It is not possible in this paper to state in detail what constitutes a satisfactory dietary, but a few quotations may make clear the most serious faults and dangers in the dietary of the Kentucky miner. In Miss Nesbitt's *Household Management*, the significant elements in the selection of foods are summed up from the standpoint of nutrition and from the standpoint of economy. Under the former heading are the following points:

1. The importance of extending the variety of foods purchased in each class of products to the utmost extent possible, as a means of increasing the attractiveness and healthfulness of the diet.
2. The place of milk in the diet, bringing up its consumption to at least the minimum standard (one-half pint daily for adults and a pint for a child).
3. The place of meat and the foods that can be substituted for it.
4. The place of sugar and the dangers of its over use.
5. The importance of fruits and vegetables in the diet and the necessity of augmenting the quantities used.
6. The importance of an adequate amount of fat.

From the standpoint of economy the following points are listed:

1. Cereal products are the foods which give the largest returns for the money spent.
2. The housekeeper pays well for every bit of work done on the food she buys. . . . The cheapest way in which to buy food materials is in their simplest form, raw, for home preparation.

3. Food stuffs in packages cost more, not only because of the cost of the package, but almost always for advertising as well.

4. What is called "quality" by food dealers is often based upon flavor, beauty, or other elements of attractiveness, instead of on nutritive value.

This study has shown the lack of variety in the mining camp dietary, the limited use of milk, fresh vegetables and fruit, the overconsumption of meat and sugar, and the tendency toward overconsumption of the less desirable fats.

In a pamphlet entitled *Permanent Gains from the Food Conservation Movement*, Dr. H. C. Sherman of Columbia University makes the following statements about milk:

"Milk is an important source of energy, protein, mineral elements, and vitamins, and possesses unique value as a growth-promoting food. It is the one article of diet whose sole function in nature is to serve as a food, and the one food for which there is no satisfactory substitute. . . . Not only is milk the most economical intrinsically of the animal foods of farm origin, but of even greater interest is the positive demonstration, by fully controlled experiments, that a liberal use of milk in the diet is the best safeguard against any deficiency which might possibly arise through restricted choice of foods. There are whole communities in this country, as well as in those less abundantly supplied with food, where the death rate of the children remains unnecessarily high, and the vigor and efficiency of the adult population remains at a much lower average than would be possible otherwise, because of inadequate milk and vegetable supply, often merely the result of lack of knowledge of these foods. It has been suggested as a rule, applicable to any standard of living and scale of expenditure for food, that as much be spent for fruits and vegetables as for meat and fish, and that as much be spent for milk (including cheese) and cream (if used) as for meat and fish."

In a later discussion of corn as a substitute for wheat (in which he states that maize products are in all respects of equal nutritive value with the corresponding products of wheat), Dr. Sherman says:

"It has been demonstrated that there is no greater danger of pellagra in the use of corn than of other grains. In so far as pellagra is due to faulty diet, the fault lies not in the use of corn, but in the fact that the diet contains too little of foods of other types and particularly that it *contains too little milk*. The lower per capita

use of milk is the most striking difference in the food supply of the Southern mill villages, where pellagra is prevalent, as compared with the corresponding communities in the Northern States."

Concerning meat, Dr. Sherman says, "While meat proteins are efficient in nutrition, they are probably more likely to cause trouble when taken in excess than are the other proteins of the food. Through the meat-saving campaign, many people have learned for the first time that it is not only feasible but beneficial to spend less for meat and more for dairy products." Of sugar, "Sugar serves only as a fuel and owes its popularity not to any nutritional advantage over other fuel foods, but simply to the fact that people like the sweet flavor. The greater the extent to which we depend upon refined sugar as food, the greater the danger that we may satisfy the appetite and energy requirements, without having covered all the other requirements of permanently adequate nutrition."

Miss Nesbitt says, "Used too freely, sugar is likely to displace other foods which will furnish both energy and iron. In children undernourishment is so often traced to too much sugar in the diet that it is an ingredient whose amount should always be scrutinized."

To quote further from Dr. Sherman's pamphlet, "Fruits and vegetables are important sources of the mineral matters and vitamins needed in human nutrition. Contrary to the supposition of former times, it now appears that a diet consisting largely of breadstuffs and cereals is more effectively supplemented by vegetables than by meat. This is true not only as regards the definitely known factors of the food supply but also because of the as yet unidentified but very necessary antiscorbutic property of the fruits and vegetables and because of their beneficial influence upon intestinal hygiene and upon the elimination of uric acid from the body. A detailed analysis of the data of food supplies of over two hundred American families representative of a wide range of income groups and of various sections of the country shows that on the average the money spent for fruit and vegetables is undoubtedly better invested than the average of all the money spent for food, so that the purchase of more fruits and vegetables will usually be good economy as well as good hygiene.

"Fats," Dr. Sherman says, "serve only as fuel in meeting the chemical requirements of nutrition except in so far as butter, and a few other fats to a less extent, carry dissolved in the fat itself one of the necessary vitamins. But fat is a large factor in giving to food the quality of richness. . . . Moreover the larger the proportion of fat in the food, the longer it is likely to stay in the stomach. Thus the lack of fat is likely to be closely associated with the feeling of hunger and consequently lowering of morale and of working efficiency."

It is evident that when the mining camp diet is studied with reference to these points that it is faulty, both from the standpoint of nutrition and economy. The most serious defect, so far as the children are concerned, is the lack of milk. Babies are almost universally breast-fed but the growing child does not ordinarily get the milk he needs. Most of the companies assume no responsibility for the milk supply. Plans were under discussion at Community B for building a twelve mile mountain road at an estimated cost of \$100,000 through Big Stone Gap to the main roads of West Virginia, so that a daily supply of fresh milk and other produce could be shipped in. Another company in this section of Kentucky maintained a dairy farm for a time but reported it a failure, because they could not man it properly. The difficulties in the way of a cow for each family have already been discussed. The question of increased dairying and the introduction of goats for milk and cheese production is being considered in the state, but little progress has so far been made.

The fact also must be recognized that even if the milk supply were adequate, milk consumption would not necessarily be increased unless people became less ignorant of its significance in the diet. Buttermilk is now used in preference to sweet milk when the latter is available. One woman was found who refused to sell sweet milk for fear it would be used in cooking, and thus, as she said, make her cow go dry.

Eventually, improved transportation facilities will solve the problem of supply. Meanwhile it is possible to make up for the lack of fresh milk in part by the use of condensed milks, and by the increased use of milk products such as cheese and butter. In answer to a query on this point Dr. Sherman writes as follows:

"In the absence of an adequate fresh milk supply, I think that the deficiency can probably best be met at the present time by the use of condensed milk, and perhaps, in the near future, of milk powders. I think there is probably some decrease in the vitamine value of evaporation of milk, but I doubt if this is serious except in the case of the vitamine which prevents scurvy. Both of the vitamines prominently concerned in the growth and in the prevention of deficiency diseases other than scurvy appear to be present in considerable proportion both in condensed milk and milk powders. It seems probable that the vitamines will, on the average be somewhat better conserved in condensed milk (sweetened) than in

evaporated (unsweetened) milk, because when the product is not sweetened the manufacturer gives it a much greater heat treatment in order to insure it keeping in the can. In a community which has practically no milk supply I would consider it desirable that the consumption of condensed milk should be at least a pound a can per day for every three persons, and very desirable that the consumption of fruits and vegetables should be increased as much as possible. In my opinion meat can never satisfactorily take the place of milk, but milk and vegetables can more than take the place of meat; hence in a food supply containing what I would consider adequate amounts of milk and vegetables it would be a matter of relatively little importance as to how much meat was used."

In *Food Products*, Dr. Sherman states that a pound of butter is equal in energy value to five quarts of milk, but that in view of the protein and ash constituents which the milk contains it would probably be wise to consider that three quarts of milk fully equal one pound of butter as an asset in the dietary. A pound of cheese, he says, represents the casein and fat of a gallon of average milk. Concerning cheese as a meat substitute he says, "It is a fair general estimate that a given amount of money spent for American cheese at ordinary prices will buy about twice as much food value as it would if spent for meat."

The question of a fresh fruit and vegetable supply is likewise serious. Store managers say that they will ship in more of these perishable foods as soon as the demand is assured. At present, they say, the percentage of loss is so great that they handle very little of it. The growth of vegetables in home gardens is the obvious solution and a few companies are trying to stimulate the cultivation of gardens by the people. The local unions and the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association might well join in calling upon the county agent for help in organizing boys' clubs for home gardening in the mining camps, and in urging the home demonstrator to get the girls into canning and cooking clubs, until such time as these subjects are properly taught in properly equipped schools.

But in a mining community, as in any other community, that knowledge of food values which is necessary if the health of children is to profit by a well-chosen diet, is not born in women. They must be taught, and the best conceived plans of group education along these lines include not only lessons in cooking but in "budget engineering," or the science of effective spending as well. This does not mean to develop acumen in bargaining or in detecting fraud so much as to teach actual values in foods and other com-

modities. The body of information on these subjects has increased enormously in the last few years through the development of household sciences, dietetics, and kindred subjects, and was made easily accessible to the entire population through the food conservation during the war. The information compiled through the Food Administration and disseminated by the Council of National Defense and other agencies has lost its war time significance, but has lost none of its value to the individual or the community. The familiar devices of advertising and salesmanship can be used for bringing these facts to the attention of the people. Lectures, placards, pictures, for use on the movie screen or as exhibits, booth demonstrations, are some of the methods which might be employed.

A company wishing to undertake "budget engineering" among its employees, could use both direct and indirect methods. As store owner, it has an unusual opportunity. A study of its sales on a larger scale than the one described in this paper could be made to discover the weaknesses in the food habits of the people. More wholesome articles could be gradually introduced and the attention of customers called to them in various ways, such as by posters, hung about the store, by demonstrations of the proper way to cook them, or better still, by the announcement of cut rates if given amounts were bought in a given period. This is a very effective device in many ways. It can be made an inducement for quantity buying, which is an advantage both to seller and buyer. If handled properly by the company, it can be a means of making the worker feel that the company is trying to give him every advantage in buying.

To connect the whole "budget engineering" plan with the schools would be a strategic move because it would enlist the interest of the children who may in turn be the most effective teachers of their parents. The value to the children would be inestimable. They would get more arithmetic, geography, dietetics, reading, writing and spelling out of a scientifically conducted study of the problems that go with the running of a store and the feeding of a town, than they would out of all the instruction on these problems that they get in twelve years of schooling. It would be intensely real to them, because the food problem is foremost in the majority of families. It would be possible and practicable in a school where the teachers had sufficient intelligence and imagination to apply

the principles of organic education, which means merely to make education concrete rather than abstract, to teach through the medium of every day facts with which the child is familiar.

The introduction into the schools of a department of domestic science, which would teach boys and girls alike, not how to make cake or expensive desserts, but why oatmeal is a more wholesome and economical food than puffed rice and how to prepare it in an appetizing way with the utensils they have at home; the establishment of a small local paper, to be run, printing and all, by the boys of the school, which could be a medium for the dissemination of facts of all sorts, including discussions on health, food, store problems, transportation questions and the like; these are two possible methods of bringing the school into contact with the actual food problems of the community.

The visiting housekeeper is becoming almost as familiar a figure in industrial towns as the visiting nurse and she is equally valuable. Her work is preventive, since she instructs people in how to keep well by right habits of eating and living. The visiting nurse may and often does perform the same service, but more often she is called in only after sickness has come and much of her time is given to cure.

Whether the provision of visiting housekeepers, better schools or popular education through the stores be considered as steps in a program to advance community health, it would be much better if the first move could come from the workers themselves through joint councils of employers and workmen or through the unions.

If an intelligent nucleus of the working group really understood how much suffering comes directly from misspent money and wrongly selected food, they would probably welcome such action. Through them, a consultant-dietician might be employed, who would be no other than a visiting housekeeper. The difference would be that her services would be sought by rather than inflicted upon the group. If she should work in conjunction with the school, perhaps as instructor in household economy, her position would be much stronger.

Plans might be developed by the workmen for co-operation with committees on education and civic affairs, the latter for meetings and group discussions, the former for increasing school funds and changing curricula. In the two operations carried on in Harlan County by the United States Steel Corporation and The Inter-

national Harvester Company, every resource of the highly organized welfare departments which both companies maintain should be called upon to study the local situation, and to assist the community in working out its own plans in the most effective manner. For the smaller camps, appropriate departments of the state and federal governments can furnish expert investigation and advice, and they may well be called upon to do so, since the problem concerns not Harlan County alone, but the entire eastern Kentucky coal field.

People in general need to know a great deal more than they do about the needs of their bodies and the best way to spend money in meeting those needs. The mining groups in Kentucky have been peculiarly out of touch with the popular instruction on such subjects which has been carried on by governmental and other agencies during the last few years. This knowledge is vital to the welfare of themselves and their children. It should be brought to them by whatever means possible.



A LITTLE DAUGHTER OF THE HILLS.

THE ONION WORKERS

CHARLES E. GIBBONS

Sixteen thousand acres of black, sticky bog land near the town of Kenton in Ohio are given over to the raising of onions and in the season several hundred families find labor in these fields. From April when the land is prepared, until October when the onions are crated and stored, there is fairly continuous work "on the marsh," as the region is popularly called, and workers come from a distance to live here for this part of the year. Formerly they worked as day laborers but under this arrangement the inducements were not enough to hold them steadily, so now they have become tenants for the season, the operator renting them small acreages for their own cultivation, usually of from three to five acres according to the size of the family. The operator furnishes seed and fertilizer, prepares the soil and sows the seed, charging from \$4 to \$5 per acre for "fitting" the ground, as this part of the work is known, and the tenant pays this amount in the autumn when accounts are settled. The rental for such family allotments is half the onions raised. Cultivating these small acreages requires only part of their time and the rest they spend in the operators' fields at wages of from \$2 to \$2.50 per day of ten hours. Children are used extensively, especially in the weeding season, and are paid on the basis of the row—as an adult weeds three rows while he works his way across the fields, a child who weeds only one row is paid one-third of what an adult receives, a two-row weeder two-thirds, and a three-row weeder an adult's full wages. The work is hard and tiring, particularly for the younger children through the long 10-hour day. There are no regulations, no permits, no physical examinations, no measures whatever for safeguarding their health and welfare.

I have been on this marsh in the height of the season but my last visit was in the autumn just past, after most of the families had moved away for the winter. Where had they gone? Where were their homes in the winter? These questions arose in my

mind and I tried to find the answers through talking with the few remaining families. They said that they had come to the marsh from "Kentucky" or "the mountains of Kentucky" and that most of them returned there after the season. They declined to be more definite. If I asked the name of the town, they answered invariably that they "lived in the country"; if I asked the name of the county, they said that they "didn't know." This struck me as strange and I felt baffled for I wanted to follow these migrants and learn something about the conditions under which they lived through the rest of the year, and whether the children had the benefit of regular attendance at school. The "mountains of Kentucky" cover 34 counties of that commonwealth and having spent some time in that great region myself, I knew how vague these directions were. I was about to give up in despair when I chanced upon a village postmaster on the marsh who said that frequently he had been asked by these families to "back" letters to Ivyton and Salyersville in Kentucky, and added that he didn't know just where these towns were but that he had often heard Magoffin County mentioned. A friendly map showed me that both towns were in Magoffin County and that one was the county seat. Furthermore, I noticed that Magoffin County lay next to Breathitt and at once there came before me pictures of mountain feuds, "fightin's an' stealin's," moonshine whisky, and the other features popularly associated with the life of the mountaineer. The map disclosed also two almost parallel railroad lines in that region with Magoffin County lying between them and untouched by either, the distance from one or the other to the county seat being apparently about nine or ten miles.

At the first opportunity I went to these "mountains of Kentucky," entering Magoffin from the west side on a branch railroad which took me to the village of Caney. I had been told that I could ride from there to Salyersville with the hack driver who carries the mail, and he and the ticket agent were the only ones to be seen when I, the only passenger for that station, alighted from the train at noon. I asked the hack driver whether I could ride over to Salyersville with him, but he replied that because the roads had got so bad, he had come on horseback and therefore could not accommodate me. I tried to get a conveyance or hire a horse but none was to be found. After posting my bag—for which the driver didn't thank

me as it meant that he would have to carry it and wouldn't receive any more for his day's work—I started out to walk. It was then I learned that the distance was 18 miles instead of the nine or ten it appeared to be on paper. As the hack driver started out with a big load—mostly mail-order-house stuff—he said, “If yer a good walker you kin walk along with me and I'll show you the way. I see yer a stranger in these parts, and the road is jist a leetle hard to follow.” Realizing that it was either a forced march or a mighty good chance of getting lost, I decided upon the former and kept pace with the mule for 11 miles, to the home of the hack driver's boss—the man who had the contract for carrying the mail, arriving just at dark. Here the driver “picked up the hack and carried it,” as he put it, on into Salyersville. Needless to say I welcomed this chance to ride, uncomfortable though the hack was.

The 11-mile walk had somewhat dulled my senses so that at the time I could not fully appreciate the sight of the driver frequently hanging out over the side of the hack to keep it from toppling over into the “branch” below and flaying the mules with a heavy stick to keep from getting stuck in the mud. Three times he asked me to get out and walk up the hill as it was too steep, rough, and stony in some places, muddy in others, for the mules to pull more than the hack and mail, and even then it took much persuasion from the stick to get to the top.

As one travels over such roads—although they don't deserve the name of roads—he can easily understand of what great importance means of communication is to any people. Here every rod of travel at best entails a tremendous expenditure of human energy. No wonder schools are poor or lacking in many places, church services infrequent, and for over half the year a complete absence of any kind of community life. There is not much incentive for a family to raise more than it can consume, for there is no way of disposing of a surplus. Barter of necessity is largely the means of exchange. In the winter the father's chief recreation is in going to the store for a few groceries—and they are few indeed—or in taking the corn to the mill to be ground.

Much of the time he must walk, for the roads are in such a state that venturing out on a horse is too great a risk. At the mill and the store he meets his neighbors and kin, but his wife and children have no opportunity to learn the news, save as he brings it in. Some-

times a "killin' " occurs and then the whole neighborhood is wrought up. Sides are taken and excitement runs high. Those on the side of the slain seek to kill the slayer, while the latter's friends make haste to raise a purse and get him out of the country until the feeling against him subsides. And here we have the reason why those workers on "the marsh" were so "ignorant" of the place from whence they came. If the matter gets to court the fugitive may have to stay away three or four years, but sooner or later he will return.

But to get back to my story. I arrived at Salyersville about 9:30 that night. The driver had started on his trip at 4 o'clock that morning—that was his daily stint for which he was paid \$1.50 a day. He had told me there were two hotels in the town—one just as good as the other—and that he never "drummed" for either one or the other, for both of the proprietors were his friends—a sense of fairness characteristic of the mountaineer—and no amount of questioning would get him to say one word that might give either of them the least advantage. Before I had got my bag from the post office, the proprietor of the hotel opposite came in and greeting one with the familiar expression of the mountaineer, "Howdy," inquired whether I wanted a room. I replied that I did, and supper too, for I was hungry. I followed him across—I was going to say the "street" but "trail" would be more accurate—with a sort of misgiving in my heart, for I recalled the advice always given to those who venture into the mountains: "Carry concentrated foods with you." And this is sound advice as ninety-nine out of every one hundred meals offered to one in this region will show, but, as every rule has its exceptions so has this advice and here was the exception. The good wife had quickly prepared a meal the like of which I had seen but once before in Kentucky—those who know the state will recall "The Old Inn," at Greenville. After supper the proprietor, who had looked askance at me several times in passing through the dining room—for a stranger even in a hotel is looked upon with more or less suspicion until he and particularly his business are known—informed me gruffly that he would show me to my room. It was spotlessly clean and reasonably comfortable. In the grate was a cheery gas fire. This luxury was so out of keeping with the other appointments that I was curious to know how they came to have it, and from mine host I learned the story. Many years ago, long before the town of Salyersville was even thought of, some travellers

camping nearby noticed the water in the creek bubbling and giving off a peculiar odor. A torch was applied and a burning resulted. They didn't know what it was but they called the creek "Burning Fork." Recently there has been considerable development of the local oil and gas resources, and now most of the families in the town have the gas piped into their homes.

After a good night's rest I heard a knock on my door and the proprietor announced, "Breakfast in twenty minutes." It seemed as though I had been in bed only a short time and it was still dark, but, remembering the evening meal, I decided to take no chances and was at the table on time. When one has his health, fried chicken in the early morning is not to be withstood.

After breakfast I started out to see the town and some of the leading citizens. That didn't take long for the town is small and contains not more than 50 families. Nobody seemed to know much about the onion workers, except that they lived over on Punccheon. The county officials would furnish no information. In my conversations with them and other citizens, always courteous, I could instinctively sense their unspoken questions: "Who are you? What is your real business? Are you here to swindle our people out of more of their coal, timber, oil and gas lands? Are you a revenue officer? Why are you really so concerned about the school question—no one else has ever been!"

At last in my wanderings about the town, I chanced upon a family on the outskirts who had been to the Ohio onion fields. I carefully explained my purpose to the head of this family and for the simple reason that he had been outside he had come to know that not everybody need be looked upon with suspicion, and soon began to talk of his experiences. He had been to Ohio the year before, but had not returned this year because, as he said, "I learned a few things up thar last year and I wanted to try 'em out." He owns a small farm with some rather futile land along the creek, and had brought back with him and sown some onion seed, following very carefully—even religiously—the methods of cultivation used in Ohio. He planted a small plot of ground and had raised something like 50 bushels of onions which he had sold at a nice profit. He had also cultivated other vegetables as he had seen done in the other state. His corn would make 75 bushels to the acre. When I asked him why his crops were so much better than his neighbors',

he replied, "Wall, I'll tell you, I'd heard the folks talkin' 'bout what a wonderful place that war, so I jist decided I'd go an' see fer meself. You know I'd been borned an' raised here an' never been away so I jist rented my farm an' thought I'd try it fer a year. I got along all right—made good money, although I wasn't rich when I left in the fall, but I kept me eyes open an' watched jist how they did things. When I come back I jist decided I was agoin' to try it down here. Folks said I was a fool, that I wouldn't raise nuthin' and was jist a-wastin' my money an' time, but I showed 'em what I could do. Now if I only had a way to git to market with what I could raise. You know our people are good folks an' all that but they don't know how to do things. We ain't had no one to tell us what to do or how to farm. Oh, if we only had schools and roads like they got in Ohio! Why, do you know up thar they kin go any time o' year an' they don't have to go horseback neither, an' they kin haul jist as big a load as they want to. They make the kids go to school, too. If they ain't thar every day they send somebody after 'em an' they ain't no monkey-business neither. We ain't agoin' to be no better off until we git better roads an' schools and some one to tell us how to farm an' I do hope you're agoin' to help us git these things." I went away with the feeling that one didn't have to go very far to see that what he said was so and that help was badly needed.

He then told me how to get to Puncheon Creek where the majority of the onion workers were living. This creek is toward Ivyton, which is about 7 miles from Salyersville. He told me to look up Mr. Ham Logan (the name is fictitious) as he was "fixed" to accommodate strangers and warned me not to miss the place, as otherwise I would find it "pretty hard to make out." So at about 3 o'clock I left the "Old Inn" of Magoffin County and started on my way, arriving at Mr. Logan's place about 6 o'clock. He was not at home when I arrived but his wife told me I could stay over night and invited me to go around and sit on the front porch. The flies being somewhat annoying, I decided to walk about and wandered over to the garden where Mose, the youngest and only son at home, and a neighbor were digging sweet potatoes. They had about 75 bushels of fine potatoes and were putting them upstairs in the spare bedroom to dry out. Later on, they were to be put down in sand, as there was no cellar.

In a few minutes Mr. Logan came and a finer type of man one would not meet in many a day's travel. He greeted me cordially, and, as is customary in these parts, inquired about my business. He readily grasped the purpose for which I had come and was very much interested. His people had emigrated from Ireland in the early part of the 19th century and had settled in the mountains. He was tall, keen, erect and showed but little his 70 years; unlettered in so far as books go, yet he had a wealth of practical knowledge and experience, and was intelligently interested in a wide variety of subjects. Born in Magoffin County, he had married after having fought in the Civil War and settled down on this farm of some 300 or 400 acres. He and his wife, two years his junior, had cleared it with their own hands, and had endured untold hardships and privations to get it paid for. They have 13 children—all living and scattered about over the hills. Of their 41 grandchildren, and 8 great-grandchildren, all are living but three grandchildren. "Many a time," he said, "we didn't have anything to eat but cornbread an' even that at times run very low." He took me over in the barn-lot and showed me a black walnut stump over four feet across, saying: "That tree was as straight as a die an' 40 feet to the first limb, an' one day a man come along an' offered me \$5 for it. I knowed it was wuth more'n that, but I needed the money an' what could I do but sell it? That's the way I sold all my timber. Last year," he added, "they come around an' wanted to lease my land fer oil. I didn't think there was much to it an' they was fine talkers an' got me to lease it for a dollar an acre. The other day they struck oil on the Burning Fork an' if I had my lease back now I could git \$25 an acre. Oh, well, maybe come day they'll drill a well on my place an' if they git oil, I'll git an eighth of it. That'll be enough fer me an' Mary, 'cause you see we're gittin' old now an' ain't agoin' to live long." He was dreaming and the dreams in the evening of his life were indeed sweet to him for he still has hopes of a fortune. The story of this man's timber and oil rights could be told over and over again for the majority of the mountain families, illiterate and isolated as they are. They didn't know its value and the little ready cash offered by the astute wildcat promoter was too much for them to resist. So has their patrimony slipped from their

hands, while in their hearts there has come a sense of doubt and suspicion toward all strangers.

After supper he brought in some wood and kindled a fire in the grate, for the evening was cool, and we sat and talked until midnight. Very frankly he asked me a great number of questions ranging from what was taking place relative to the peace treaty to matters concerning my own personal life and family. He was keenly interested in the welfare of his own mountain people, especially in schools for the children. He remarked, "they say this country is poor, an' it is if you consider the taxes we pay, but jist look at all this timber, coal, oil an' gas that's goin' out o' here—then 'look at our schoolhouses. Us farmers ain't gittin' it, an' in a very few years the country will be poor an' then we won't be able to build any schoolhouses at all. Some of the mountain folks," he added, "ain't a-deservin' of nuthin' better; now you take some of them folks that lives over on Stony Crick—not all of 'em, but most of 'em—they're lazy, triflin' an' good-fer-nuthin'. They won't work much or save nuthin'. They've all got sore eyes, jist because they're too lazy to clean up. They marry their own kin-folks, and are always a-gettin' in trouble. Then you folks from the outside say we're *all* bad people, but most of them folks that goes to the onion fields up in Ohio are good, honest, hard-workin' people." I later visited Stony Creek and saw that what he had said about a real slum district out here in the mountains was absolutely true. It lies in the ever-widening area from which the onion workers are recruited. Going about over this area I found some of the people "good-fer-nuthin'," as he had described them but on the other hand the majority are good people, ignorant and retarded, yet honest and making the best they can out of their narrow and isolated lives.

Daily I went from Mr. Logan's house into the section where the onion workers live and verified from many sources the story he had told me of how they happened to go to "the marsh." It came about in this way: some 13 years ago a young mountaineer in his twenties was said to have committed some offence for which he was compelled to leave the county. He didn't have much money but he and his wife started out with what they had and went northwards, coming at last into central Ohio. Here they counted their funds—less than two dollars—and asking the ticket agent to sell them tickets to whatever place it would take them, they got on the

train again and alighted at Algers—a small town “on the marsh.” Here they saw great level fields dotted here and there with groups of people stooping over, doing some kind of work. Never having seen an onion field before, or even as much as thought that onions were ever grown in other than a small garden patch, they of course didn’t know what the workers were doing. When they were told they inquired whether they could get a job, and starting at it, both worked very diligently the entire season. They made what to them was big money. They spent the first winter “on the marsh” and when spring opened the mountaineer told the operators he could go to Kentucky and get any amount of labor for them. Being ever on the alert for cheap labor, the offer appealed to them and giving him several hundred dollars to pay transportation they sent him back to Kentucky among kin and friends to recruit labor for their fields. He did this for a couple of years after which time the people came of their own accord and have kept it up for the last decade. Almost all these families come from the one section in and about this young man’s home. The area has been constantly widening and the number of families gradually increasing. Fully nine-tenths of the 400 families living in Puncheon, Wheatly, Salt Lick, Middle, Burning Fork, Johnson, and Gun Creeks, and Goodlow and State Road Forks of Middle Creek have at one time or another been to “the marsh.” A few families came from the Big Sandy and the Trace Fork of the Licking River in another county, so that in all something like 400 families have for one or more years gone to the onion fields. The annual migration embraces about 100 families. I located and interviewed 25 families having 85 children of school age, and secured the names of 39 others said to have 113 children of school age, all of whom had been to “the marsh” in the season of 1919.

Not more than one-third of all these families own any land. Only a very few of the land owners—perhaps not more than a half dozen—have purchased their holdings with money earned in the onion fields, although frequently, especially when the season is good, the total net family income is such as would enable them to make a substantial payment on the purchase price if they would so apply it. They have not however had any training in thrift, consequently their year’s income is gone before they know it. The majority of them barely have enough money left in the spring

to get back to the onion fields. Those who own or lease land in the mountains, rent or sublet it in the spring, usually to some of their kinsmen who will raise enough corn to "bread the whole clan" during the winter. When the workers return they either move into a shack or cabin on the place or, as is more likely to be the case, live in their own homes with the other families already there, or they may "winter" with relatives. Those who stay at home one year are very likely to be found in the onion fields the next year because, as one man explained when asked why they always returned to Kentucky in the fall, "Y' see it's like this—we kin live so much cheaper back here. Y' know our corn for bread don't cost much, an' we kin fatten our own meat, an' we kin go to the bank and dig out what little coal we need." Add to this their clannishness and desire to be with their own folks and among familiar scenes, and one probably has the sum total of their reason for going back and forth. There are a few families, however,—not those previously referred to as being compelled to stay away—who have purchased land "on the marsh" or homes in a village thereabouts and thus have become permanent residents of Ohio.

The housing conditions both "on the marsh" and in Kentucky are extremely bad. In Kentucky most of the houses are built of logs, and usually contain only two rooms. Some of them are built of sawed lumber, thus having a more comfortable outward appearance. The interior decorations consist of newspapers pasted on the walls. There are no floor coverings and all have open fire places. Much of the furniture is crudely hand-made out of packing boxes. None of the houses have screens and none have toilets. Most of the drinking water is taken from the polluted creeks as the houses are nearly always located in the hollows. The houses "on the marsh" are for the most part just boarded up. A few, however, are plastered on the inside. Taking into consideration the difference in temperature, they are not as comfortable in the winter time as the houses in Kentucky. They are heated with stoves. The furniture is somewhat more greatly improvised than in the Kentucky homes. Very few of the houses have screens. The water is from drilled wells and is said to be good although there were several cases of typhoid fever "on the marsh" last summer. Not being accustomed to toilets in Kentucky, the mountaineers have little respect

for them in Ohio. The toilets are foul, ill-smelling and a constant attraction for flies. The ground "on the marsh" being so level, the question of sewage and garbage disposal is serious and is not being solved in a healthful way. In rainy seasons particularly, the yards become veritable mud holes.

As in Kentucky, several families often live in the same house. The houses being small, there is practically no chance to observe common privacies of single-family life. In fact, privacy is almost unknown to them. This condition has given rise to severe criticism by the native people living "on the marsh" who denounce the Kentucky families as immoral. I am convinced that except for the few degenerate families previously referred to, they are not so much immoral as unmoral—a condition almost entirely due to ignorance.

The worst phase of this whole situation concerns the schools. It is really tragic to think that such a condition actually exists in any American community. Three schoolhouses in Kentucky where the majority of the children of these migrant mountaineers should attend, have been deserted. I visited one of them and the two others were said to be in an equally deplorable state. The one I saw is on Jake's Creek, a branch of Puncheon. As I walked up Puncheon to where Jake's Creek comes in and thence up the latter about a hundred yards, I saw a scene I shall never forget. On either side of this little creek, and rising from its very bed, the hills loomed high. The sun was just sinking behind the mountains beyond and was in such a position that it shone straight down the little valley. A few steps farther and it was hidden by what looked to be an abandoned shed but as I drew nearer I saw the sun's rays coming through what appeared to be window openings. The building was located on a beautiful grass plot about a half acre in size and perfectly level. It was leaning and apparently in the last stages of decay, and yet there was something so indescribably beautiful about the whole scene, that one could scarcely realize its tragedy was as great as its beauty, for it was the neighborhood schoolhouse and the lesson hour had not yet passed, but there were no children to recite and here in this lovely spot by the mountain brook the hills no longer echoed their laughter while at play. The silence of desertion was oppressive.

There were no doors, windows, sash or glass. The floor was made of puncheon, fully one-third of which had been torn away,

thus exposing the hewn sleepers. The benches were hand-made, straight-backed and had no place on which to write or place the books. There was no blackboard. One's hand could be thrust through the cracks between the boards in the wall, and light came through holes in the clapboard roof.

As I came around to the front of the building I saw, much to my surprise, a man sitting in the doorway. He was dressed in the ordinary garb of the mountain people and the expression on his face betrayed his feelings. As I later learned, he was the teacher, and was fulfilling his part of the contract by coming to the school-house even though he knew no children would be there. When I asked him why they didn't come, he said, "You know the onion workers leave here about April 1st and don't get back until about the middle of November. Our schools start here July 15th and close by Christmas. When the families get back it takes them some little time to get settled and then they say the time's so short it's no use to start them. So we can't have any school. It would be no use to try to force them to come for so short a time, and besides just look at this building!"

The teacher invited me to his home over on Jenny's Creek and I joined his family at supper. There were five children, the eldest, a boy of 16 years who had been away, working on a railroad to supplement the family income, and the youngest, a girl between 3 and 4 years old. While his wife was getting the humble meal ready, the teacher gathered the children about him in the front room to play with them and keep them from "pesterin'" in the kitchen. There were no toys nor playthings of any kind so they ran about after one another and managed to get under their mother's feet as much as ever. To quiet them a little the father called the youngest and said to her, "Mary, can't you say your piece fer the stranger?" and barefoot Mary sidled up bashfully and with a tremendous bow, "said her piece," none of which I could understand. The father's face was beaming with pride as I called the little girl to me and gave her three bright pennies. They were wonderful things to Mary whose face was alight with joy, and she ran to show her mother what "the man" had given her. She was quick to lay her plans, for a moment later, when I took her on my knee and asked her what she was going to buy with her money, she answered earnestly, "I'se goin' to git some stockin's." Her

father spoke up, "Why, Mary, I thought I saw you with stockin's on the other day," Mary quickly replied, "Yes, but they was brother's."

The families who go back and forth, do not send their children to school in the spring when in Ohio, for they argue, "Our school is out in Kentucky"; and in the fall they say, "We will soon be going back and it's no use to start in here"—consequently here are several hundred children actually attending no school at all, save as their parents take an off year from the onion work. It is true the parents are not greatly concerned about the schooling of their children, but their neglect is due to indifference, not to hostility. Of all the difficult problems that arise in connection with migration, the most difficult to deal with is that of the school. It is hard to say just where the public responsibility rests, for these people have their residence in one state and then work in another. The school and work seasons conflict with each other and the children are paying the price by growing up in ignorance, which sooner or later will make for unrest. This problem will not solve itself, neither will it be solved by the workers. They can not do it. The industry itself should bear a definite part of this responsibility and perhaps the other part should be borne jointly by the federal government and the states involved in the migration. If the pending Smith-Towner bill becomes a law, would it not be possible to set aside certain funds for the employment of migrant teachers to accompany groups of families and conduct school for those children whose parents are following seasonal occupations? Whether this suggestion is practical or not, we must concede that these wandering children are just as much entitled to education as those who stay in one place and that it is just as necessary to educate them as any others. The number of children whose parents migrate is large and is growing larger. The problem is urgent and must be solved.

CHILD WELFARE ADMINISTRATION IN NORTH CAROLINA

WILEY H. SWIFT

A not inconsiderable number of students of social matters believe that North Carolina has made a distinct contribution to the social machinery of the state by the establishment of her State and County Boards of Public Welfare. Those who believe this hope that the good features of North Carolina's system, adapted, of course, to the peculiar conditions and well-fixed institutions of any given state, may be adopted by other states. Seeing that there is this belief and this hope, it may not be amiss to give a brief account of the North Carolina plan.

North Carolina did not hurry to set up her state and county agencies for social work and supervision. After very careful investigation and thought by a number of private citizens interested in social development, a beginning was made by the enactment of the law of 1917, which was, at best, only a sort of social experiment. The experiment proved to be satisfactory in that it was educative, and the General Assembly of 1919 rounded out the work so wisely begun in 1917. There has never been any thought of going backward, but always a planning for making the machinery more effective. Those directly interested have, however, been wise enough to teach the people to want just about what the new State and County Boards promised to give and are now beginning actually to give them. North Carolinians believe in two principles: central control and local activity, which seem to be opposites but which they have always tried, and with a considerable degree of success, to harmonize. The establishment of State and County Boards of Public Welfare is another attempt by the state to yoke these two apparently antagonistic principles together, and it is not a failure.

The act of 1917 as amended by the act of 1919 provides for four district social agents: a State Board of Public Welfare, a Com-

missioner of Public Welfare, a County Board of Public Welfare and a County Superintendent of Public Welfare. The duties and powers of each of these, as defined by the act, are such as that all unite to form a more or less complete unit.

A.—STATE BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE

The legal title of the State Board is the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare. The old State Board of Charities which concerned itself largely with jails and almshouses was abolished and the Board of Charities and Public Welfare was established in its stead. Certain constitutional provisions as well as wisdom indicated this course to be the proper one.

Section 3913. There shall be elected by the General Assembly, upon the recommendation of the Governor, seven persons who shall be styled "The State Board of Charities and Public Welfare," and at least one of such persons shall be a woman, which persons shall serve without pay: *Provided, however,* that they shall receive their necessary expenses. At this session of the General Assembly all seven of said members shall be elected, three for a term of two years, two for a term of four years, and two for a term of six years, and thereafter the term shall be six years for all. That such election shall be by concurrent vote of the Assembly and that appointments to fill vacancies in the board arising from any cause whatsoever, except expiration of term, shall be made for the residue of such term by the Governor.

The duties and powers of the State Board are set out in the following section:

Section 3914. The Board shall hold meetings at least quarterly and whenever called in session by the chairman, and shall make such rules and orders for the regulation of its own proceedings as it deems proper. It shall have the following powers and duties, to wit:

(a) To investigate and supervise through and by its own members or its agents or employees the whole system of the charitable and penal institutions of the State and to recommend such changes and additional provisions as it may deem needful for their economical and efficient administration.

(b) To study the subjects of non-employment, poverty, vagrancy, housing conditions, crime, public amusement, care and treatment of prisoners, divorce and wife desertion, the social

evil and kindred subjects and their causes, treatment and prevention, and the prevention of any hurtful social condition.

(c) To study and promote the welfare of the dependent and delinquent child and to provide either directly or through a bureau of the board for the placing and supervision of dependent, delinquent, and defective children.

(d) To inspect and make report on private orphanages, institutions, maternity homes, and persons or organizations receiving or placing children, and such institutions shall submit such reports and information as may be required by the State Board. It shall be unlawful for any person, institution or organization for the purpose of caring for or placing children to carry on such work or business without license therefor from the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare. The said Board of Charities and Public Welfare is hereby empowered to grant license for one year to such institutions, persons or agencies to carry on such work as it believes is needed and is for the public good and is conducted by reputable persons or organizations and the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare may revoke such license when in its opinion the public welfare or the good of the children therein is not being properly subserved.

(e) To issue bulletins and in other ways to inform the public as to social conditions and the proper treatment and remedies for social evils; and such bulletins shall be printed by the public printer to such amount and to such extent as may be approved by the State Printing Committee.

(f) To issue subpoenas and compel attendance of witnesses, administer oaths, and to send for persons and papers whenever it deems it necessary in making the investigations provided for herein or in the other discharge of its duties, and to give such publicity to its investigations and findings as it may deem best for the public welfare.

(g) To employ a trained investigator of social service problems who shall be known as the Commissioner of Public Welfare, and to employ such other inspectors, officers and agents as it may deem needful in the discharge of its duties.

(h) To recommend to the Legislature social legislation and the creation of necessary institutions.

(i) To encourage employment by counties of a county superintendent of public welfare and to co-operate with the county superintendent of public welfare in every way possible.

(j) To attend, either through its members or agents, social service conventions and similar conventions and to assist in promoting all helpful publicity tending to improve social conditions of the State, and to pay out of the funds appropriated to the State Board, office expenses, salaries of employees, and

all other expenses incurred in carrying out the duties and powers hereinbefore set out.

To this should be added the duty to give special attention to insanity, idiocy, deformity and infirmity—Sec. 3916 to inspect jails, almshouses and other penal or charitable institutions and to examine and approve plans for all such buildings—Sec. 3917; and to see that insane persons are properly cared for—Sec. 3919.

B.—COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WELFARE

The only mention which is made of the Commissioner of Public Welfare in the act is to be found under (g) of Section 3919:

(g) To employ a trained investigator of social service problems who shall be known as the Commissioner of Public Welfare, and to employ such other inspectors, officers and agents as it may deem needful in the discharge of its duties.

This is all that has been found to be necessary. The Commissioner is the executive officer of the State Board—is, in fact, the State Board in action. His office is in the state building in Raleigh, the capital city. He exercises without question all the powers and is expected to perform all the duties placed by law in the State Board, and in addition to all his duties and powers arising out of the acts of 1917 and 1919 establishing the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare he was empowered by another act of 1919 to sit as one of the three members of the State Child Welfare Commission, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the Secretary of the State Board of Health being the other two members.

C.—COUNTY BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE

County Boards of Public Welfare which are technically speaking County Boards of Charities and Public Welfare have, in fact, no authority whatever. They do not select the County Superintendents of Public Welfare. They are advisory boards only, and serve without pay.

Section 5915. The State Board shall appoint in each county three persons, to be known as the County Board of Charities and Public Welfare, whose duty shall be to advise with and assist the State Board in the work in the county, to

make such visitations and reports as the State Board may request, and to act in a general advisory capacity to the county and municipal authorities in dealing with questions of dependency and delinquency, distribution of the poor funds, and social conditions generally. The members of the County Board of Charities and Public Welfare shall serve without pay. The county commissioners and county board of education in each county shall in joint session, not later than July 15th, nineteen hundred and nineteen, appoint a County Superintendent of Public Welfare, who shall serve at the pleasure of said boards, and whose salary shall be fixed and paid jointly from the public funds of said boards. The County Superintendent of Public Welfare shall be the chief school attendance officer of the county, and shall have other duties and powers as follows:

(a) To have, under control of the County Commissioners, the care and supervision of the poor and to administer the poor funds.

(b) To act as agent of the State Board in relation to any work to be done by the State Board within the county.

(c) Under the direction of the State Board to look after and keep up with the condition of persons discharged from hospitals for the insane and from other State institutions.

(d) To have oversight of prisoners in the county on parole from penitentiaries, reformatories, and all parole prisoners in the county.

(e) To have oversight of dependent and delinquent children, and especially those on parole or probation.

(f) To have oversight of all prisoners in the county on probation.

(g) To promote wholesome recreation in the county and to enforce such laws and regulate commercial amusement.

(h) Under the direction of the State Board to have oversight of dependent children placed in said county by the State Board.

(i) To assist the State Board in finding employment for the unemployed.

(j) To investigate into the cause of distress, under the direction of the State Board, and to make such other investigations in the interest of social welfare as the State Board may direct.

The State Board shall have power and right at any time to remove any member of the County Board.

D.—COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

As appears from the section just above quoted, the County Superintendent is the local county social administrative agent. In addition to the duties herein set out he may be made under the

provisions of another act of 1919 an agent of the State Board of Child Welfare to enforce laws regulating the employment of children. County superintendents are now helping to enforce the laws regulating the employment of children.

It thus appears:

1. That the direction and supervision of all state and county charitable and social activities is lodged in a board of seven non-salaried members elected by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Governor, and that the Commissioner of Public Welfare is the agent and executive officer of the Board. As a matter of fact, the Commissioner of Public Welfare has not undertaken, as yet, to do all that the General Assembly authorized the State Board to do. It was not possible to do it all. A County Superintendent of Public Welfare had to be approved and provided for each of the one hundred counties during the year 1919. There are now not more than five counties in the state without such an officer. Child-caring and child-placing institutions have not, of course, been brought up to standard; but even if there had been time and agents for doing this, it would not have been done. The people of North Carolina prefer to grow rather than to jump even into better social conditions.

The plan has, however, been sufficiently developed for one to say with certainty that child welfare—and by this is meant the bringing of personal attention to every delinquent, neglected or dependent child—is to be the chief concern of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare. The General Assembly of 1919 enacted an excellent Juvenile Court Law. Every county has its Juvenile Court, which is a part of the Superior Court, with the clerk of the court sitting as occasion may require as Juvenile Judge and with the County Superintendent of Public Welfare acting as either probation officer or chief probation officer. All these Juvenile Judges and County Superintendents simply had to have some instruction in the duties of their offices. The State Board has been busy with this very important piece of work.

A Division of Child Welfare has been established as a part of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare with a director. The duties of this director are: To keep in touch with all public and private child-caring and child-placing agencies; to advise with County Superintendents of Public Welfare in the handling of delin-

quent, neglected or dependent or defective children (the director goes to any county to do case work in complicated cases); and to advise with parents and guardians of any children needing care of any sort.

2. That the County Superintendent of Public Welfare is the local agent for doing and supervising county social work. He is both the eye and hand of the state. His duty is to see every child in his county and to bring to that child such care as is needed. The members of each County Board of Charities and Public Welfare are selected by the State Board. In other words, the State Board selects three members in each county to form a board to advise with its agent, and to insure that these three advisors will be of real value to the agent the power to remove a member of any County Board, at any time, is reposed by law in the State Board. In order that the County Board may remain strictly an advisory board, the power even to select a County Superintendent of Public Welfare is withheld from it. The Board of County Commissioners and the County Board of Education select this officer and determine his compensation, which is paid part by the Board of Commissioners and part by the Board of Education as may be agreed upon by the two boards. The person selected for County Superintendent of Public Welfare must have the approval of the State Board of Public Welfare. This enables the State Board to select its one hundred agents and thus helps to bind the whole system into a complete unit; for once the County Superintendent of Public Welfare is appointed, he comes immediately under the supervision of the State Board. Thus rather full local activity with central control and supervision is secured—the two opposites are yoked and made to pull together.

The County Superintendent of Public Welfare is the key to the county social situation. The State Board can see to it that he is a fit and competent person, can give him proper aid and instruction and such special aid as may be found to be needful, and does name his official advisors. As heretofore pointed out, he is made by the Juvenile Court Act of 1919, the chief probation officer of the Juvenile Court. This places him in direct supervision of every child passing through that court. He can not fail to come in touch with every delinquent, neglected or dependent child. A proper handling of these cases will force him to make inquiry into the social condition of the families from which these children come.

Another law enacted in 1919 makes it the duty of every parent or guardian to send all children between 8 and 14 years of age to school for the full term of the public school of the district in which the child resides, unless lawful excuse for absence is shown. The enforcement of this act rests with the County Superintendent of Public Welfare by virtue of the fact that he is the school attendance officer. The same act authorizes the State Child Welfare Commission to use the County Superintendent of Public Welfare in enforcing the laws regulating the employment of children and this power is now being exercised. No work permits are required for the employment of children but the State Child Welfare Commission has authorized County Superintendents of Public Welfare to issue permits to boys over 12 but under 14 years of age to work at occupations ordinarily forbidden by law when the public school is not in session. Each case must be investigated before a permit can be issued.

The school census age of children is 6 to 21 years of age, inclusive. The compulsory school age is from 8 to 14, inclusive. If the County Superintendent of Public Welfare makes proper use of the school census and looks properly after the enforcement of the compulsory education law and the laws regulating the employment of children, he will have a rather close oversight of every child more than 6 years of age. Children under 6 years of age will not, of course, be in such direct touch. In many cases, however, an older child will lead him to the needy little one. When there is no such older child to lead, other sources of first notice of neglect or need must be depended upon.

A County Superintendent of Public Welfare has been appointed for each of the hundred counties with the exception of five. An approved person has not been found for these. The law permits the County Superintendent of Public Instruction to act as County Superintendent of Public Welfare in any county of not more than twenty-five thousand inhabitants. Only 23 counties have such a combination officer. It has been found that the work of a County Superintendent of Public Welfare is such as to forbid in most counties his undertaking to supervise the public schools of the county.

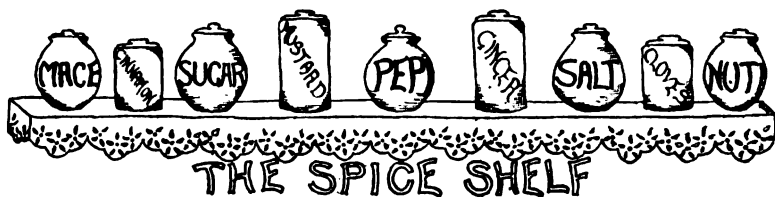
Cities which have City Board of Welfare or other social agencies are authorized to consolidate the city social work with the county

social work under the supervision of the County Superintendent of Public Welfare, the city and county bearing the expenses jointly as may be agreed—sec. 3921. The tendency is to treat all social work as county work.

SUMMARY

The whole plan may be summed up in a paragraph. The General Assembly through its Governor and General Assembly selects six persons who are enough interested to work without pay, to constitute the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare and to look out for every child who may for any reason be in need of care. This Board in turn employs a competent person to take charge and direction of all the state work. Offices and office assistants are given to him. Then the law bids the Board of County Commissioners and the County Board of Education, sitting together, to appoint a County Superintendent of Public Welfare to aid the State Commissioner and to provide compensation for him (they must be careful to select a person approved by the State Board). Finally the law directs the State Board to appoint three citizens of his county to act as a board of advisors to the County Superintendent, and if occasion arises, with the State Board or the State Commissioner.

Any student of social legislation might, in a short time, suggest improvement in the act of 1919, governing State and County Boards of Public Welfare. One or two amendments force themselves into consideration. The act of 1919 governing the attendance at school and the employment of children is not the best law that could be drawn on these subjects, but it is the best that could be enacted in 1919, and really marked considerable advance in social legislation. The important thing is that the people of the state are beginning to feel a just pride in this new thing which they have made to serve their social needs, are following where it leads, are coming to accept school attendance as a matter of public interest, and are rapidly coming to understand that the employment of children for any purpose other than education is something to be deplored and stopped at the earliest possible moment. The state hopes that it has set an eye to see every child and a hand to bring aid whenever that eye sees that aid is needed and it looks as if that hope is not vain, but is beginning to be realized.



It seemed impossible that the small person who stood before the Judge in the Children's Court could be so grave an offender.

"He steals, Mistah Judge, and he runs away," the tall negro woman reiterated, "and me and his paw suah wants him put whar he can't do none of dem things."

The Judge bent his gaze on the offending 7-year-old. Black as the ace of spades, no higher than the court table, the large tears chasing each other down his face, he was the picture of dejected childhood.

"Well, Sam," the Judge said kindly, "you've heard what your parents have to say about you. Now, what can you say for yourself?"

Sam clutched the table and struggled to control his tears. "Mistah Judge, Mistah Judge," he stammered, "I'se only got dis here to say: I'd be all right ef I jist had another set of parents."

—New York *Evening Sun*.

An examination of the records of Bureau of Vital Statistics sets forth some strange causes of death, some of which are as follows:

"Died suddenly, nothing serious."

"Went to bed feeling well, but woke up dead."

"Patient should not have died, as he fully recovered from his sickness."

"Don't know cause of death. He died without the aid of a physician."

"Died from blow on the head with ax. Contributory cause was another man's wife."

CELESTIAL SPEED LIMITS

Last summer, I was in a section of the country which has more than its fair share of religious fanatics. Their zeal finds expression in signs which they put up in all available places—the walls of buildings, fences, telephone poles, rock faces—calling sinners to repentance and exhorting the wayfarer to follow in the paths of righteousness. One can hardly look about him without being directed in the way he should go. As I was riding along one of the roads in this section I chanced to look up and my eye caught this sign on a telephone pole: “Turn to the Lord! Make haste! The time is short!” On the very next pole was the sign: “Slow down to 10 miles an hour.”—*E.N.C.*

Pine Mountain, Kentucky, is one hundred and fifty miles long, and runs from Praise the Lord to Hell’s Point.



PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES. Ellwood P. Cubberley. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

Education, Mr. Cubberley believes, "has become the great constructive tool of civilization," and *Public Education in the United States* traces its development from the old colonial idea of schools controlled by the Church or existing primarily for religious purposes, to its present position as the most powerful factor in national life. This book gives a comprehensive and balanced presentation of the history of education in the United States and a discerning analysis and interpretation of the forces underlying the changes which have occurred. Though primarily a textbook, its value is not confined to the student; Mr. Cubberley's conception of education as a potent force, determined largely by social and economic conditions, but reacting in turn upon these conditions until it now stands as the most important factor in directing their future course, should be an inspiration to all educational workers and a guide to their future efforts.

Until 1890 educational activity centered about the elimination of sectarianism and the establishment of a system of free public schools with state supervision, and, during the last few decades of this period, under the teachings of Herbart, Froebel, Montessori and others about the school curriculum. It is since 1890, however, that the most rapid progress has been made; our conception of education has altered, and has necessitated a fundamental reorganization of the school system as well as further revision of both the content and method of teaching. These changes Mr. Cubberley attributes to the social and industrial forces which during this period have largely determined the character of our national life. "The great stream of immigration which has come to our shores, the vast industrial revolution which has taken place, the destruction of the old-type home, the virtual disappearance of the apprenticeship system of training, the institution of compulsory education, new conceptions as to the education of delinquents and defectives, new child-welfare legislation, and the rise of a rural life problem of great dimensions,—these are the most important changes and forces of the past three decades which have necessitated extensive modifications in almost every aspect of our educational service. To enable our schools to meet these new problems of our changing democratic life, we have been forced

to change the direction of our schools and to adapt the instruction given to the new needs and conditions of society."

Of these the most far-reaching in its consequences is the industrial revolution. In the reorganization of life which has followed, the old restraining and educative influences have been weakened, and the school has been called upon to take their place. "Instead of mere teaching institutions, engaged in imparting book-information and imposing discipline, our schools have been asked to grasp the significance of their social relationships, to transform themselves more fully into institutions for the improvement of democracy, and to prepare the young who attend them for greater social efficiency by teaching more that is directly useful and by training them better for citizenship in a democracy such as ours." This new conception of the function of the school is at the basis of all recent efforts to modernize education, and under the leadership of men like Eliot, Dewey and Flexner, methods in harmony with this principle are being introduced. "The center of gravity has shifted from that of the subject matter of instruction to that of the child to be taught."

Mr. Cubberley recognized the educational significance of the activities of individuals and organizations who, from a social, rather than an educational interest, have secured a revision of the compulsory attendance laws and the enactment of a vast amount of child labor and general child welfare legislation. These reforms have brought new classes of children into the schools and have made essential entirely new lines of work. Special instruction for delinquents and defectives of all types, for children of foreign parentage and for backward children, medical inspection, health teaching, playgrounds, supervised play, and may other special activities have come to be recognized as within the scope of educational work. This extension of function has not been confined to the elementary school; high school work is undergoing a similar adaptation to the needs of the child, and through evening classes, social centers, etc., the service of the public school is being extended to the entire community.

The changes Mr. Cubberley describes are indications of present tendencies in educational reform rather than actual achievements. There is much yet to be accomplished and four general lines are suggested along which future effort should be directed: (1) scientific study of education, emphasizing correlation of studies, "project" teaching, the use of intelligence tests, (2) reorganization of school work along such lines as the junior high school, the Gary system, etc., (3) reorganization of rural education through consolidation and abolition of the district system, (4) state educational reorganization to insure a consecutive policy and to permit of national aid.

Americans are inclined to consider education primarily a state affair. Mr. Cubberley points out, however, that even today we have a national system of education. For while differing in organization and scope our state systems have a common purpose and are all based upon the same fundamental principles—the essential nature of education, the right to tax for school support, equal opportunity, compulsory attendance and establishment of state standards. We shall never perfect our system of education, for if education is to reflect social and economic changes it can never be static. The function of education, however, can be determined. The reforms suggested by Mr. Cubberley recognize

this, and are such as will tend to secure a flexible school system, directed by leaders able and eager to shape its policies and develop its work in accordance with changing conditions.

GERTRUDE FOLKS.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND THE WORLD WAR. Frederic A. Ogg and Charles A. Beard. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

"If the World War has demonstrated one thing above another," says the preface, "it is the power of political institutions, ideals, and practices—national and international—to contribute to or detract from human welfare. The late conflict arrayed state against state, people against people; yet it was, at bottom, a struggle between two great schemes of human government,—autocracy and democracy. On the field of battle, democracy has triumphed. The victory, however, can be regarded as complete and final only in the measure in which democracy is prepared to bring intelligence and sanity to the new and great tasks which it has assumed. Even Americans and Englishmen need a fuller realization of the bearings of governmental organization and practice upon public well-being, a better knowledge of the political experience and problems of other peoples, and a new enthusiasm for national and international reconstruction on lines such as will conserve the dearly bought gains of the recent conflict.

"The present volume is offered as an aid to the diffusion of this sort of knowledge and spirit. It deals mainly with comparative government and undertakes to show what the heritage and genius of the principal peoples lately engaged in the World War have meant in the shaping of contemporary political institutions and ideas. It seeks also to describe the great changes wrought in governmental organization and procedure during the war, and to point out the major political problems that remain for settlement during the early years of peace."

The volume is just what the preface indicates and what the names of the authors promise. It is one of the indispensable books for all students of political development and comparative government.

R. G. F.

SOCIAL GAMES AND GROUP DANCES. J. C. Elsom, M.D., and Blanche M. Trilling. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

This is a usable, useful book. It is, as the title page says, a collection of games and dances for community and social use. Anybody who has use for a handbook of games and dances will find this one useful; not merely the professional recreation worker, but whoever manages a home party or a church sociable. Part I, describing social games, is by Dr. Elsom, assistant professor of physical education at the University of Wisconsin. Parts II and III, describ-

ing group dances and singing games, is by Miss Trilling, associate professor of physical education at the same institution. Part I is divided into five chapters, as follows: "Social Mixers and Acquaintance Games," "Active Games of Tag," "Parlor and House-Party Games," "Games with Pencil and Paper," "Stunts." Music for the dances and singing games is given. The volume is well illustrated. The games and dances described in it are suitable, some for outdoors, some for indoors, some for both; some for children especially, some for either children or adults, some for both together.

R. G. F.

RURAL PROBLEMS OF TODAY. Ernest R. Groves. New York: Association Press, \$1.00.

In "Rural Problems of Today," Professor Groves has written a readable, suggestive and significant book. This little volume does not attempt a comprehensive survey or treatment of such rural problems as agricultural development, economic prosperity, school administration, community organization, but is rather occupied with the psychological elements in the ordinary life of country people: the psychic causes of discontent, emigration, individualism, etc.; mental hygiene in rural districts; the psychology of rural social engineering. It is not a treatise on rural problems, but an essay on the understanding of rural problems; and as such must be reckoned among the worth-while books of the country life literature. Professor Groves stresses the importance of the home as an institution of strategic value in rural progress, warning against a too ready disposition to discard its possibilities of usefulness and turn its functions over to other institutions.

R. G. F.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

THE VALUE OF PLAY. By R. D. Chadwick, Principal Morgan Park School, Duluth, Minn.

COMMUNITY RECREATION. Compiled by George O. Draper. New York: Association Press, 20 cents.

SCHOOLROOM GAMES. By Neva L. Boyd. Recreation Department, Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, 25 cents.

HOSPITAL AND BEDSIDE GAMES. By Neva L. Boyd. Recreation Department, Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, 35 cents.

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE PAMPHLETS*

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT. By Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee. Single copies free.

PEOPLE WHO GO TO BEETS. By Theresa Wolfson. Illustrated. 15 cents.

* Pamphlets will be sent free to members upon request.

CHILDREN IN AGRICULTURE. By Ruth McIntire. Illustrated. 10 cents.

CHILDREN WHO WORK IN OUR STREETS. By Ruth McIntire. Illustrated.
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STATE LAWS AND MINIMUM STANDARDS FOR CHILD PROTECTION. By Josette
Frank. Single copies free.

RECREATION AND CHILD WELFARE. By Raymond G. Fuller. 10 cents.

CHILD LABOR AND THE "NEW DAY." By Raymond G. Fuller. Single copies
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FARM LABOR VS. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE. By Gertrude Folks. 10 cents.

The National Child Labor Committee has at the request of various state and local agencies made State Child Welfare Studies. These studies cover such subjects as Public Health, Education, Dependency, Juvenile Delinquency, Institutions, Recreation, Child Labor, Agriculture, Rural Life, and Law and Administration. They are designed to show existing conditions, to further co-operation in the different fields of children's work and to offer suggestions for remedial and preventive effort. They are constructive in spirit, and practical use is being made of them in the standardising and co-ordinating of laws, and in improving administrative machinery and methods.

CHILD WELFARE IN OKLAHOMA. 75 Cents.

The Oklahoma survey was made by the Committee's staff of specialists at the invitation of the University of Oklahoma and was conducted by Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D. Of the published volume the *American Economic Review* says:

"The interesting feature of the report is that it proves, intrinsically, the fact that there can not be merely one point of view concerning anything that concerns child welfare. . . . Public health, delinquency, the institutional care of children, are all interdependent fields of work, bound up with the questions of recreation, mothers' pensions, and poor relief. A valuable work has been performed in relating these problems and in clearing the way for the further and more effective standardization of child welfare laws."

CHILD WELFARE IN ALABAMA. \$1.00.

The University of Alabama cooperated with the National Child Labor Committee in making this survey, which was directed by Dr. Clopper.

"It is a very exhaustive report and is full of interest from beginning to end."—*Birmingham Age-Herald*.

CHILD WELFARE IN NORTH CAROLINA. \$1.00.

This survey was made for the North Carolina Conference for Social Service, under the direction of W. H. Swift.

"The volume forms part of a nation-wide movement. . . . It should form a good basis for action in North Carolina, beside throwing light on the remedy for much ineffectiveness in law-making that is not, unfortunately, peculiar to that State."—*The Nation*.

According to *The Survey*, "This study of North Carolina . . . is perhaps the most telling of them all, because it deals more in specific instances and less in generalities."

CHILD WELFARE IN KENTUCKY. \$1.25.

This study was made under the direction of Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D., and was an inquiry by the National Child Labor Committee for the Kentucky Child Labor Association and the State Board of Health.

"Child Welfare in Kentucky . . . presents a thoroughly modern and progressive view applicable to all communities that have the interests of children at heart."—*Boston Transcript*.

The National Child Labor Committee has undertaken to make a study of **Child Welfare in Tennessee** at the invitation of Governor Roberts, the five state departments of health, labor, schools, charities, and agriculture; the University of Tennessee, the Anti-Tuberculosis Association, the Associated Charities of several cities, and other agencies. The report will embrace the subjects of health, schools, child labor, juvenile courts, institutions, rural life, recreation and laws and administration.

These volumes should be in every library containing works on sociology and economics. They are of special value to social workers, clergymen, educators, journalists, legislators and administrators everywhere.

HAS YOUR STATE HAD A CHILD WELFARE SURVEY?

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Incorporated to Promote the Interests of Children

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I N D E X

The American Child

VOL. II

MAY, 1920—FEBRUARY, 1921

National Child Labor Committee

Incorporated to promote the interests of children

**105 EAST 22D STREET
NEW YORK CITY**

The American Child

VOLUME II

MAY, 1920—FEBRUARY, 1921

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THE CHILD IN THE OPEN COUNTRY

CHILDREN'S CODES

RECREATION AND RURAL HEALTH

KENTUCKY'S PROGRAM OF PROGRESS

FARM LABOR vs. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

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Pres. C. W. Eliot.
Cambridge.

***No community has the right to permit
a child to be robbed of its childhood.***

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EDITORIAL AND NEWS NOTES

We commend to our readers the concluding paragraph of "The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice," by Professor Stephen Leacock of McGill University. Professor Leacock sees
CHILDHOOD AND SOCIAL JUSTICE clearly the maladjustment between the social and economic order—in which there is considerable disorder—and the human needs, demands and aspirations of people. But how to remedy the situation? Professor Leacock, in his thoughtful, suggestive little book, takes the middle road between socialism and laissez-faire, and his final word is this:

"The safety of the future lies in a progressive movement of social control alleviating the misery which it can not obliterate and based upon the broad general principle of equality of opportunity. The chief immediate direction of social effort should be towards the attempt to give to every human being in childhood adequate food, clothing, education and an opportunity in life. This will prove to be the beginning of many things."

We suppose that Professor Leacock would include health among the essentials of a democracy of childhood—equality of opportunity—and construe opportunity to include opportunity for development of all inner capacities and potentialities. He has promised to write for this magazine an article amplifying the paragraph which we have quoted.

The Fifteenth National Conference on Child Labor was held in New Orleans, Wednesday, April 14, in conjunction with the National Conference of Social Work. Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D., assistant secretary of the National
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILD LABOR Child Labor Committee, presided at the forenoon and afternoon sessions, which were held in Association of Commerce Hall. The general theme of these sessions was "The National Child Labor Committee at Work." Addresses were given by members of the Com-

mittee's staff, and each was followed by interesting discussion from the floor. Seldom, if ever, has a National Conference on Child Labor been characterised by so wide a variety of viewpoints, different but all essentially harmonious, or by the presentation from both the platform and the floor of so many different but related aspects of the child labor problem. It is not too much to say that the New Orleans Conference was one of the most satisfactory and successful in the history of the National Child Labor Committee. Fully convincing was the evidence that the Committee is far from the end of its usefulness, not only in the expansion of its work to include every phase of child welfare, but in the prosecution of its main effort, the regulation and eventual abolition of child labor, to which, it should be said, its diversified activities are all contributory.

At the morning session Wiley H. Swift, specialist in law and administration, discussed the results of long years of educating the public concerning child labor and the changing attitude of employers, who because of both humanitarian and business considerations are becoming more and more willing to co-operate in child labor reform. He deprecated belligerency in child labor reform and urged taking full advantage of the new attitude of employers—in a word, his message was co-operation. Miss Mabel B. Ellis, specialist in juvenile courts, spoke on "The Relation of Juvenile Courts to Child Labor Law Enforcement"; Dr. Harold H. Mitchell, specialist in health, on "Health Standards for Working Children"; and Charles E. Gibbons, specialist in agriculture, on "Child Labor and the Tenant Farmer."

At the afternoon session, Dr. Clopper told of the purposes and methods of state child welfare surveys such as the Committee has made in Oklahoma, North Carolina, Alabama and Kentucky and the one it is now making in Tennessee. Miss Gertrude H. Folks, specialist in schools, discussed "The Rural Child and Compulsory School Attendance." Miss Josephine J. Eschenbrenner, membership secretary of the Committee, spoke on "Child Welfare and the Citizen's Responsibility," and Raymond G. Fuller, managing editor of *THE AMERICAN CHILD*, on "The Psychological Approach to the Child Labor Problem." Several of the addresses given at these sessions, it is expected, will be printed in the next number of *THE AMERICAN CHILD*.

On Wednesday evening there was a joint session with the opening general meeting of the National Conference of Social Work. Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, delivered an address on "The Faith of a Social Worker," the presidential address of the National Conference of Social Work. Miss Sally Lucas Jean, director of field work, Child Health Organization of America, spoke on "Creating a Demand for Health." Dr. Felix Adler, chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, was to have spoken on "The American Child: Sound in Mind and Body," but was prevented from being present by disruption of railroad service. Dr. Adler addressed the social workers Monday evening, April 19, pointing out the importance of national idealism to American life, emphasising the importance of the welfare of the rural population to national destiny and declaring that the great task now before the National Child Labor Committee has reference to the problem of rural child labor.

The morning session, Monday, April 19, of the Division on Children, National Conference of Social Work, was a joint session with the National Child Labor Committee. Dr. Clopper presided. Mrs. Loraine B. Bush, special agent of the National Child Labor Committee, told "How Alabama Has Organised Her Work for children," and Mr. Swift spoke on "Lessons in Child Welfare Work from North Carolina." Hastings H. Hart, director, Child Helping Department, Russell Sage Foundation, discussed "The Place of Surveys in Framing State Legislation." The general theme of this session was "Children's Codes."

To the Governor and Legislature of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, greetings and congratulations! Your record of accomplishment for the children of Kentucky in the KENTUCKY legislative session just closed is worthy of all praise.

It is a shining example to other states. We of the National Child Labor Committee are proud of our own part—the assistance we tried to and are told we did render you through our study of child welfare conditions and problems in your state. The accomplishment was yours, however, and so was the spirit. You have done much to make childhood in Kentucky a larger and a richer realm. Once more, greetings and congratulations!

We confidently predict that Tennessee also will shortly establish an enviable record in child welfare legislation. The children's code idea having taken strong root in the minds of
TENNESSEE Governor Roberts, other state officials, and leaders in social work, the National Child Labor Committee was recently invited into the state to make a study of child welfare conditions and problems like the study made last year in Kentucky. The Committee's staff of specialists has been engaged in this study since January and will complete its field work in a few weeks. A report will be made later to the State Child Welfare Commission which the Governor has appointed. The governor, ex-officio, the heads of the five state departments of health, education, charities, agriculture and labor inspection, the president of the University of Tennessee, and representatives of various social welfare organizations are members of the Commission. Albert Williams, state superintendent of public instruction, is chairman of the Commission; C. C. Menzler, secretary of the state board of charities, is secretary. Increased interest in health matters has been aroused in Tennessee by the recent visit of Miss Sally Lucas Jean, field director of the Child Health Organization of America, who spoke before the Tennessee Conference of Social Work at Johnson City and before social and civic clubs in Knoxville, Chattanooga, Nashville, Franklin and Memphis.

The *Courier-Citizen* of Lowell, Massachusetts, is desirous of information as to just how and how much a boy is injured by going to work at the age of 14. Says this journal editorially: "Either factory life does or does not hurt
EFFECTS OF boys between 14 and 16 more than absence from
CHILD LABOR such toil would do. Which is it? It won't suffice to leave it altogether to the sentimentalists, and it won't be safe either to leave it to the crusty old chap who reminds you that he went to work at nine years of age and it didn't hurt him a bit." We understand and share the desire for very precise data as to the effects of factory work, and other forms of child labor, on the bodies and minds of children. Provided, of course, that ignorance of these effects is not implied. There is need of data based on scientific measurement of specific effects with reference to specific causes and to the different age periods of childhood, but that is not saying that

common sense and knowledge of the physical, psychical and educational needs of children leave us without a logical basis for opposition to child labor and advocacy of a higher age limit than 14. Physiological science and psychological science proclaim the evil of child labor. They tell us what effects follow what causes, and if the causative factors are present in child labor the effects may be deduced. But the kind of information the Lowell *Courier-Citizen* wants, and the kind the National Child Labor Committee wants, is exactly the kind that will be available when the results of the study conducted in Cincinnati for a number of years by Mrs. Helen T. Woolley are published in full. This is a study of working children by use of physical and mental tests and measurements. It will tell just what has happened to the bodies and minds of children who have gone to work, and in what degree, and show the deviations from normal, in comparison with the findings for children who have stayed in school.

Previous studies of child labor and its attendant conditions have proved conclusively that child labor does menace physical and mental development and health, that it is a large contributing factor in juvenile delinquency, and that it is one of the principal causes of irregular attendance at school, and any intelligent person knows that child labor is evil if for no other reason than that it deprives children of play-life and schooling. But studies of child laborers themselves, individually, showing just how and how much they are being injured, are highly desirable for the education of the public and for the final determination of the exact prescriptions and proscriptions of child labor legislation.

This issue of *THE AMERICAN CHILD* contains two articles dealing with the subject of recreation. The close interrelation among the several fields of child welfare has led the **CHILD LABOR** National Child Labor Committee to take a live **vs.** interest in problems other than that which gave **RECREATION** it origin. The child labor problem is one phase, and a very important phase, of the general problem of child welfare. The recreational problem is likewise involved in the general child welfare problem. The child labor problem and the recreational problem are closely related to each other.

Child labor is sometimes defended as better for the child than idleness, and in many communities people see nothing for the

children to do except to go to work or loaf on the streets. The attempted justification of child labor on the ground that it is better for the child to be at work than running at large or playing in ways physically harmful or morally dangerous is widespread and deserves consideration, but the community which sees and furnishes no choice but the choice between the two evils of condemning children to child labor and allowing them to go to the devil through idleness or improper play is missing a great opportunity and neglecting its duty. There is a way out, and that is the road of recreation, recreation safe and wholesome and sufficient, from Sunday School picnics to public supervised playgrounds. Let there be no compromise with child labor.

The premature and excessive labor of children thwarts the satisfaction of their humanly natural needs. Plentiful and wholesome recreation, on the other hand, affords expression to the instinctive nature out of which these needs arise. Neither the child's body nor his mind is constituted for child labor. "We may say with considerable truth," says a modern psychologist, "not that the child *ought not* to work, but that he *can not* work." This is true, certainly, of the young child. A forthcoming pamphlet of the Committee will deal with the point presented in the quotation.

Sociologically we may say that the wage-earning function of the family or the community does not belong to children. The business of children is to be children—this involves an abundance of play—and to grow up into healthy, intelligent, moral and efficient citizens. Society should not permit children to be penalised for the poverty of their parents, but through children's scholarships, mothers' pensions and otherwise, should make it possible for poor children to play and go to school and thus be helped out of poverty.

The doctrine of all play and no work is quite as pernicious as the doctrine of all work and no play. Much depends on the conception of work. Work that is not too

<p>CHILD LABOR</p> <p>vs.</p> <p>CHILDREN'S WORK</p>	<p>severe, too prolonged, too monotonous; work that does not deprive children of opportunity to play, that does not keep them out of school or interfere with their progress in school, work that is developmental and educative, is all right; child labor is all wrong.</p>
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Children have work instincts as well as play instincts, and these should be allowed expression, particularly at home and at school. To a large extent the work instincts and the play instincts are mutually inclusive. Creativeness figures in both work and play. But work, if it is to be truly developmental and educative, must be safeguarded, directed, supervised like play. It must be considered with reference not only to bodily growth and health, but with reference to mental growth and health; with reference to the educative process in the individual and with reference, also, to acquirement of knowledge and skill for vocational use. Children's work is an educational problem; so is the abolition of child labor.

Child labor legislation, far from being based on failure to recognise the virtues and values of children's work, is really based, in part, on recognition of the distinction between child labor and children's work. Child labor legislation is never a bar to children's work nor to its utilisation for developmental and educational purposes by agencies, such as the home and the school, really concerned with the care and training of children. It bars child labor; it may, perhaps, bar some activities conceived to possess elements of value (other elements being overlooked); but, to repeat, child labor legislation does not and can not prevent, and is not aimed to prevent, the utilisation of children's work as a means of education. Home and school have all the opportunity needed along this line. This is not saying that the opportunity has been improved to anywhere near its fullest extent.

BREVITIES

Adjustable administration undergoes such severe criticism that its operation in Wisconsin is well worth considering. The Wisconsin child labor law provides that its enforcement shall be in the hands of the Industrial Commission. This commission has complete control of granting and revoking work permits. In the exercise of this power it may withhold or revoke permits in a case where it believes the employer fails to realise his duties and responsibilities under the law. It has power to summon a violator of the law before it to show cause why he should not be prosecuted. In addition to these means of enforcement there is, of course, action in the courts (in this state the civil courts have jurisdiction over cases

of this nature) and the provision in the compensation law that a child injured while unlawfully employed is entitled to treble compensation which must be paid by the employer himself. The Deputy Commissioner writes us (April 2, 1920), "It has not been necessary to resort to prosecution with any great frequency." Since Sept. 1, 1917, about 300 employers have had to pay extra compensation amounting to \$60,000.

A member of the National Child Labor Committee of many years' standing sent this note with her check: "I am sorry that I can not make it larger, but my husband is now a member of the Yale faculty and his salary is less than that of the carpenters and plumbers"!

The following facts were brought out in a milk survey conducted in New York City to determine the quantity and quality of milk used, and what effect, if any, the increase in price might have upon the health of the children of the city. Of 11,007 families visited 5,775 mothers claimed that children were deprived of milk because of its high cost, and 4,053 children were found to be using less milk. The nurses engaged in this survey reported that 1,294 children were suffering from definite malnutrition; 993 from anaemia; 785 were under normal weight; 608 were suffering from other disorders; and 3,648 were undernourished. Truly a formidable array!

Virginia has passed a public health and physical education bill that promises to be effective immediately, as the legislators voted an appropriation of \$50,000 for its support. Of this amount \$25,000 is to be expended for public health nursing and medical examination and the other half for the inauguration of a program of physical education for school children.

The California State Conference of Social Agencies will hold its twelfth annual meeting at Riverside, California, from May 4 to May 7. The program includes the following subjects: Education, Public Health, Industrial Relations, Delinquency and Corrections, Community Organisation, and Child Welfare. Authorities of national and international reputation on these subjects will participate. Graham Taylor of Chicago, John Collier of New York, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Franklin K. Lane, Dr. Anthony, and others have been asked to take part in the program.

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THE CHILD IN THE OPEN COUNTRY

JOHN F. SMITH

RECREATION IN THE SOUTHLAND

Much has been said and written about the kinds of recreation and the lack of means of recreation of the young people of the open country. I purpose in this article to describe the recreation of the young folk of the countryside, in the mountains and over a wide area of the lowlands in the Southland. In addition to my own observations I shall present reports which I have had from students who live throughout the region and who speak from actual experience and observation. These reports are not to be considered scientific and exhaustive; they merely describe the plays and games and other forms of recreation that are found now all over the countryside. It will be interesting to note that a number of students have handed in lists containing the names of more than 75 different plays and games, many of which they know how to play. One young man furnished a list of nearly 150. He knows how to play more than a hundred of them. A young lady handed in 90, about 70 of which she knows how to play. One young lady furnished the names of 88. Another young lady residing in another state knows how to play 72 of these—an evidence that they are rather widely and uniformly distributed.

The conclusions I present are the result of study and observation extending over half a dozen years. In fact the observations have extended over a lifetime. The following points represent the conclusions in a general way:

1. There is a great wealth of play material among the children of this region.
2. This material is generally distributed over both highlands and lowlands, being the same in both areas.
3. In the great majority of games violent physical action is demanded.

4. In very few games does the attainment of the goal, or the winning of the game, depend on the co-operative effort of the players.
5. Community playgrounds provided for the children of a neighborhood are almost unheard of.
6. The chief forms of recreation do not demand specially trained leaders.
7. Recreation of every kind is almost entirely unsupervised.
8. The general attitude of parents is decidedly in favor of work for exercise rather than play.
9. There is entirely too little recreation that appeals to the mothers.
10. There is almost none that gives rest and culture and diverts the thoughts from the ordinary every-day affairs of life.
11. Two great needs are apparent:
 - a. Trained leaders who can bring the people of whole neighborhoods together on frequent occasions.
 - b. Programs for these neighborhood meetings made up chiefly from the material at hand, with enough music and lecture material to supply the deficiency found in the recreation as it now is.
12. The great mass of play material is native to the woods and fields and should not be exchanged for the various forms of urban entertainment which have become so popular during recent years. It has proved its worth by persisting through the centuries, and, though unsupervised, has gone far towards building up the splendid muscle and brawn found among normal country youth.

Efforts have been made by many well-meaning people to urbanize the play of the country child. These people often insist that there are too few means of recreation among the country folk, and that something different should be introduced. My observation and experience lead me to a different conclusion. The real poverty seems to lie in the information of the well-wishers of the country youth rather than in the play material available. It would be infinitely better to introduce the muscle-making play of the country child into the playgrounds of the cities rather than attempt to take the movies and the other sports of the city youth out into the hills and fields.

The topics that follow are only some of the various forms of recreation among the fields. No effort is made to give a complete list of the things that the normal country boy does for recreation. It would be almost equally feasible to attempt to catalogue the

things that he does not do. Without special encouragement from his parents, the usual attitude being frowns and opposition rather than helpfulness, with no playground except such as nature unassisted has provided, with no apparatus except that found in the wilds,—trees, limbs, vines, stones, etc.—he somehow succeeds, if he is normal physically and mentally, in finding a tremendous amount of satisfaction and enjoyment after his own fashion in the life that he lives. So does the country girl, though her activities are confined to a very much more limited sphere than that of the boy.

HUNTING

"Hi, Pete! Looky here!"

This reached my ears one fine spring morning as I was riding on an errand to a neighbor's a few miles away. It came from a small "tow-headed" boy as he emerged from a thicket, and was directed to another boy, Pete, who was supposed to be cutting sprouts on a field on the opposite side of the hollow.

"What is it, Anse?" replied Pete.

"Groundhog."

"Gee, aint 'e a buster!"

"Yeh, 'e's a purty good un."

"How 'd ye ketch 'im, Anse?"

"Smoked 'im out. Old Sap (his dog) treed 'im up thar an' I jes smoked 'im out."

"Take you much long?"

"No—ok, not mutch."

"Whut chu gon do with 'im?"

"Skin 'im, I reckon."

"Reck'n's another'n up thar?"

"Didn't see nairy nuth'rn."

"Did 'e fight purty hard?"

"Yeh, bit Ole Sap right on the nose an' jaw."

"How'd ye git 'im loose?"

"Wy, Ole Sap jes trunched 'im an' bit 'im that much harder."

And so on through much other talk which I did not get while Pete's sprouts or "grubs" kept growing and Anse's washwood remained uncollected. Each boy perhaps knew that either a scolding or a "lickin'" would be his greeting when he returned home, but

that didn't matter. Things like that are too frequent to be considered important, and besides, what fear of punishment can frighten the country boy away from a groundhog's den when there is the remotest possibility of smoking out or digging out the quarry?

The gentle art of smoking out groundhogs, and in fact, almost every kind of animal that seeks refuge in hole or hollow tree, is well known to all the Petes and Ansons of the country side. Everything from raccoons to screech owls, skunks and blacksnakes is subject to such indignities. A pocket full of matches is usually ready, and I knew of more than one boy who carried huge pods of red pepper carefully wrapt in their pockets which always gave an "extra flavor" to the smoke from burning sticks and leaves. These pods were almost invariably hooked from their mothers' drying strings at odd times when the boys could find nothing more exciting to do. The "extra flavor" supplied by this mild ingredient invariably has the desired effect, for no "varmint" however hardy can long endure its fumes. Some degree of punishment almost always attends its use, for sooner or later in the excitement an accident will happen that will fill the hunter's lungs with the "pepper smoke" and send him back coughing violently. But he doesn't mind small things like this so long as he is getting the groundhog.

"Danged if I didn't eat smoke till my mouth and nose wuz like a double-barreled chimbley," said a boy to me one day. "But I didn't give a dang so I got the old scamp."

The "old scamp" was a huge raccoon which had to descend the hollow trunk of a tree into the open jaws of a waiting dog. It was a desperate chance, but he took it—and lost.

The country boy is a natural hunter, a hunter of everything that runs, leaps, creeps, flies, or swims, and he has evolved methods of peculiar torture and effectiveness for getting at his quarry, hide where it may. Neither beast nor bird is safe within the sweep of his eye—and that eye is keen from constant use. He gropes for catfish, "jobs" for perch (which he calls "pearch"), twists out rabbits, or pulls them out half-skinned with a large brier, or catches them in box traps. He kills birds with "dead-falls," or catches them in a slat trap; he scratches out chipmunks with sharp sticks, fights bumble bees—and rarely gets stung; makes war on red wasps with rocks and handfuls of tough shrubs, is perfectly at ease thrashing out yellow jackets. He fells trees for coons or smokes them out if the

tree is hollow, shakes out 'possums, "pokes out" squirrels, catches lizards with a noose made of grass blades, and plays "sky-rocket" with live toads. He traps for skunks and muskrats, smokes out groundhogs, chases foxes, spears water snakes with a spike driven into the end of a long stick, climbs tall trees for crows' nests, and puts burning matches on the backs of terrapins "jes' to see the old devil git a move on himself." He shoots jays with a "slingshot" or an arrow, "gigs" suckers on the "riffles," hunts for fresh-water pearls by the half day—and rarely finds one,—chases and abuses cows and hogs, persecutes the house cat, ties tin cans to dogs' tails, hunts bullfrogs with rocks by day and with lantern and spear or fish-hook by night, knocks ducks and geese senseless with wet cobs, makes kittens, dogs, and roosters fight, and provokes the billygoat and the ram to desperation. In fact, he does almost everything that has ever been catalogued in the dictionary of tortures, and keeps at it through the entire year, developing muscle and resourcefulness at the expense of the happiness and life of all manner of animal life about him. Not having deer and bears, elk and buffalo and wolves to hunt as his forefathers did, he finds a substitute in everything from "beetle-bug" and "jack-snapper" to horned owls and rattle snakes. He hunts for whatever there is and gets a lot of his own kind of fun out of doing so.

"STROLLING AROUND"

The habit of strolling about over fields, meadows and hills seeking adventures is one of the favorite kinds of recreation of the country boy. Girls often seek fun and relaxation in this way, but their excursions are always tame in comparison with those of boys. These strolls are usually taken on Sunday afternoons, sometimes on "off days," if the boy is fortunate enough to experience such rare occasions. An account of one such excursion on which I happened to be an onlooker, and a sometimes participant, will illustrate their character.

A group of half a dozen boys had come together on Sunday afternoon, their favorite playtime—for farmer fathers have not yet deemed it necessary to grant a half holiday to their boys to be used as the boys choose—and prepared to go forth seeking adventures. Six boys—one a "fraid cat"—three dogs and I made up the party.

The strip of meadow land and the pasture were soon crossed and we entered the woods. Nothing of importance had happened so far except a wild and exciting rabbit chase in which both boys and dogs joined. The rabbit escaped, however, as usual. But as soon as we had entered the woods one boy challenged all the rest to climb saplings and bend them to the ground. The challenge was at once accepted, and five pairs of legs went "shinnying" up as many saplings. The boy whom the others called "Fraid-cat" merely looked on. He was a victim of hookworm and did not possess the energy to attempt stunts, a fact which was not recognized by the other fellows. But up the five climbed, each trying to go higher than the others. Then slowly the saplings began to bend, and three of the five with much kicking, "lungin' at it," and swinging like torsion pendulums brought the top limbs to the ground. This being accomplished the limbs were released and a little time was spent in "guying" the two who had tackled saplings too strong for their weight.

When the two had descended somewhat chafed in hands and spirit, one of them cried out, "I'll bet I kin clim' through tree tops funder down the hill than any of you fellers can!" This challenge was also accepted without parley, and in a twinkling legs were disappearing among the leaves towards the tops of saplings. Even the "Fraid-cat" seized a small bush and fell backwards to the ground with it. A moment later the whole group went scuttling from bush to bush, bending the top of one till the limbs of another could be reached,—went scurrying like Bandar-log down the hillside. Not a boy fell, not a limb broke. They had done the same thing so often that their hands were reliable and their feet were sure. They had learned by experience which limbs to avoid, and their keen eyes instantly detected the dangerous ones. When the party came panting back to the starting place "Fraid-cat" was discovered in the top of a low bush swaying back and forth, practising.

The mothers of some of these boys had cautioned them carefully against throwing rocks and climbing trees, which admonitions were treated with the respect they usually deserve.

Tiring of this thrilling sport, the group fell suddenly to making hickory-bark whistles and "whups." This consumed considerable time, but the whistles were finally made to blow and the "whups" were plaited, some three-stranded and flat, others four-stranded and

round. Then the half dozen moved valiantly through the trees blowing whistles and "poppin' whups," frightening every manner of bird and beast under cover. One boy discovered a grapevine suitable for a swing. Half a dozen jackknives suddenly appeared, five boys giving advice to the one boy who carved in silence. In a short time the fine vine was severed from the root, and one after another the boys took turns, each trying to swing through a wider arc than the others. No one seemed to think of the possibility of the vine breaking; a vine never had broken with any one of these boys, so why worry about this one? This lasted for half an hour, or until hands were nearly blistered and shoulders were tired.

"Here, fellers; hep me roll this rock down the hill!" No one seemed to have discovered that particular rock until all were tired of swinging, but now all turned to the task at hand. Down the hill went the huge flat rock leaping, tearing, "scamping" bushes and trees until it "chucked" into a hole by a big "clay-root." Other rocks were discovered and sent crashing down among the trees until the spot was cleared of boulders. Then began a contest of "chin-ning" a horizontal limb which one boy discovered. Each took a turn, and I remember that one boy "chinned" it 22 times without stopping. "Danged if that aint goin' some," was the only comment made on this record.

"Let's play 'lizard,'" came from one of the fellows. Immediately down went three or four on hands and toes, their bodies stretched at full length, and began bobbing up and down like gray lizards, touching their heads to the ground at each "bob," and counting the touches. The object of each boy's efforts was to "duck" more times than the other fellows.

This fun was broken up suddenly by the "chitterin'" of a chipmunk accompanied by the "yippin'" of a fice dog. The voice of the chipmunk suddenly became still, and that of the dog took on a different tone. He had adopted the "treed voice." Away went the half dozen with speed enough to entertain a dinosaur at bay until the fice was discovered. Knives appeared and sticks were cut and sharpened. Then began the "scratching-out" process, the dogs assisting and getting in the way. One stiff fight occurred between two of the dogs over a failure to decide whose time it was to scratch and bite out roots. While this fight was in progress the fice had his inning and threw out considerable dirt. By hard

scratching, "prizing," and "grabblin' out dirt" the end of the trail was approached. The frightened quarry began to "chitter" with fear and the excavators went at their work with unabated zeal. Suddenly in a pause a reddish-brown streak came from the hole but came to grief before going far. The hindmost dog, the one that had been badly bitten and trounced by the big cur, and kept at the proper distance by growls and threats and a show of bristles and teeth, had his inning and revenge by pouncing on the scuttling chipmunk and putting an end to his life at the first "nip." He took no chances on letting the others have a tooth in the business until the game was dead.

After the chipmunk was bitten in turn by all the dogs and examined from tail to snout by all the boys the party turned towards home. We had wandered perhaps a mile and a half away and found it necessary to cut across fields and pastures in order to save time. We came out of the woods on a fine pasture ridge where an abundance of thin rocks lay broken just the right size and shape for sailing. No boy can resist such an opportunity for "trying out his wing."

"I can beat you fellers sailing a rock!" cried one of the boys. The challenge did not need repeating. All the six hopped to it and began slinging rocks through the air almost as rapidly as a Lewis gun throws its bullets. And it was almost marvelous to see—I mean the skill they manifested in sailing rocks. I have for many years considered "rock sailing" one of my choice accomplishments. It requires a skill that comes only by long, patient practice to turn the rock at just the proper angle as it leaves the hand to make it glide and curve first to the right and then to the left while it speeds like an arrow on and on and on before falling to the earth. But every one of these boys, even "Fraid-cat," had this matter reduced to a fine art. And I thought of the "grubs" that remained uncut, of the cows that were not hurried home by milking time, of the corn that was not replanted, and the weeds that grew in peace while this skill was being acquired—for one does not learn how to sail a rock successfully in a day.

After each boy had vowed that his rock "hit furdur" than anybody else's—two almost coming to blows about it—the party descended the hill at a pace that in point of recklessness deserves to rank with skiing, "bull-busting," or climbing the Matterhorn.

One who has never seen it can not have any very clear idea of the speed at which an awkward-looking country boy can descend a hill and live through it. Stumps were cleared at a bound; every log, whether small or large was vaulted, and not a toe came to grief; leaps fully 25 feet in length became commonplace events before the bottom was reached. If anyone doubts the length of these leaps I can vouch for the fact that I as a boy have cleared over 35 feet at one leap down a steep hill and came out without rupture or broken back. My former experience was the only thing that enabled me to keep in hailing distance of that half-dozen. Even "Fraid-cat" "peartened up" and made good in this mad race.

The rest of the journey home was marked by only one exciting event. A rabbit was indiscreet enough to allow himself to be "jumped" by one of the dogs, and in a twinkle nine throats were yelling at high pressure as he sped across the hillside toward the rock ledge with the big cur dangerously near his "cotton-patch," and the "yippling" fice bringing up the rear with considerable credit. But the ledge once reached, the panting quarry was quite safe. No twisting stick nor brier was long and crooked enough to reach him. Although the boys knew from experience that he could not be reached, each had to peep into the hole with appropriate comment.

"Hod, boys, wasn't that a race for ye?" came from one.

"If he'd gone fifty yards funder ole Nig would shore a-picked 'im up," said another.

"Ah, shoots, fellers, if Sam Skinner's dog had a-been here danged if he wouldn't a-picked him up before he got half outn't his nest," from a third.

Sam Skinner's dog had been known to pick up rabbits on a clear run and some of these boys had seen him do it. Hence his reputation.

Bye and bye with much keen whistling and yodeling—for many country boys are expert yodlers—the party reached the muster-place and separated for home.

Excursions of this kind are but commonplace occurrences in the lives of country boys of the Southland. Multiply scenes like these by ten thousand and you have a better idea about how boys from 8 to 16 of the hill country spend their Sunday afternoons. What a contrast is this muscle-building recreation to trips in autos and visits to the movies! It may not acquaint the country lad with

the popular movie idols or make resorts familiar to his eyes, but it puts into his fiber the material that makes it possible for him to become the father of the strongest and most vigorous children—and that's a point in its favor.

SWIMMING

Let a student speak here:

"I shall tell about one swimming party of which I was a member. It was in August after crops were laid by. There was no Sunday School to go to, and if there had been very few boys would have gone. The kind of Sunday School commonly found in the country churches of my part of the country don't appeal much to the boys. They are more interested in snakes, lizards, and swimming holes than they are in Abraham, Moses, and the River Jordan.

"The swimming hole was in a river of some size. A huge slanting rock, called 'Slick Rock' was on one side and furnished the 'jumping-off place.' The current was swift by the rock, but an eddy was on the opposite side. One shoal was above and another below the rock which afforded good wading grounds for timid swimmers.

"About 25 men and boys were in the party—and they kept coming until the middle of the afternoon. As soon as we reached the river every fellow 'dressed his jeans,' cooled off for a little while, then 'took a dip.' Some dived long distances at the first leap, some jumped in awkwardly and swam with much kicking and splashing, others who were old hands at the business plowed across the swift water like motor boats, and almost as fast. A few tenderfeet rolled a big poplar log into the water and hung on to that for the rest of the day. There was splashing and water-fighting, ducking, swimming on backs, treading water, and doing all sorts of stunts. After an hour or more the fellows became tired and crawled out to lie in the sand and mud to rest. Some fellow started trouble and in a twinkling half a dozen others were chasing him, dressed in nothing but fresh air and grins. Down the road and out across the meadow they went, barefooted and in the hot sun until feet and shoulders were blistered. Finally they caught him and brought him back swinging him by the heels and hands. They came up close to the water at a deep place, and after swinging him back and

forth a few times let go and sent him headlong into the water. That duty done they returned to their places in the mud and allowed the 'ducked' fellow to get out as best he could. In all this rough play no one became angry. If any man had lost his temper the others would have 'ducked' him often enough to cool off his temper.

"There was a long rope tied to an overhanging tree with a stick tied on the lower end. The boys would take hold of the stick and swing out over the water, then drop in. It required some skill to do this and not get badly flattened out. At the first effort a fellow was almost certain to fall flat on his belly and get his breath knocked out. But he needed only one or two such falls to teach him how to turn loose.

"About four o'clock after having spent some five hours or more in the water the party crawled out, dripped for a short while, then dressed and went home."

Swimming is usually confined to the men and boys. Comparatively few girls learn how to swim. It is against all tradition and good manners for them to do so. Of course parents are found here and there who encourage their girls to learn to swim, but they are in the minority. I have known many mothers—and know many now—who would consider a daughter disgraced, and would feel themselves disgraced, if she should put on a bathing suit and go bathing with a young man, or with a party of young men and women.

"I tell you, I jes' don't believe in this here thing of men and women goin' in a-washin' together." Such was the pronouncement of a grandmother I knew well. She had sat on the bank of a creek with some of her neighbors watching a bathing party of something like twenty people, mostly tots, taking their first lessons. She looked on for a time and went away a-grieved "that sensible and self-respecting people can ever be brought to do such a nasty thing." To her it was an act of indecency. She somehow associated swimming with complete nudity. All the bathing parties she had ever known about—men and boys by day, and girls who secretly stole away by night—did not employ the gentle protection of bathing suits. Hence the troubled state of her mind.

Her attitude reflects that most frequently found among mothers and grandmothers of the open country. It has never been the fashion for men and women to go bathing together, and although

swimming is recognized as one of the finest kinds of exercise, and often a necessity, the mothers of the fields and hills do not so consider it. Of course one meets here and there a family where the parents encourage their girls to learn how to swim, and even go to the swimming place with them, but this is the exception rather than the rule.

DANCING

The square dances are almost universally employed in the open country of this region, and are almost as universally frowned upon by the church people. Round dances are found in the towns and villages, but rarely in the remoter places. There are several reasons for this. Rooms are rarely large enough, floors are rarely in proper condition, suitable music is often lacking, and the people at large are opposed to what they term "huggin' matches." Although dancing is universally recognized as one of the best forms of relaxation, and has been so recognized since the dawn of history, it is put under the ban along with card-playing, gambling, and drunkenness. The country people are divided, however, regarding this matter. The liberal element believe in allowing young folks to have a good time, and a very large percentage recognize the square dance as a favorite and wholesome form of recreation. The conservative half, many of whom are decidedly puritanic in their ideas of conduct, frown upon it and claim that it is a work of the devil. I have seen people look on at a dance which was executed in a church under religious excitement, and call it a "holy dance," who would promptly excommunicate the same dancer if he were to do the same steps in a country store for the fun of it, while his same neighbors who clapped time in the church "patted Juber" for him in the store. The time and the occasion make a difference, although the steps danced may be identical.

"Whenever you see a girl a-running' to 'frolics' all the time you may jes know she's a-goin' down hill, and she aint a-goin' to stop till sumpum turrible happens to her." This came from an ancient granny who was as good as gold, but had forgotten the days when she used to be the belle at the country dances and break the hearts of swains as her ganddaughters are doing now. Her attitude typifies the attitude of thousands of the best men and women of the countryside.

Another group of people—good people, at that—who oppose the country dances with relentless bitterness are the country preachers. If the preacher is unlettered he is certain to oppose the dance. The poorer folk usually have only the unlettered ministers. He is a sincere and honest man, but, is as a rule, austere, serious, puritanic in his attitude toward conduct, doesn't play himself and often believes that only "children of the devil" meet at "frolics" and "shindigs" to make merry. He fails to see that it is just as important for young people to go to social gatherings and have fun as it is to go to church and listen to sermons. From the pulpit he denounces the dance and the "frolic", and fails not to remind both old and young of the terrible consequences that are certain to follow too much "frolicking".

One minister "put his foot down" thus: "They are certain wayward young men and young women among you who belong to the dancing gang—ah, and who go to frolics and shindigs more'n they go to prayer meetin'—ah (there were no prayer meetings to go to), and who are shorely on the everlasting road to perdition—ah."

I have never heard, nor heard of, an unlettered preacher who offered a suitable substitute for the dance. Instead of taking it as a popular form of recreation, building a neighborhood house where the dance and other social affairs can be supervised and made to serve a very important purpose, he opposes it at all times. It is not known to the preachers in general that this outspoken opposition to "frolics" is one of the chief things that keep young people out of the country churches.

DANCING GAMES

In order to keep down the bitter objection of the preachers and some of the parents, and still have fun and exercise in social groups, young men and women resort to the dancing games. The chief difference between these and the square dances lies in the absence of the fiddle music and the calls. The swinging and dancing are there just the same. Here is a list of them—not an exhaustive list:

"Skip-to-my-Lou," "Jolly Old Miller," "Three Little Girls," "Bingo," "Charlie," "Grape-vine Swing," "Pawpaw Patch," "Chase the Buffalo."

Perhaps the most popular of these is "Skip-to-my-Lou." It is played to a song the tune of which is well known to the majority of country lads and lassies. Some of the verses show how the non-sense rhyme is employed by half-grown-ups who make lines to fill out the song.

Lost my partner, an' what'll I do?
Lost my partner, an' what'll I do?
Lost my partner, an' what'll I do?
Skip to my Lou, my darling.
Can't get a red bird, bluebird'll do, . . .
The old gray mare has lost her shoe, . . .
Fly in the buttermilk, strain him through, . . .
Pretty brown eyes are a-lookin' at you, . . .
One old boot an' a run-down shoe, . . .
Hair in the butter dish four feet long, . . .
Hair's in the biscuit six feet through, . . .
Cat scratched pap so skip to my Lou, . . .

—and a long list of others of equal poetical value. But they serve the purpose in the game and incidentally reveal the sense of the ludicrous in the mind of the country youth.

"Chase-the-Buffalo" has a fine dignified tune, well adapted to the merry skipping and swinging that accompany it. The words, too, are appropriate:

O the hawk shot the buzzard and the buzzard shot the crow,
And we'll rally 'round the cane brake and chase the buffalo.
O we'll chase the buffalo, we'll chase the buffalo,
We will rally 'round the cane brake and chase the buffalo.
O the girls will sit and spin and the boys will stand and grin,
And we'll rally round the cane brake and chase the buffalo.

Numerous other verses follow, greatly varying in different neighborhoods, for it must be remembered that if the country boy or girl lacks a verse to a dancing song, or any other kind, he will make one. Or if he lacks a word to express a certain state of mind he is likely to coin one. This habit accounts largely for the variants in songs and for the ridiculous dialect terms so frequently found in the speech of the country folk. And the keen sense of humor of the phrase-maker is evidenced by the queer combination of words and syllables. I have often heard this attributed to ignorance. I

rather prefer to attribute it to a clever sense of humor. I fear the ignorance lies too often in the minds of those who fail to see from the level of the cabin door.

KISSING GAMES

These, too, are under the ban, but are exceedingly popular with a very large percentage of the country youth. Such games have existed perhaps as long as the dance, and persist because they do appeal to young folk. One would hardly suspect the character of the games from these titles:

"Thimble," "Chewing Tape," "Faith, Hope, and Charity," "Picking Grapes," "Selling Stamps," "Measuring Ribbon," "Snap," "Postoffice," "Wading the Swamp," "Building the Bridge," and others.

A very large percentage of young people, girls especially, do not play these games, but still a very large percentage do. Parents usually consider them "perfectly awful," and many grown-ups look upon them as "so awfully sickenin' that no sensible person will play them," and yet many of these good people played them themselves when they were in the teens,—and lived through it. They persist because of their appeal to young men and women because parents, as a rule, fail to supervise the recreation of their children. The tendency is to attempt to regulate plays and games after the manner of the Decalog and without offering any substitutes whatever. The country preachers, too, voice their disapproval in no uncertain terms, offering no alternative but church-going and prayer meetings, thus hardening the hearts of the young folk and keeping them away from the church. One young man thus expressed his state of mind:

"I don't give a d—— whether I go to church or not. For ev'ry time I go the preacher raises h—— about what we young folks do to have a good time, and doesn't do a thing to offer us anything different. I don't want to go where I'm cussed out all the time for trying to be happy and trying to make others so."

But despite the indifference of many parents and the outspoken opposition of the majority of the ministers, the young folks find opportunity to have a great deal of fun in the various ways at their disposal. Yet many complain of the dullness of their surroundings

and not a few leave the country for the cities where recreation in abundance is to be found. If those who insist that this migration is due to the absence of the means of recreation in the country should only look into the matter a little more carefully they would discover that it is not the lack of means but is the careless indifference of parents and the relentless opposition of the ministers to the kinds of play that exist that have the larger effect. One young woman expressed an attitude that is sometimes unseen: "Every time we young folks do anything to have a merry time, somebody ups and tells us that we are committing a sin. I know we don't mean to do wrong; we simply want to be happy. I get so sick of it all that I just want to get away."

FIDDLE MUSIC

This constitutes one of the most popular forms of recreation. The violin, the banjo, the guitar are the most popular instruments. Both young and old play, men chiefly, for women look upon the art "fiddlin'" as out of their line. As the men grow older they usually discard the banjo and guitar for the more musical and difficult fiddle. Among all the people one meets among the hills the old-time fiddler is one of the greatest surprises. He is a most genial and good-natured soul to meet; he does not know one note from another; sometimes (not often) he can neither read nor write; his arms and hands are frequently stiff with large muscles or rheumatism; but he can sit down with a fiddle in poor repair and a bow with decimated hairs and literally play hundreds of tunes without ever consulting notes. He plays entirely by ear. He has learned the tunes from some other fiddler who, in turn learned them from some other, and he will pass them on to the younger generation in the same manner. I have known some fiddlers who were real artists. In fact, I could pay visits to half a dozen or more now, whose repertoires run high into the scores, and whose musical ability is recognized by everyone—except a number of musically inclined people I know. The old fiddler cares little for the compositions of the favorite masters. He doesn't understand them and rarely tries to play them. They are too slow to suit his taste. He looks not so much for melody as for "fiddle action." His is a different world of music, great and soul-stirring, and has a universal appeal to

rustic hearts and heels. I consider it no great compliment to any music teacher to condemn the "breakdown music." The majority I have known are as ignorant of the music of the hills as the old fiddlers are of the works of Beethoven and Wagner. I have often thought of a contrast between two friends of mine, one well trained in drawing-room music who can scarcely play one composition through without the notes before him, and another, an old fiddler, who can play nearly three hundred selections from memory. The reader may judge which has the greater musical ability.

These "fiddlin's" are usually held in some neighbor's house or at the country store. A group of men and boys "collect" to hear and see the fun, and the fiddler never fails to entertain them. No begging is necessary to induce him to play. His ideas of courtesy do not permit him to wait for a second invitation; he believes in using the talent he has to make the world about him happier. He likes to play and he knows people like to hear him; that is sufficient motive for him to act. He accompanies his playing by loudly patting his foot, and often plays with an abandon that would produce consternation in conventional music circles. But his audience responds and expresses its appreciation by much swaying, dancing, and shuffling of feet.

There is nearly always a "hoe-down" during intervals between tunes. Some man or boy who has a nimble foot takes the floor, and while others pat he executes the "double shuffle," "cuts a rusty," "gits his gun," "ropes the buck," "backsteps," or does all these and more before he becomes exhausted.

The fiddler often has an accompanist who uses banjo or guitar. If neither of these instruments is available someone who has a sense of rhythm beats time on the fiddle strings, which are almost always of wire, with a pair of steel knitting needles.

The repertory of the old fiddler contains numbers as quaint in name as they are in tone. Here are a few of the rather larger number of titles I have in my collection:

"Billy in the Low Grounds," "Bob-tailed Dog," "Buttermilk and Brandy," "Buck Creek Girls," "Black Nancy," "Black-eyed Susan," "Cacklin' Hen," "Cumberland Gap," "Cow-bell Hollow," "Forked Buck," "Gittin' Up Big Sandy," "Down the Georgie Line," "Hook and Line," "Ida Redd," "Moonshiner," "Nigger Stole a Punkin," "Old Rusty Kittle," "Sourwood Mountain," "Sugar in the Courd,"

"Shorten Bread," and scores of others. These savor of the open fields and hills in both title and tune. They are indigenous to the soil and should be utilized in constructive program work rather than frowned upon. They constitute one of the chief sources of joy to the people.

But one finds much objection even to this fiddle music among some of the best people. One good woman was heard to say, "I'd ruther see one of my girls in her grave than to see her a-playing' a fiddle," and she meant every word of it.

"No good ever come of setting' and a-listenin' to a devil-gourd whur you saw and saw with horse hairs to a very squeaky tune." This from a preacher who had once gone merrily to "frolics" and "shindigs" as a lad, but who laid aside all such folly when he "got" his sober religion—a religion so sombre in itself that his poor old face seemed actually to hurt with piety.

"There's never a fiddle but what's got a devil in it," said another divine, "and when he is stirred up he mighty nigh always sticks a pizened needle in the heart and another in the heel."

And a third cried, "Fiddlin' and kyard-playin' and dancin'—O my brethren, why will ye go on the downward road to hell—ah!"

I give these citations not to make light of the country preachers, for even the crudest and most unlettered are usually men of honest and sincere purposes, but I give them to show one of the chief causes why young people leave the open country and go into the cities for a freer and more abundant recreation. Young folks as a rule want to do the honorable and respectable thing. They know that their motives are good when they play or listen to fiddles, or go to "frolics," or dance, and they know that these motives are frequently misunderstood. Many of them do not want to remain where their "sins of folly"—which they know are not intended to be sins—are constantly flung into their faces. So they seek an opportunity to go where they can be happy and enjoy life without having someone whose mental vision is faulty hold up their pseudo-sinful conduct before them through all the days of their youth.

SONGS AND BALLADS

One of the most popular forms of recreation, particularly among women and girls, is the singing of old songs and ballads. Both kinds of song are found scattered widely over highlands and low-

lands alike. Contrary to the opinions of many people, the songs, the speech, and habits of life in general among the common folk of the Mississippi Valley and other lowlands are very much the same as they are among the common folk of the mountains. The man who "chops cotton" in Mississippi knows practically the same songs, has very much the same mannerisms in speech and conduct as his first cousin who peels tanbark in the Black Mountains. "Barbara Allan" is sung in the country homes and pastures of West Tennessee to the same tune that is familiar to "ballet singers" in the Blue Ridge country of Virginia. The singers of both regions are practically all of the same origin and possess the same pure Anglo-Saxon blood. I speak of the white people only. The negroes of the lowlands (there are almost no negroes among the open fields of the mountains) have their own folk songs which are in most cases quite different from those of the white people. The white people readily take to singing the negro songs, but the negroes rarely attempt to sing the ballads of the white folks.

Women and girls do most of the singing. Boys and young men whistle the tunes more often than they sing. Only occasionally does one find an old man skilled in the gentle art of ballad singing. He usually prefers religious songs. I have known a few who were well-known minstrels. That old men are sometimes excellent ballad singers is attested by some of the songs in that best of ballad books, "English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians," by Olive Dame Campbell and Cecil J. Sharp. And sometimes a young man is found who is a veritable Orpheus of the hills and fields, and who carries the gladness and sunshine of song into many a home. I have known some of these troubadours of the hill folk and can testify to the fine quality of their singing. They usually accompany their songs with banjo or guitar, and almost never with dulcimer, although many misinformed people insist that the latter instrument is generally used.

Ballads are most frequently sung as solos—are sung at their best by mothers or their daughters while they are at work in the house or doing chores just outside. There is no audience to hear on these occasions, which fact insures naturalness of expression. But there are times when they are sung by groups. The young people of a neighborhood usually gather at some neighbor's house on Sunday afternoons to visit and sing. Some girl accompanies the

singing with the organ. Oftentimes she has never had a music lesson, but that does not prevent her from playing a whole Sunday afternoon without music before her. Both young men and women come to these Sunday afternoon gatherings to sing (though the girls do most of the singing), jest, "talk to one another," and make merry in general. Some people object to having "secular" songs sung on Sunday in their homes, so these merry singers always go to the home where ideas are not quite so puritanic.

There is a wide range of song at the disposal of these young folk. "Lord Lovel," "Dog and Gun," "Texas Ranger," "Pretty Mohea," "Dying Cowboy," "Lovely Nan," "Groundhog," "Chewing-Gum Girl," "Fair and Tender Ladies," "In Some Lonesome Valley," "Maggie," "Cripple Creek Girls," "House Carpenter," "Lonesome Dove," and hundreds of others. Some of these were brought by our forefathers across the sea, others have been written by "writers of song ballets," and still others seem to have grown up among the fields, after the manner of the true folk song. Many have not been published in books, some not in magazines. My own collection contains a large number which I have never found in the collections that have been published.

They are sung almost entirely from memory, and it is remarkable how many are known to some young women. I know young women who carry scores of both songs and tunes in their memories. Four different young ladies wrote out nearly one hundred each for me. The lengthy numbers like "Jackaro," "Waxford Girl," "House Carpenter," and "The Mary Golden Tree" seem to be remembered with as much ease as the shorter ones. The fact that they are sung from memory accounts largely for variations in both words and tunes in different neighborhoods. As many as twenty different variants of one tune, "the most beautiful folk song in all the world," have been found.

ECONOMIC SOCIALS

These are popular in season. They include "Bean-Stringings," "Apple-Peelings," "Quiltings," "Workings," of various other kinds. In the absence of glass fruit jars and tin cans our pioneer grandmothers learned how to cure and keep vegetables. Much of this knowledge was brought by the first settlers from across the sea. It

had served the purpose of their foreparents for thousands of years among the fields of Europe, and it would serve their own purposes equally well here. They peeled apples and dried them, or they put them in a basket, suspended the basket in a barrel and "sulphured" them. They "threaded" green beans on long strings which they hung up under the porch roof to dry; or they put the beans down in brine which preserved them fairly well. They cut pumpkins into continuous spirals, thrust sticks through these and hung them up to dry. All this took much time. So the neighbors were frequently invited in to the "bean-stringing" or the "apple-peeling" to talk, laugh, crack jokes, and assist in doing the work.

And this is precisely what goes on over wide areas of the South-land today. The same needs exist for extra hands that existed a century ago, and the young folks are just as ready and willing to lend that hand and have a merry time while doing so. Quite frequently after the work is completed and cleared away the furniture is removed from one room and the merry workers spend the rest of the evening in playing dancing games, sometimes kissing games, and having wholesome fun in other ways.

"Quiltings" are usually merry occasions. A young woman wishes to fill up her "hope chest," or a mother desires to add other "bed quilts" to her presses. Through long evenings they work, cutting, piecing, toiling patiently with small scraps, for it is the custom to save even the smallest remnants of new cloth, until the top of the quilt is finished. Until recent years the batting, or "bats," were carded by the mother—and still are in many homes throughout the cotton region—the lining is secured and basted in, the quilt is put in the frames and the neighbors are invited to come and bring their needles and thimbles. The quilting is done with much jesting, laughing and gossiping. Young men sometimes venture to go, but their efforts at using the needle serve chiefly to increase the merriment of the skilful needle-women.

Often when the quilt is finished it is used to forecast important events connected with the marriage of the young women who are present. The house cat is brought and put gently in the centre of the quilt. All the maidens seize the quilt by the edge, and, after the manner of the army-blanket stunt, toss the cat into the air. The cat is certain to become frightened and leap out over someone's shoulder. The lady thus favored will, according to all tradi-

tions, be the next to marry. She therefore receives the joyful congratulations of all the others.

After supper on quilting day the young men of the neighborhood usually drop in and the party thus increased join in the merry-making, which often continues until late into the night. Here the laughing games, the dancing games, and often the square dance are enjoyed by all. Those who are well along in their courtship are easily identified on such occasions by their refusal to enter heartily into the games with the rest.

BARBECUES

In many parts of the country a big barbecue is an annual event. This brings the people together from all the surrounding country and serves as the one great social center for the entire community. One man I knew "gave" two or three each season for a number of years. He thus furnished opportunity for recreation among the people and at the same time added considerable sums to his personal exchequer. These barbecues were held near a big spring at a choice spot among giant beeches. A large square about 40 by 40 feet was wired off and covered with sawdust for the "bran-dancer." The day before a number of carcasses had been prepared—pigs, sheep, goats, often beeves. These were cut up and roasted during the night over live hickory coals thrown into trenches under the meat. A sauce made of vinegar, pepper, butter and spices was administered freely.

A brass band came early, and an orchestra of half a dozen pieces. From far and near the people came, came early, and many remained until it closed at night. For, when darkness came, torches were lighted everywhere and the merry-making often continued till towards midnight. There were candies, lemonade, ice cream (with plenty of real milk), chewing gum, "pop," and other things to buy, and a good dinner of barbecued meat for a small sum. There was a "picture-man" who took "rapid-fire" photographs, sometimes a gipsy woman to tell fortunes, and all the quadrille dancing the most ardent devotees could desire. Clog dances and dancing contests similar to those of Deserted Village days were popular with the crowd, for these people had the blood of old England, Scotland, and Ireland in their veins, and they danced in the same fashion as their grandsires did back among Old Scotia's hills or on the bonny greens

of Erin. There were expert clog dancers, men and women who were artists on rustic toes, who performed between quadrilles. There was laughing and shouting, and often betting on favorites among the onlookers. Sometimes a "ballet" singer came, and in plaintive but not disagreeable tones sang such songs as "Gipsy Laddie," "Hog-Drivers," "The Cottage by the Sea," "Barbara Allen," or the latest creation of the song writer who commemorated in verse all the tragedies of the country round. And all the time the quadrilles were whirling merrily, the sets being called by an ancient negro with snow-white hair and "Prince Albert" of antique hue which added a touch of the picturesque to the whole affair. His one choice expression all the young folks quoted for the rest of the year, "Ghents, git yo pahtnahs fo' de nex' quadrille!"

Thus through the day the crowd mingled with neighbors and trees, ate, drank, jested, laughed, danced, youths "skylarked," and babies slept or cried from bursting stomachs until approaching night sent the majority away. And all through the winter many of the young folks practiced in semi-secret the quadrille steps and figures to the time of their favorite dance tune which they hummed as they danced, each hoping to outdance and "outshine" the others on the "bran" the next summer.

And sometimes a lone preacher with a lunch in his pocket appeared on the grounds, not to take part in the frolicking but "to preach the Word under the very nostrils of this devil of mammon and unrighteousness that's shorely leadin' our young people down to hell." But he offered no substitute for that particular means of recreation.

This is a typical barbecue scene the like of which is familiar to tens of thousands of the country folk who are made healthier and happier in mind for the rest of the year by the one coming together.

GAMES IN GENERAL

When games are played by youths or children there are a great many to choose from. There are games for those who wish to run, and games for the indoor parties; games for tiny tots and games for the old; games for love-sick swains and maidens, and still others for every manner of person and mood and weather. Those who insist that there are not enough games among country children to

afford plenty of recreation have perhaps not made a careful study of the supply available. Given a dozen healthy youngsters on a bright day, and there will most certainly be games played in the most hilarious fashion so long as they are together—and no game will be played very long at a time. And it is hardly probable that any game will be repeated during the afternoon; there will be enough on hand to afford abundant variety. I have, during the last few years, collected a list of something like three hundred plays and games of the children and youth of this region, and I am still adding new names. As was stated in the first part of this article it is often surprising to discover how many games some young people know. The games with complete instructions for playing, which some individual young folks have furnished me, would fill a considerable volume.

There are numerous circle games played chiefly by the young folks at school: "Farmer's in the Dell," "Marching 'Round the Levee," "Ring Around the Rosy," "Frog's in the Meadow," "Dollar, Dollar," "London Bridge," "Oats, Peas, Beans," "Pig in the Parlor," and enough others to furnish a varied program for a whole day. There are the running games demanding the most strenuous effort: "Base," "Dare," "Sheep Meat," "Fox and Hound," "Handkerchief," "Old Witch," "Hide-and-go-Seek," and enough others to develop all the leg muscles needed by the present generation. Then there are laughing games, guessing games, "sells," games of fortune, and numerous other varieties that keep young folks active and merry whenever they come together: "Bluebird," "Sailing the Ship," "Winding the Spool," "Cross-Question and Silly Answer," "Fruit Basket," "Brother Bob," "Button, Button," "Knock a 'Nigger' Down," "Blind Man," "Bread-and-Butter," "Pretty Girl's Station," and some hundreds more.

Besides these there are the numerous card games, jumping the rope, "romping," "wrestling (commonly called "scuffling"), checkers, chess, croquonole, croquet, tennis occasionally, many varieties of marbles, and others too numerous to mention. "Horse-Shoe" deserves an honorable mention because it is one of the most common of all games for grown-up men. And there are a thousand different things that small boys and girls do which are commonly included in the term "piddlin'." No one can describe this "piddlin'" very accurately, for it is entirely too varied in its nature. I watched a

pair of small boys for some half an hour one day and made note of some of the things they did. Not being a stenographer, I didn't find it possible to make a complete list. One moment they were throwing sticks into the water to induce a small dog to bring them back; next they discovered some large ants and spent several minutes in making them fight; a toad was discovered and a "sky-rocket" trigger was immediately made that sent the helpless animal flying high into the air; an angle worm carelessly made his appearance and one of the boys put it on a hot rock "to see him squirm and fry." Presently another toad unwittingly hopped into view. One of the boys caught it, tied a string to one of its hind legs and drove it over the sand for a while, employing a vocabulary that was part "ox-talk" and part "mule-talk" in the driving. Both suddenly fell to turning somersaults. This was suddenly stopped by a growl from the dog. He had discovered a "scissors" bug under a piece of bark, so the boys spent some time torturing the bug. This scene closed with the "scissors" bug fastened on the dog's nose, which sent him leaping, pawing, slinging his head and snorting until the bug fell into the creek. Then the boys after recovering somewhat from laughter tossed rocks at the bug until the current carried it away. Other pieces of bark were then turned and a huge cockchafer was discovered. Some minutes were spent in making this "jack-snapper" perform, and when he became tired of the nonsense he was thrown into the creek and bombarded with stones until he passed beyond reach. It is needless to record more of this half-hour's happenings.

Girls are more restricted in their recreational activities. They are much more restricted than is good for them. From her earliest years the girl is commonly impressed with the fact that she is a girl, that there are certain things which she must not do. She must not go wading, must not swim, must not ride a horse "a-straddle," must not climb trees, must not run and jump, must not do anything that her grandmother thinks is not proper and nice for a girl to do. She must not be a "tom-boy"—whatever that may mean—but must always be sweet and nice. And this very puritanic manner of instructing girls about what they may and may not do often has its pernicious results. She often grows up thinking constantly of self—self and sex—is prudish, shy, liable to do imprudent or even desperate things. Mothers instead of dressing

their daughters so they can run and romp and play with small boys without embarrassment, are rather prone to keep them out of the very sports that would make them physically strong. The very instructions that a girl most needs she rarely gets; and the kind of play and recreation that she needs and craves is too often forbidden—just because she is a girl.

Thus do the children of this region live and grow to manhood and womanhood. I have not written of things that only the people of the long ago did, but I have recorded things that now are. And I have merely hinted at some of the things that children and youths do for recreation. Many things that are done can not be written; many others could be. Most of the forms of recreation are wholesome many of those that are objectionable could easily be improved or eliminated if parents would only take time to supervise the play of their children—a thing which the great majority of parents never think of doing. What the children do for fun they usually do by themselves. Perhaps the better nature within them will save them for the duties of good citizenship in the future as it has so long saved them in the past.

CHILDREN'S CODES

EDWARD N. CLOPPER

I

A children's code is not a code. That is, it is not a code in the ordinary meaning of the term—in the sense of a systematic compilation of laws. A code is a labor-saving device. Through the action of a legislative body at successive sessions in enacting new measures and in amending and repealing old ones, the general statutes soon get into such confusion that reference to them becomes a weary task and steps have to be taken to straighten out the tangle. So all the laws in force at the time are assembled, arranged according to subject matter, and the sections numbered consecutively, the compilation becoming known for instance as the "Code of 1915," or sometimes taking the name of the man chiefly responsible for it. This is a code, as commonly understood, but a children's code, so-called, bears but slight resemblance to it.

The purpose of a children's code is to standardise and to co-ordinate the laws and administrative agencies relating to children and to supply laws and administrative agencies covering aspects of child welfare that have been neglected in the statutes. This, of course, is far more than a mere process of simplification—far more than rearrangement for ready reference. A general code deals with laws already passed, while a children's code deals with boys and girls, their interests, and the conditions that affect them. The one is merely the arrangement of laws in orderly sequence so as to facilitate the use of the statute books; the other is legislative social service whose object is to enrich and to make secure the realm of childhood.

Structurally also, a children's code is unlike a general code, for it does not attempt to codify the laws concerning children but leaves them where it finds them, scattered among the general acts

as determined by their content. Indeed, it would only add to the confusion and administrative difficulties if they were taken from their places and brought together as a code, for in considering any subject involving both adults and children we should then be under the troublesome necessity of looking up in the children's code the law pertaining to children and then turning to the general code for the provisions affecting their elders. So a children's code leaves in the body of general health laws the provisions relating to the health of children, in the general labor laws the provisions as to the labor of children, and so with all other provisions that are properly part of larger groups of acts—they are left where they belong and no attempt is made to codify them.

The word "code" in this connection is really a misnomer, and the only justification for its use is that it is short. To supply, to standardise and to co-ordinate laws and agencies for child welfare is the aim of a children's code but this aim is not even suggested by its misleading name, although perhaps it would be hard to find a more fitting title having also the advantage of brevity. However, as the term comes into general use and understanding it will serve as well as another, but instances have already occurred in which efforts to promote the children's code idea have been vigorously opposed by persons who took the word at its face value and held that a separate codification of the laws concerning children would hopelessly entangle the administrative machinery of a state.

II

Just as a general code must be compiled at intervals as the condition of the statutes may require, so must a children's code be from time to time renewed. It is not a final achievement but a step in the evolution of child welfare standards, a clearing of the way for further progress, and must never, under any circumstances, be looked upon as the end of the line. It is an instrument for advancing the interests of children, just as every effort and every instrumentality made use of in their behalf is for the purpose of pushing forward, part and parcel of a continuing process, for without growth, constant and ever-expanding, there can be no such thing as child welfare. A children's code must be thought of as a

living and growing creature, capable of endless development. But it must never be forgotten that it is a creature whose growth and development are derived from us alone—it is our child for a time and ours is the responsibility for rearing it well and handing it on to those who come after us stronger and better for having been in our care.

A final code would be a disaster, but fortunately it is an impossibility. In the natural course of events it must yield to changes and adjustments. Conditions and ideals determine its character and conditions and ideals are not stable things. Even the laws themselves are open to different constructions—as witness our written constitutions—and although they are supposed to be rigid, they are really quite flexible and can be bent to strangely variant ends. Local sentiment helps to determine their meaning but local officers charged with their enforcement are their leading interpreters. The shades of meaning they read into them as they fulfill, each according to his understanding, their duties of administration, are manifold and bewildering to the student of government. As one goes from place to place in a state observing the work of local officers, he passes through all degrees of administrative ardor from sublime indifference to excessive zeal and finds as many interpretations of any one act as there are officers to enforce it. Local enforcement is not a success in our complex modern life, however well it may have served in the days of a simpler past, and so we find the tendency now is to transfer administrative powers from the local community to the larger unit—the county, the state, the nation. It appears that efficiency in administration, at least so far as the criminal law is concerned, increases with the distance between the administrative agency and the community affected. A county sheriff is more effective than a town constable, and a United States marshal is more respected than either. There is need for uniformity of enforcement no less than for uniformity of law, and a children's code can promote both. For a children's code necessarily takes a broad view of conditions and operates on a statewide scale. But while it seeks to equalize opportunities for children by making toward uniformity in conditions and administrative methods, it must at the same time stimulate and encourage experimental work by both public and private agencies, for it is only by means of fresh enterprises and trials of new methods that our systems of law

and administrative effort can be kept adequate under the ever-changing conditions of our life.

The body of laws we have slowly built up for the benefit of children is a rambling structure, some of whose parts are falling into decay and should be torn down, while the other parts have been put up so independently of one another, without the aid of any general plan, that they show little or no relationship among themselves and those who dwell in one part have access to the other parts only through the most roundabout passageways and devious stairs. The health laws have been passed mainly through the activity of individuals and societies interested primarily in health and having little or no concern with other undertakings in behalf of children. Similarly, labor laws, school laws, and other welfare measures have been separately enacted, and hence legislative measures to promote the well-being of boys and girls, as well as of society in general, are of more or less haphazard growth. They are commonly the result of spasmodic and unrelated efforts on the part sometimes of official and sometimes of private persons and agencies, put forth at different times as the occasion seemed to require. A society interested in juvenile delinquency draws a bill for a juvenile court and the probation system and has it introduced into the legislature; at another session a measure that deals with orphanhood is urged upon the lawmakers by some other organisation; later on, a compulsory school attendance law is proposed by another agency; and at some other time, amendments to the child labor law are thrust forward from still another source. Successively these and other matters are brought up for consideration in legislative assemblies at the instance of their supporters each one of whom has an eye single to the need of the particular reform he advocates, and none of whom, as a rule, understands or gives thought to the bearing which his proposal may have upon other measures of a related character. The legislature is impressed by the special need and the flow of argument, and writes the new provisions upon the statute books. So it is that in this way the body of laws safeguarding boys and girls and securing what we deem their best interests, has been gradually framed, here a little and there a little, with the separate contributions of public and private individuals and organisations each interested at the time in only one phase of the general problem. Inevitably the structure

is of curious form and inevitably it shocks one's sense of proportion. There is no harmony, no co-ordination; its parts do not articulate properly or perform their functions smoothly, and the effectiveness of such laws in operation as a general program is correspondingly reduced. Frequently, laws that are closely related in purpose are contradictory in their provisions and the attempt to administer them jointly only creates confusion, as, for example, in a case where the school law requires a child to attend school until 16 years of age, but the mothers' pension law provides no allowance for a child over 14 years of age—what is a poor mother to do while her child is between 14 and 16? Obviously unless relief is afforded from private sources, the school law will be broken. In such an instance it is the part of a children's code to remove these discrepancies and to harmonise the conflicting provisions with the welfare of the child in mind.

As a natural consequence of this process of accretion in child welfare lawmaking the administrative agencies set up to put the laws into effect do their work without much contact among themselves and without much regard to the inter-relations among the several parts of the administrative machinery. Each is intent upon its own task and takes at best only an academic interest in the work of the others. After years of such single-minded effort in lawmaking and administration it is found necessary to reassemble the parts of the child welfare machinery and to fit them together so that as it becomes increasingly important and elaborate, it shall operate more smoothly and effectively.

In this respect the state is somewhat like a merchant who must take stock from time to time, going over the goods he has on hand to see what is shopworn and what is out of style, what fails to meet the changed conditions of his business, and what needs to be supplied in order to meet the requirements of his customers. For the state must take stock at intervals, just as the merchant does. Some of its laws get shopworn through obsolescence and rusty and dusty through disuse, others no longer answer their purpose because of changes in conditions, and sometimes situations arise for which there is no law whatever. More modern machinery must be installed, new methods adopted, and a better system introduced into this vast business of caring for boys and girls. For our chief object in life is to bring up our boys and girls to be strong men and women.

III

It should be understood at the outset that a children's code is comprehensive, that it is not devoted to the interests of any one class of children, and that the normal child—the ordinary everyday, wholesome boy or girl—is its beneficiary just as is the abnormal or subnormal child who is in need of special care. The real children's code is democratic—it recognises no class distinctions.

The popular concept of child welfare is distorted, vague and surprisingly narrow. Indeed, even among social workers themselves the term is not always given the wide meaning it would seem so clearly to convey. Our ideas of things are often cramped and subject to the malady of reversion to type. We are in the habit of fashioning them upon well-defined models—of conventionalising them, so to speak. Mention a convict and we think of a close-cropped, cow-licked, stripe-clad wretch; although stripes on a convict are archaic, we cherish such insignia in the face of modern penology. So it is with the prize-fighter, the preacher, the farmer, the butcher, the baker, and the candle-stick maker—each is reduced to a type and fitted in our fancy to a symbol which we label as the true representative of its class and file away in our memory for ready reference. It is amusing to see how faithfully the stage and the motion picture worship these symbols, searching the far corners of the Earth for the prescribed type to act each part and never daring, in their choice of characters, to run counter to the public prejudice. These types and symbols were shaped out of bygone conditions and carry with them the quaintness and flavor of old-time customs, but it makes no difference that none of those conditions and customs persist in our day—the pictures in our mind are inalterably fixed. Even our speech is still, to a marked extent, couched in terms of the long ago: a steamship “sails” from a port; one “drives” his automobile and “writes” a letter on his typewriter.

When child welfare is spoken of, one thinks of a poor, little, ragged, sobbing child whose mother is dead and whose drunken father is aiming a blow at him with one hand and clutching a bottle of rum in the other, while the angelic heroine from the charity society stands between them with upraised arm and shields the helpless child. We insist upon the drunkenness and the bottle, prohibition

or no prohibition, and the contents must be rum, not whisky or brandy or hard cider, but rum—genuine, fiery rum. This habit of crowding classes of people, conditions of life, and kinds of work into the narrow limits of these conventionalised images interferes in no small degree with our understanding of new developments and our catching the full significance of what is going on about us. It is unfortunate that child welfare work is commonly thought of only as the protecting from cruelty, the rescuing from iniquity, and the relieving of poverty—action to provide for immediate needs—while the less spectacular but more far-reaching service in safeguarding health, insuring play, supplying schools, and controlling labor is generally looked upon as independent of “child welfare work” and, indeed, as so many unrelated undertakings. Division of labor has affected social service just as it has affected manufacturing—the field has been split up and specialties have been more or less highly developed; but, curiously enough, the term child welfare has come to have in the popular mind and even in certain quarters of the social service world, a meaning restricted to the care of the dependent, the protection of the neglected, the correction of the delinquent, and the training of the defective—subjects which are most conspicuous in the programs of our conferences on social work. The social aspects of education, health, recreation and employment have a place in most of these programs, it is true, but it is a place of minor importance. The workers in all these fields come too seldom into contact with one another either at convention, or in the course of their work and hence there is not on their part a clear understanding of the relationship among their several efforts and aims and they do not get together for concerted action on a broad plan for the general good. In all this work, and it is exceedingly complicated work, requiring skilful handling and unremitting care and patience, the needs of the normal child are entitled to just as much consideration as the needs of those who are stricken in body, mind or estate. Health, education, recreation and employment concern all children, and moreover, most boys and girls are not dependent, or destitute, or neglected, or abused, or delinquent, or defective, but are normal in respect of their home life, their mental and physical state, and their relations to society. It follows that these four essentials to wholesome growth,—health, play, schools and suitable work—necessary as they are to all classes of children, the fortunate

as well as the unfortunate, are of paramount importance. But they can not be secured to children by their parents alone; the state and the local community are chiefly responsible in the matter through the laws enacted and the steps taken for promoting them. So it is that the normal child has his place in any general welfare program along with those who suffer by reason of want, abuse, broken homes or bad environment.

The normal child who lives in a town where the local authorities fail to take proper precaution to protect health, where schools are neglected, and there is no local pride in keeping abreast of other places in public improvements and all that goes to make life safer and pleasanter, is denied the advantages commonly afforded to delinquent boys and girls in reformatories and to the feeble-minded in the special institutions established for their care. It used to be said that the only way a youth could get vocational training was to commit a crime and be sentenced to the reformatory—the only place where it was provided. Happily, this is no longer a well-founded charge against the public schools, but it is still true that, in proportion to their numbers, far more thought and effort are devoted to the interests of our handicapped children than to those of our normal boys and girls. And yet it is the latter who are to carry on, and in fairness to these, the great majority of our children, who, while enjoying the blessings of home life, are nevertheless subject to public provisions in vital matters that lie beyond the control of their parents, the social worker must keep the balance true.

IV

The children's code idea has taken form out of the experience of those who, in various ways, have served the public interest. Its growth has been gradual, of course, but it is only within recent years that any definite attempt has been made to apply the idea in a practical way. It has been made up of two parts: first, the formulation of acceptable standards and of the principles upon which these standards rest; and second, the embodiment of these standards into law with such modifications as special circumstances might require. The first part serves to clear the air, to point the way, to set up a mark toward which to work, and to show why we should strive to reach it. The second part serves to record our progress,

to secure to us the enjoyment of our gains as they are won, and to furnish the means by which our theories may be tested.

One of the striking instances of our attempt to set forth the principles underlying social work and to rear up standards on those principles, occurred in 1909 when, upon the invitation of President Roosevelt, a meeting of representative social workers, since known as the White House Conference, was held in Washington to agree upon the principles governing the care of dependent children. The statement formulated on this occasion was admirably suited to its purpose and has been of great use throughout the country wherever the treatment of child dependency has been undertaken.

Another instance was the agitation in favor of the general recognition of definite standards concerning the employment of children in gainful occupations. This agitation had been vigorously carried on by national societies and culminated in 1911 with the approval by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws of a standard child labor law prepared and submitted upon request by the National Child Labor Committee. This measure was recommended by these Commissioners to the several states for enactment into law so as to promote uniformity of legislative action in this field, and it has been adopted since then, in part at least, by most of our commonwealths, while some of its provisions have been written into the law of the nation.

Again, a standard juvenile court law was drawn by Mr. Bernard Flexner who also collaborated in preparing and publishing a statement of the principles and purposes of the juvenile court and the probation system, for the guidance of communities contemplating the improvement of their methods and procedure in dealing with juvenile delinquents.

At the National Conference of Charities and Correction in Baltimore in 1915, so much interest was shown in the proposal for the prompt improvement and correlation of child welfare laws that an organisation was formed to direct the movement throughout the country and was styled the National Committee for Standardising Children's Laws. Mr. C. C. Carstens of Boston was chosen for its chairman.

As a fitting climax to the work of the Children's Year conducted by the Federal Children's Bureau, whose purpose was, in the words of Miss Julia Lathrop, "to put through a child welfare program

for the second year of America's participation in the great war," and as a synthesis of the accumulated experience in child welfare work, there were drawn up at a conference in Washington in 1919, a set of tentative standards in an effort to realise the expressed hope that there might be agreement upon "certain irreducible minimum standards for the health, education, and work of the American child." It is interesting that this gathering occurred just a decade after the White House Conference and in the same city, and that it embraced virtually all branches of child welfare work, whereas the earlier conference considered only the treatment of child dependency. And, too, the Washington conference of 1909 was national while that of 1919 was international, inasmuch as guests from several foreign countries were present upon invitation of our government and their contributions were the leading feature of the discussions. Here we have a vivid illustration of the spread of the child welfare appeal and a formal acknowledgment of its universality. The organisation of the Pan-American Child Welfare Congress by Latin-American social workers in 1916, to serve as a common meeting-ground and forum for child welfare workers from all American countries, is further proof of this broad community of interest in all that relates to the well-being of children.

A few years ago this first part of the children's code movement centered itself in agitation for what was called at the time a children's charter. This was, in a way, an effort to co-ordinate and use to their fullest extent the various manifestations of good-will toward children that existed in American society, although it had also for one of its purposes, as its name implied, a statement of the rights of children—a formulating of the principles that lay at the bottom of all these manifestations. So this proposed charter had in it something of the nature of each of the two parts of the children's code movement, but was primarily a seeking after bases of action—a search for light to guide the work aright. It was hoped to get clearly in mind just what were the rights of childhood and then to advance from their expression to the logical arrangement of legislative proposals securing these rights which might serve as a handbook of standards for general use. The charter was discussed at meetings of the National Conference on Charities and Correction and of the National Child Labor Committee, but was never drawn up. The report of the Children's Bureau Conference in Washington

last year, called "Standards of Child Welfare," may properly be regarded, however, as this charter of childhood, for it was an outgrowth of this earlier effort and is well adapted to serve the ends of the former plan.

V

The writing of standards into the law is the more palpable part of the children's code movement and is, as a matter of fact, usually regarded as its only part. It is the obvious function of a children's code to lay down the law on child welfare. But this writing of provisions is really the crystallisation in a process that extends over a long period of time and involves all the experience of the race. As attention has been drawn more and more in recent years to the needs of children, the demand for a more simplified and effective legal procedure has taken form and out of this demand has grown the so-called children's code. This is a late development in the long history of work for children.

It may be said that it had its origin, if anything of so evolutionary a character can be conceded a definite origin, in England. Three acts of the British Parliament known as the Consolidated Factory Acts, the Consolidated Educational Acts, and the Children's Act of 1908, together with amendments adopted from time to time, constitute what is practically a code of laws for the benefit of children in the United Kingdom. The subject matter of the first and second of these acts is indicated by their titles; the third is wider in scope and divided into six parts devoted to (1) infant life protection; (2) prevention of cruelty to children and young persons; (3) juvenile smoking; (4) reformatory and industrial schools; (5) juvenile offenders; and (6) miscellaneous matters such as definitions, safety at entertainments, penalties for giving intoxicating liquor to children, etc. This Children's Act of 1908 was brought prominently to the attention of social workers in the United States both while it was pending in Parliament and after it became effective, and it was suggested that action be taken by the states of our own country looking toward the simplifying, standardising and co-ordinating of the provisions of law relating to children somewhat on the plan of the British Act.

Ohio was the first of our states to respond. Its legislature directed the governor to appoint "a commission to revise, consoli-

date and suggest amendments to the statute laws of the state of Ohio which pertain to children," and defined the powers and duties of this commission in part as follows: "In performing this duty such commissioners shall unify the present laws pertaining to illegitimate, defective, neglected, dependent and delinquent children, and to their treatment, care, maintenance, custody, control, protection and reformation; and shall suggest such amendments and additions as to them may seem best calculated to bring the law of this State into harmony with the best thought on this subject." The commission labored at its task for nearly two years and submitted to the governor and through him to the legislature in 1913, a comprehensive report with recommendations on institutions, state control of charities, juvenile courts, child-placing, compulsory education, child labor, apprenticeship, offenses against children, and widows' pensions. These recommendations were introduced into the legislature as one bill and, with some changes, were adopted that year.

New Hampshire followed suit and in 1913, her legislature authorised the governor and council to appoint "three suitable persons who shall investigate all matters relating to the welfare of the dependent, defective and delinquent children of the State, especially the questions of orphanage, juvenile courts, detention homes, desertion, physical and mental degeneracy, infant mortality, accidents and diseases, and make report, with recommendations concerning the above matters, to the legislature of 1915." The commission was duly appointed and a careful report was prepared and submitted but the recommendations failed of adoption.

Next, acting upon the suggestion of social workers and without special authority from the state legislature, the governor of Missouri appointed a commission and charged it with the revising and codifying of the laws concerning children in a report to be submitted to the legislature. Forty-two bills were drawn, covering pretty thoroughly the child welfare territory, but of these only ten were enacted. Here, the policy of introducing the measures as separate bills was followed instead of submitting all the recommendations in a body as was done in Ohio. The expenses incurred by the commission in the discharge of its duties were met by contributions from private sources, for of course no public funds had been made available through legislative appropriation for the purpose as had been done in Ohio and New Hampshire. The program of proposals

having been in large part rejected by the legislature in 1917, the governor ordered that the commission continue its work and accordingly a new and more detailed report was prepared by its thirty members and submitted to the legislature in 1919, together with bills to revise the statutes which were inconsistent or in conflict, to repeal obsolete or undesirable statutes, and to provide in some instances entirely new legislation. At this session the report fared better and most of the recommendations were approved.

In 1916, also upon request of welfare agencies and without special warrant of the legislature, owing to the failure of previous attempts to obtain such authorisation and inspired by the example of Missouri, the governor of Minnesota appointed 12 persons to serve as a commission "to revise and codify the laws of the State relating to children." The commission had only five months in which to work before the convening of the next legislature and therefore did not attempt to cover the entire body of laws pertaining to children, but gave its attention chiefly to the interests of the handicapped. Expenses were provided for in this case also, through the generosity of public-spirited citizens and societies. The report was submitted and referred to a joint committee of the two houses of the legislature on child welfare and the secretary of the commission was made clerk of this committee. Thirty-five of the forty-three bills prepared were favorably reported to the legislature by its joint committee and were passed with but slight alterations and with scarcely a dissenting voice.

At present, numerous state commissions are at work with the intention of reporting to their respective legislative assemblies in 1921.

VI

A children's code is a highly complex structure and yet its elements fall readily into clearly marked groups. First, there is that body of vital laws upon which any welfare program must be based and without which none can be complete, namely, those which may properly be listed under the heading:

PRESERVATION OF LIFE AND HEALTH

Included among the matters coming within this group are the segregation and possibly the sterilisation of the unfit to insure a

reduction in the birth rate of subnormal children; the issuance of marriage licenses only to those who are physically and mentally sound; freedom of women from toil for a suitable period both before and after confinement; birth and death registration; the licensing and supervision of midwives; prevention of blindness in infancy; medical and dental care not only of children in school, in institutions, and at work, but provision also for health centers and nursing service for the sake of children in general.

The second group of laws may be termed:

PROTECTION FROM WANT, ABUSE AND CRIME

This group would include the care of dependent, neglected, and defective children; provisions concerning illegitimacy; protection from cruelty and premature toil; regulation of work hours and conditions of labor; correction and prevention of delinquency; establishment of juvenile courts and the probation system; fixing the age of consent; providing for relief of the poor; safeguarding of property rights; and protection from obscene publications, dangerous weapons, etc.

In a third and final group would be found provisions for the benefit of children generally under the heading:

EDUCATION AND RECREATION

Here we should list the establishment of a public school system with provisions for continuation schools, compulsory attendance and vocational education and guidance; social centers; parks and playgrounds; public baths; libraries; the supervision of commercial amusements.

The laws covering these three comprehensive fields are by no means independent of one another in their application, as might be inferred; indeed, their inter-relations are so intricate and extensive as to weave a veritable network which becomes apparent after only a brief study of them and particularly of their administration. Their various bearings are often confusing and give rise to puzzling questions as to the seat of administrative control; for instance, it has been for years and is still, a moot question whether medical inspection of school children is best regarded as a function of the

public health authorities or of the public school authorities. Such doubts and the different ways they have been resolved in practice have been in part responsible for the administrative chaos we sometimes find even in a restricted area of child welfare work. One would naturally look for a simple administrative arrangement in a single phase of one subdivision of one field, but even in so narrow a space the machinery is often amazingly complicated.

Take, for instance, street trading by children in New York City, which is one phase of the child labor subdivision of the general labor field—here one would expect to find direct and systematic control, but instead he comes upon a maze of varying restrictions and administrative agencies. A peddler must be at least 16 years of age, must have a license issued by the bureau of licenses at the City Hall, and is subject to oversight by the police; a bootblack in a shoe-polishing establishment must be at least 14 years of age, must have a permit issued by the board of health, may work only 8 hours a day and only between 8 A.M. and 6 P.M., and is subject to oversight by the mercantile inspectors attached to the state industrial commission; a bootblack who wanders about with his own kit of tools is subject to no restrictions whatever as to age or work hours, needs no permit of any kind, and no officer is assigned to look after him; a newsboy must be at least 12 years of age, must have a badge issued by the school attendance bureau, may work any number of hours between 6 A.M. and 8 P.M., and is watched by the school attendance officers. It would tax one's ingenuity to devise a more absurd administrative plan. And it should be remembered that it relates only to peddlers, bootblacks, and newsboys—children whose work is much alike and who move in the same environment—and yet to give them protection many different standards have been set up, and the departments of health, labor, schools, police and licenses are all called into action.

VII

The well-being of the children of a community may be fairly judged by its laws. They do not reflect public opinion, as a rule, but rather the public disposition. For the general public has no actual opinion in such matters and relies for its standards upon the judgment of those who specialise in the work. It is the public

disposition, the public attitude, toward children and their interests that determines the character of child welfare laws. These laws are the index of a community's status in the humanitarian aspects of our civilisation. They perform their function best where they have been developed out of local thought and experience, and have not been transplanted from elsewhere merely upon the assumption that what has been found useful in one place must needs be useful everywhere. They are of little value unless they are adapted to local conditions and are understood by the people they affect.

One of the best means of bringing about a clearer understanding of child welfare laws and a better appreciation of their purposes both on the part of the general public and on that of social workers themselves, is the so-called children's code. It attracts attention throughout a state while it is in course of preparation and again when pending in the legislature, and so helps to give the citizens a knowledge of their measures for child care and the agencies that administer them. And it brings home to these agencies and to all social workers the wholesome truth that each one is only part of a great movement and must fit himself into that movement wherever he belongs and work with the rest in the common effort to advance. Social workers are not distinguished for co-operation among themselves—they usually pursue their own ends independently of others, even of those engaged in closely related work, and seem utterly indifferent to the constant opportunity for joint endeavor. This aloofness among the workers has been one of the factors in the random growth of our social welfare laws, for each little group has strived to embody its own ideas in their provisions regardless of their bearing upon other parts of the general program, and has jealously guarded its legislative achievements as something peculiarly its own, they have forgotten for a time that what is sought is not the development of their own little part alone, but the complete welfare of every child. It may be that this attitude is due to a failure to keep steadily in mind the principles upon which the work is based, for an understanding of principles can not but broaden one's outlook and lead to a recognition of what others are trying to do in related fields. The children's code brings us all up with a sharp turn and forces us to see our tasks not as individual enterprises but as so many parts of a great structure. In the states where codes have been attempted, one of the conspicuous features of the

campaigns has been the bringing together of the representatives of different types of service some of these meeting their fellow workers for the first time, for whenever a code is proposed all branches are at once aroused, because they know their own work will be more or less reviewed and adjusted. A code is, in one sense, a deliberate effort to promote co-operation and unity of action among all public and private agencies.

The proceedings of conferences on social work yield a wealth of illustrative material but very few statements of principles. It is natural for one to discuss a subject in terms of his own experience in dealing with it, and to tell what he has encountered and what he has done—the pages of reports and addresses are full of such illustrations—but valuable as this descriptive matter is, it is not so valuable as a laying down of the basis for such procedure, a setting forth of the principles underlying it. Practice without theory does not make for orderly progress. Our work can be measured by its results, it is true, but back of that work and its results are certain principles, and these principles are in all cases the guide to success. What are the principles upon which a children's code rests? These are fairly apparent from what has gone before, but may be stated more succinctly as follows:

1. In order to insure sound manhood and womanhood, every child must enjoy the fullest possible measure of care and nurture through the properly co-ordinated functions of the home and the state.
2. Every effort for child welfare is part of a whole. The whole is the sum of all such efforts and is designed to guarantee the complete care and nurture of every child.
3. The several parts of the whole must be so shaped and adjusted that each will perform its own function fully and freely and at the same time in harmony with all the others in the approach toward the common goal.

VIII

Any plans looking toward the framing of a code should include a careful study of conditions throughout the state so that all the aspects of child welfare, whether peculiar to the one state or common

to all, may be given full consideration. In all cases, so far, the children's code commissions have been instructed to submit their reports to their state legislatures at the sessions next ensuing, and this has hastened their work and necessarily made it incomplete. They have studied the laws of other states, have consulted specialists in the various fields, have compiled the acts in force, have recommended new legislation, have suggested amendments to the old, and have prepared reports and able discussions of the matter submitted, but inasmuch as the members of such commissions have been able to devote to the task only such time as they could spare from their regular work, it has not received the attention necessary for thoroughness in an undertaking of such magnitude and importance. Again, the commissioners have nearly all been selected from among the residents of larger cities and because of their familiarity with urban conditions and comparative ignorance of rural conditions, there is noticeable in their reports a disproportionate emphasis upon the needs of city children and the implied assumption that what is good for the city child is necessarily good for the country child too. A children's code is so far-reaching in its effects that haste in its preparation should be avoided and sufficient time allowed to make possible a complete presentation of children's needs. Another advantage of the thorough method is that it enables the public as well as the agencies immediately concerned, to become better informed as to the code's purposes and provisions. The National Child Labor Committee has been active in the children's code movement since its inception in Ohio and holds that the first step to be taken in such work is to make a comprehensive study of conditions so that in the light of the knowledge so gained, substantial progress toward the end sought may be more certainly achieved. It has for several years past placed at the disposal of states contemplating the adoption of codes, its staff of specialists in child health, schools, labor, recreation, rural life, juvenile courts, law and administration, and exhaustive reports of conditions have been drawn up together with constructive state child welfare programs which have been published and widely used in the development of legislative provisions and administrative systems.

Dr. Hastings H. Hart of the Russell Sage Foundation also has lent his aid in behalf of children's codes where they have been

under consideration as well as where the movement had entered upon its initial stage.

The work is being prosecuted with the idea that the welfare of the child is the true emblem of our democracy and that only as child welfare is advanced can our democracy flourish.

RECREATION AND RURAL HEALTH

A report prepared by E. C. LINDEMAN, Chairman, Committee on Rural Recreation, National Country Life Association, and read at the Second National Country Life Conference.

Recreation is the positive phase of the health program. It is nature's preventive medicine. While it is evident that all ill-health is not due to lack of recreation, it is equally evident that a proper regimen of play and recreation may prevent a large amount of physical degeneration. Any leisure-time activity which is pursued without expectation of pecuniary reward may be called recreation. Play is a generic term which embraces recreation but is much more comprehensive. Play is a positive, constructive term connoting zestful activity; it promotes not merely the prolonging of life but the fulness of life. This introductory distinction is made because of the tendency to use these terms interchangeably.

The task of the Committee on Rural Recreation is to discover the relationship between recreation and health insofar as this relationship concerns the population of the open country. We have approached this task from the constructive viewpoint. We are not unmindful of the vast amount of work which still remains to be done in eliminating those forms of recreation which are negative in their influence. The county fair, which has rural reasons for its existence, still affronts its rural patronage with cheap shows and gambling devices. The street carnival, with its "fakes" and its questionable exhibitions, still serves as the first introduction which many country boys and girls have to commercialised recreation. The dance hall operated in the nearby towns and cities and operated for "revenue only" receives its full quota of patronage from the ranks of country boys and girls. Motion pictures which can not run the gauntlet of city censorship may be shown with impunity in small towns. These, and other forms of recreation of a negative sort, have secured a powerful grip upon the life of the open country; and especially upon the life of its young men and young women; consequently they impair the health of the rural population. For

health implies more than physical efficiency. A healthy body is a worthy ideal, but without a discerning intellect it may become the enemy of real progress. One may even combine physical fitness with mental alertness and still produce a citizenship unworthy of the duties and privileges of a democracy. These attributes may become the sharpened tools of the one who uses them to exploit more successfully his fellow man. Social harmony and spiritual idealism must accompany our health program if it is not to defeat its own ends.

The Committee has also approached its problem in the scientific spirit in spite of the fact that it found itself confronted with innumerable questions for which the data of science offered no satisfactory answers. The questions which the Committee has studied are as follows:

I. What elements or phases of bodily growth, mental alertness or neuro-muscular co-ordination are neglected, receive least attention or are perverted in the ordinary regimen of country life?

This is considered to be a primary question. As a part of the health program recreation must be based upon a sure knowledge of what it proposes to correct and prevent as well as what it is to create. This fundamental question raises the following corollary questions:

1. Does farm work and farm life in general promote symmetrical bodily growth?
2. Does farm work tend to overdevelop certain organs, muscles or functions at the expense of others?
3. Is mental alertness sacrificed through the demands of farm labor?
4. Does farm work tend to neglect the development of those neuro-muscular co-ordinations which make possible decisive action, enthusiastic response, optimism?

These questions and a score of others which are directly involved can be answered only by the specialists. This Committee can do little more than suggest them, in the hope that after they are thrown into relief they will receive attention, interest and study. No conclusions upon which an adequate and constructive recreation program may be built will have value or safety until these questions have been studied by the physiologist, the psychologist and

the neurologist. The Conclusions here offered are not based upon adequate statistics or research. They are offered as a starting point for a discussion which it is hoped will be fruitful.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Notwithstanding the fact that farm work provides for an abundance of physical exercise in the open air, observation seems to indicate that:

- (a) Farm boys and girls do not develop symmetrically.
- (b) The work of the farm seems to overdevelop the major or fundamental muscles, while the finer or accessory muscles are neglected.
- (c) Farm life in general does not produce a degree of mental alertness and neuro-muscular co-ordination essential to an enthusiastic and optimistic outlook on life.
- (d) Observations with farm-reared young men seem to indicate that the above conclusions are at least partially correct because of the relatively more rapid approach of fatigue when placed on a comparative basis with young men of the cities.

The above conclusions are based upon observation such as the following:

- (a) Farm-reared young men in the army camps were slower to respond to the stimuli of play.
- (b) Farm-reared young men reached the stage of fatigue sooner than city-reared young men in forms of activity requiring the action of the whole body.
- (c) City-reared young men usually excelled at games involving mental alertness.
- (d) Farm-reared girls lack the ability to execute properly the actions necessary in such games as involve the free use of the whole body.

2. The second conclusion, which is based upon the above, is this: Since non-symmetrical bodily development is one of the primary conditions of ill-health, the entire question of rural recreation and its relation to health becomes pertinent at the point of determining the exact nature of the malformation and of providing leisure-time correctives.*

* See paper by Dr. Oscar Dowling. "The Nature of the More Important Rural Physical Handicaps."

II. What forms of recreation are best adapted for the purpose of acting as a corrective and preventative for the non-symmetrical development which appears to result from farm labor and farm life?

Obviously this question has no validity unless it is admitted that the conclusions above are in some measure correct. Because the Committee does believe these conclusions to be, at least in part, correct, it raises the above question. If there is something inherent in the vocation of farming which tends toward unsymmetrical bodily growth, then it must be possible to supplement the ordinary regimen of farm life with recreational activities which will offset this deficiency. In the absence of extended research and reliable data we must base our conclusions upon reasoning and observation.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Since farm boys and girls do not appear to be lacking in size or in weight, and since the apparent malformations seem to be due to an overdevelopment of certain of the larger or major muscles at the expense of the finer muscles, it seems logical to conclude that the following types of recreation are needed:

- (a) Games which involve the free use of the entire body.
- (b) Games which require precision of action.
- (c) Games employing the expression of the rhythmic instinct.

2. From the psycho-physiological point of view it seems also logical that games of the following nature are needed:

- (a) Games which require co-operative action.
- (b) Games which involve attention, or the use of the higher nerve centers.
- (c) Games which are mentally exhilarating.

The last conclusion deserves further emphasis. If the ordinary routine of farm life produces a certain mental sombreness, it is patent that the recreational life of the country should be active and not passive; it should be not only physically energising but joy-producing. In a very large sense the rural populations await, in the interest of the satisfaction of their social natures, just this type of recreative activity. Group games, organised athletics, folk-dancing, commun-

ity singing—these must be introduced into the life of the open country as a preliminary to an understanding of the distinction between exercise and play.

III. Are there certain forms of highly specialised farm labor which are deleterious to health, and in what manner may recreation act as a corrective?

This question is raised on behalf of such farm occupations as cotton-picking, onion and sugar-beet weeding and other forms of seasonal agricultural labor which require a difficult and unnatural posture and demand almost the same degree of monotonous attention as that of simple machine labor of industry.

This is in reality a question of farm labor rather than of recreation. It may also be argued that the number of persons affected by this type of labor is too small to receive national attention. However, if democracy is our goal, we dare not neglect any element of our population. If this type of occupation is inherently connected with the necessary crop and if men and women and boys and girls must be utilised, there must be some manner in which the attendant evils may be overcome or minimised. If the crop is necessary, then the proper development of those who produce it is more important. This Committee believes that in the sphere of recreation there is a distinct hope for ameliorating the results of this type of farm labor.

The analogous evils of industry are combated with a program for shorter hours, more pay, better working conditions and a minimum working age. This is the negative phase of the problem. We must do more than recognise and minimise evils; we must correct them if ever we are to do more than lip-homage to democracy. In the interest of national health we must act upon the faith that the persons who produce our goods are more important than the goods. Organised industry is approaching this problem with the introduction of rest rooms, recreation rooms, recreation directors, etc. Agriculture must also provide adequately for recreational relief and physical correctives for its specialised occupations if we are to build and conserve the vigor of our rural population. It is the neglected elements of a civilisation which always wreck it. In this connection it may be pertinent to point out once more the fact

that the philosophy of the Industrial Workers of the World had its inception, in the United States at least, among the seasonal agricultural laborers. These men, in the very nature of their occupation were forced to be wifeless, homeless, playless. As is always true in cases of social pathology, this organization is symptomatic of a disease which lies beneath the surface. Any population or element of a population in which the suppressed desires exceed the normal expressions is dangerous. And play is one of the fundamental human desires or instincts.

IV. What agencies are now at work in the field of rural recreation, and what agencies have proposed programs of rural recreation with an avowed health motive?

In seeking an answer to this question the investigator is impressed with two characteristics of the rural recreation movement. First, the relationship between recreation programs and the health objective seems to be almost negligible. Second, most agencies dealing with recreation programs in rural fields use recreation as a superficial appeal or as an incidental part of a general institutional program.

There are, however, a number of agencies of national character which either have definite health-recreation programs or are contemplating such programs. Those which have come to the attention of this Committee are:

1. The Bureau of the Public Health Service. (Office of the Surgeon General of the United States.)

This agency is conducting a nation-wide campaign in the interest of sex education. Its "Keeping Fit" campaign has already reached a high degree of effectiveness. This campaign definitely implies a health motive for recreational activities. Its illustrative charts are being widely used; a wider use of these charts in rural schools and churches is urged.

The Committee has been advised that this agency is now in search of a man who will be given the specific function of carrying this program to the rural districts.

2. The National Child Labor Committee, which has rendered signal service through its research work in child labor, has definite plans for the future which will be of intense interest to the rural field. This agency is now planning

studies which will reveal the relationship between farm labor and health; these studies will of necessity involve considerations of recreation. A letter from one of the officials of this agency clearly sets forth its purpose. We quote the following paragraph from a letter written by Mr. Raymond G. Fuller:

"It is an astonishing fact that there exist no scientific data on the effect of child labor on health. We know that premature labor or too hard labor under bad conditions is physically harmful to the child. But the effects have never been measured. The modern studies of fatigue have had to do with adults and not with children. Our Committee hopes to do something or to get something done that will give us the data we lack. I have been planning to spend a large part of the winter in study and research in the subject of recreation, including a large amount of field investigation. Following up some psychological studies made several years ago, I am seeking, among other things, to work out for publicity purposes as complete as possible a statement of the child labor evil in terms of the nature of childhood, in terms of the instincts and their expression or repression. Of course, the psychological statement of the child labor evil involves the psychology of play."

3. The Boy Scouts of America have always promoted physical activities as an integral part of their general program. The health objective is stressed in their manuals and in their educational programs. This agency is now contemplating a wide extension of its work in the rural field.

4. The County Work Department of the Young Men's Christian Association has promoted health as a part of its four-fold program for the boy and the young man. Its organized groups carry on recreational activities, study health problems, invite speakers on sex education and in various other ways correlate recreation with health.

5. The National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association includes health and recreation in its educational program. It is now carrying on a study of typical rural communities for the purpose of expanding this program through its Town and Country Department. It has already held successful health conferences and has distributed health literature which has reached the rural sections. The significant feature of the program of this agency is that it seeks to reach the farm woman and the farm girl—elements of rural population which have been hitherto sorely neglected.

6. Various Boards of Home Missions are calling the churches to an awakening of their responsibilities toward the problem of rural health and recreation. In some cases programs of study and activities covering an entire year are being urged. Notable in this connection is the nation-wide conference held during the past summer under the auspices of the Methodist Board of Home Missions. This conference was attended by more than one thousand rural ministers who returned to their charges pledged to the execution of this enlarged community task which includes health and recreation.

The opportunity of influencing the play life of the country is still open to the religious agencies. The erroneous attitude of inhibition and repression has already hampered the usefulness of the church as a social agency. Insofar as the laboring elements of the manufacturing centers are concerned, the church appears to have sacrificed this opportunity. It is urged that the encouraging steps now being taken by rural churches receive the endorsement and the support of all social workers interested in rural life.

7. The Junior Department of the American Red Cross has plans for stimulating a positive health program for rural communities. In some cases this program will undoubtedly embrace recreation as well.

8. The Boys' and Girls' Clubs organised and conducted under the direction of the United States Department of Agriculture and the various state colleges of agriculture have always emphasised health as well as recreation. The 4-H basis of their program includes education of Head, Hand, Heart and Health.

9. The Community Councils, in their proposed extension to the rural field, are contemplating the promotion of health and recreation as distinct community functions.

10. Community Service, Incorporated, has outlined a program of organisation which contemplates the organisation of rural counties. Since this organisation is the direct outgrowth of War Camp Community Service, which was in turn the war-time adaptation of the Playground and Recreation Association of America, it may be expected that its program will be specifically a recreational one. The Playground and Recreation Association of America had already laid plans and had conducted experimental demonstrations of both equipment and non-equipment types of recreation for small town and rural communities.

11. The National Physical Education Service is a branch of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. It is a new service which aims to promote state legislation for physical education in an aggressive manner. It has brought about a co-operative arrangement with such agencies as the following:

The Athletic Research Society.

The Society of Physical Directors of Colleges.

The American Physical Education Association.

The National College Athletic Association.

The Society of Physical Directors of Normal Schools, etc.*

12. Official agencies within the various states are at work on both the problems of rural recreation and rural health. Fourteen states now have statewide physical education laws which in some cases carry compulsory sections for rural schools. The state departments of public health, the state departments of public instruction, the state normal schools—these official agencies await the creation of public sentiment for the completion of their task in this field. The regrettable fact of state legislation for physical education is the almost general neglect to make these enactments effective in the rural sections.

CONCLUSIONS

The brief study which the Committee has been able to make of the agencies listed above leads to the following conclusions:

1. There are sufficient numbers of agencies at work on the problem. What is needed is effectiveness, correlation and extension.

2. Before any of the agencies can perform their full task there is needed a large amount of research work; we must have accurate data upon which to build a permanent and constructive health-recreation program.

3. The agencies should provide against the danger of jeopardising the entire movement by duplication of effort.

4. All of the private and semi-official agencies should co-operate in assisting the official agencies, which alone can produce general results on a permanent basis.

5. The Committee urges general support of those agencies which are making research studies. The real impetus of the movement awaits these preliminary studies.

* See resolutions in appendix to this report.

V. What constitutes a minimum standard requirement of play and recreation for country school children with the view of maintaining an efficient standard of mental and physical health?

The Committee does not presume to be able to give a satisfactory answer to this question. It does believe, however, that the question deserves an answer in order to facilitate the work of the interested agencies and in order to offset the occasional, the "hit-or-miss" types of recreation which are all too prevalent in rural schools. No recreational authorities will agree on an exact minimum requirement, and, of course, the requirements must vary in different communities. What the Committee is here attempting to do is to bring together the various standards which have been put forth with a view toward the promotion of discussion and experimentation.

1. Every normal boy and girl in a rural school should be required to take a physical efficiency test; this test to be repeated at the various age periods. The results of this test should be tabulated in the office of the supervising agency of the county or district. In states where physical education laws are effective this information should also be on file in the office of the state supervising agency. Without this data we can never be sure of the progressive or retrogressive tendency of physical well-being.

(a) The physical efficiency test offers a splendid opportunity for the correlation of health and recreation programs.

(b) The physical efficiency test should be preceded or followed by a thorough medical examination.

(c) In addition to the physical efficiency tests there should also be established certain physical standards for the various ages of boys and girls; ideals toward which the individuals and the school group strive.

2. All normal boys and girls of every rural school should have fifteen minutes of organised and supervised play (out of doors, if possible) every day. This implies that the teacher has been trained to supervise play and that she shall take part in these play periods.

3. From the 4th grade and upward every pupil should have the opportunity of engaging in organised group games or athletics on a competitive basis.

4. In schools where organised group games or athletics on the grade or class basis are impracticable due to the small attendance, such play opportunities should be arranged on an inter-class plan.

5. There should be two periods each day devoted to "limbering-up" exercises. This requirement is not urged on the basis of physical exercise but on the basis of relieving mental fatigue. Such exercises must be very simple and may even take the form of quiet games. Each period may be short, beginning with a one-minute period for the first graders and extending to ten minutes for the older pupils. This period should be used also for the purpose of securing a complete change of air for the school room.

VI. What are the requirements for a good game for the rural community?

This question has been discussed from the broad standpoint of all forms of recreation under Question II. It is here discussed from the standpoint of one phase of recreation, namely games. To the casual observer this question will appear to have but slight significance. It will be asked, Why should there be any distinction between games for city children and country children? Those who insist that there should be no such distinction base their philosophy of play on the inflexible and erroneous interpretation of the human instincts. If modern psychology has taught us anything at all of value, it appears to be that instincts are not inflexible, that they may secure expression in at least three or four ways instead of one, and finally that the expression which the instinct secures is almost entirely dependent upon the environment. One kind of environment permits the free expression of certain of the fundamental instincts while another totally represses these same instincts. It is on the basis of environmental and vocational psychology that the following requirements for a good game for the open country are presented:

1. A good game for the open country is one which is safe to health. Some games which may be played with impunity on the floor of a well-ventilated gymnasium where bathing facilities are also provided, are absolutely dangerous to health when played under the conditions prevalent in the country.

2. A good game for the open country is one in which small as well as large numbers may participate. Under urban con-

ditions it is comparatively easy to promote games which involve large numbers. The natural groups are larger. In the country the numbers are not always available. Children who must attend country schools with enrollments as low as ten to fifteen pupils have as much right to play as children who attend city or consolidated schools. When the children of the country gather for township or county play festivals they should be prepared to play games which involve large numbers. A careful selection of games for the rural school will reveal the fact that there are large numbers of games which comply with this requirement. More of such games—games which may be played enthusiastically by small and large groups—are needed, and it is hoped that the mere statement of this requirement will accelerate their origination.

3. A good game for the open country is one which may be played by both young and old. This requirement does not preclude such games as belong peculiarly to youth, but it aims to add to the repertoire a number of such games as may continue in use beyond the period of youth. Rural recreation differs from urban recreation, in that there are fewer opportunities of "buying" one's recreation in the country. It differs also in the fact that the rural family is still homogeneously related in its recreational activities. A rural play day is a family affair. A country picnic is a family affair. The interest in community recreation will be greatly heightened when the school promotes forms of recreation which may be utilised by the entire family—old as well as young.

4. A good game for the open country is one which may be played by both sexes. The reasons for this requirement have already been stated, namely, the scarcity of numbers in many rural schools and the family nature of rural recreation occasions. Altogether too many of our games make their appeal only to one-half of the population, the boys and the men. In rural communities, where recreation must be democratic if it is to become an integral part of community expression, it is essential that we provide a large number of games which are suitable for women and girls as well as for men and boys.

5. A good game for the open country is one which requires a minimum of equipment. The expensive and luxuriously equipped gymnasiums belong peculiarly to the city. Aside from the obvious fact that the country does not possess the surplus wealth to build and maintain such institutions, there is the psychological value of non-equipment games. The mind is brought into action in play in proportion as we di-

minish the use of paraphernalia and increase the use of the body, including the nervous system.

6. A good game for the open country is one which emphasises the instinct of co-operation. So much of the ordinary life of the country is carried on on the basis of individual action that it is essential to provide recreational activities which promote the "team spirit." This requirement does not suggest the elimination of such games as are necessary to develop individual initiative and action; it merely urges that these forms of recreation be supplemented with those of a co-operative nature.

7. A good game for the open country is one which grows out of the life of the people in conjunction with the community environment. Games, in order to have their fullest influence in the spheres of physical, mental and social health, should be more or less indigenous. The test of a good game is this: Will the community continue to play it after the outside stimulus is removed? Has it enough in common with the life of the community so that it may be incorporated into that common life? So much of attempted rural recreation is feeble and temporary because it is grafted on from the superficial recreation or amusement of the city; it has no indigenous relationship to the rural community and its life. Rural recreation which is merely a cheap imitation of city recreation can not grip the lives of rural people in a fundamental way. Curiously enough, when this viewpoint is put forth it is always combated by those who insist that the country and the city must be brought together and that this viewpoint hinders that process. There is no thought here of making it less convenient for the rural populations to come into contact with the best in city life. But, that best does not lie in the common forms of city recreation. What we are here presenting is the viewpoint that the country has within its own life the germs of its own types of recreation. If this is not true, then country life will continue to become more and more a mere supplement to city life. It is chiefly at two points that this process has received its most decided impetus—the points of economic supremacy and of apparent recreational superiority. A constructive program for making country life satisfying and representative may well begin at this simple point of creating an indigenous recreation.

In addition to the suggestions and conclusions presented in the foregoing sections of this report, the Committee desires to emphasise the following considerations:—

First: Recreation has physical, mental, social, ethical and spiritual implications. Those who use recreation as a mere part of an institutional program, or, worse still, as a mere gateway to the attention of the rural community, should keep this always in mind. This does not mean that only those agencies which are dealing specifically with the recreational phases of life shall promote recreation. We may all promote recreation but we must all be careful that the good which we do shall not be the enemy of the best.

Second: Thus far recreation insofar as it concerns the rural population has been left almost entirely in the hands of non-official agencies. No worthy gains of a permanent nature will be made until all rural leaders and all rural agencies pool their efforts in the demand for officially recognised recreation as an essential to the public welfare. When this is accomplished there will still be room for the other agencies and there will still be needed the refreshing and the revivifying influence of agencies which are not subject to the stultifying effects which usually result from state-controlled activities.

Third: We must become conscious of the full implications of play and we must make this consciousness general. Play is not merely a leisure-time activity; it is not merely an excrescence of modern civilisation. In fact, spontaneous play and song disappeared when modern civilisation came under the sway of machine industry. The rural populations have not yet felt the full deteriorating effects, the nervous disintegration and the consequent reproductive limitations of the industrial revolution. The numerical preponderance of population is inevitably toward the city. The country is, however, still the seed-bed of our population which still must furnish the leadership for both country and city. We still have time to orient the life of the open country to those processes which promote straight thinking, wholesome living and social harmony. We may still look forward hopefully to a countryside which shall be joyous as well as productive, socially co-operative and optimistic as well as economically satisfying. With this vision, play and the playground become not merely the centers for training for physical perfection, but rather the nuclei for making habitual and natural those social virtues of team play, loyalty, obedience to the rules—virtues upon which our future depends. In this light the playground may become the veritable laboratory of democracy.

APPENDIX

The following resolutions were favorably voted on at the closing business session of the National Country Life Association:

Whereas the examinations under the draft law have revealed the fact that more than one-third of the young men examined were physically unfit for full military service, and

Whereas statistics of the Life Extension Institute and of the Life Insurance Companies show this to be only one evidence of a progressive physical degeneration, and

Whereas the strenuous requirements of modern life have an irresistible influence away from natural health-giving habits and vitalising physical activities, and

Whereas these unnatural tendencies can be offset only by the provision of specially planned and directed programs of physical training and wholesome recreation, for both children and adults, therefore be it

Resolved that this organisation shall exert its full influence toward securing state and federal legislation for establishing in the schools a universal system of physical education, including instruction in the principles of health, periodic physical examinations, and health-giving activities; and that this organisation shall support every practical effort to enlist in such activities adults and young people not enrolled in the schools.

This resolution was presented by the National Physical Education Service.

FARM LABOR vs. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

GERTRUDE FOLKS

"The average farmer usually brings up everything on the farm more carefully and more successfully than his own children."

J. Mace Andress.

CHILD LABOR IN AGRICULTURE

There are nearly 30,000,000 children in the United States under 15 years of age. Nearly 18,000,000 of these—60.7 per cent—live in rural communities, i.e., those having a population of less than 2,500. Of these 30,000,000 children 10,828,365 are between 10 and 15. On this basis about 6,000,000 children 10 to 15 years of age live in these rural communities. Nearly a million and a half, 10 to 15 years of age inclusive, are employed in farm work, either upon the home farm or "working out." In other words, about one-fourth of the rural children and three-fourths of the recorded working group are engaged in agriculture. Obviously they are recruited largely from the 18,000,000 country dwellers. This group of workers, however, does not come under the scope of the federal child labor law, and surprisingly little consideration has been given to its needs. The old idea that farm labor is good for children dies hard; outdoor work conjures up visions of fresh air, sunshine and green fields; it is easy to idealise it, to think of the country boy and girl as leading the perfect life of childhood. Dr. J. Mace Andress points out, however, in *Health Education in Rural Schools*, that "contrary to tradition and popular belief country children have been found to be as defective physically and in many cases more defective than city children." But disregarding entirely its physical effects, there is yet another sin for which rural child labor must answer: its interference with school attendance.

RURAL ILLITERACY

It is well known that the percentage of illiteracy in the country is twice that of cities, one in every ten of the rural population being

classed as illiterate. It is not so widely advertised, however, that of the 16 states having a percentage of illiteracy greater than that of the United States as a whole, 15 have a foreign population percentage far below 14.7, that of the United States as a whole, the highest per cent in those states being 8.6, and the average 2.9. And even less advertised is the fact that these 15 states include all but one of the 13 states (all southern agricultural states) which have a child labor percentage in excess of the average for the United States as a whole. The parallel is striking and the conclusion obvious. If rural sections, in spite of a small foreign population, have a very large percentage of illiteracy, it is apparent that country children are not being educated; and when we find that in these same regions, there is a large amount of child labor which interferes seriously with school attendance, it is reasonable to conclude that the work of the children is responsible in part, at least, for the lack of schooling. It can not be attributed entirely to the inferiority of rural education, for even the poorest "little red schoolhouse" can train the child to write—the test of literacy.

INVESTIGATIONS BY THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

These figures are based on the 1910 census, but the results of studies made by the National Child Labor Committee during the last four years to determine the effect of farmwork upon education indicate that conditions have not materially changed, and, moreover, can not until adequate compulsory attendance laws are enacted *and enforced*. Investigations were carried on in seven states: North Carolina and Kentucky, our two greatest tobacco growing states; Colorado and Michigan, two of the three states leading in sugar-beet production; Alabama and Oklahoma, two of the largest cotton growing states, and Maryland, leading in strawberry production. Children were engaged, however, not only in the cultivation of the crops mentioned, but in all kinds of general agricultural work, including plowing, planting wheat, threshing, baling hay, filling silos, cultivating potatoes, corn and other vegetables, drying apples, herding cattle, dairying and caring for live stock. In each state representative counties were chosen and the selection of districts and schools for intensive study was made in co-operation with the school authorities. Six hundred and seventy

schools were visited, and attendance data for 37,837 children gathered. The statistical results for all seven states can not be summarised as the investigations in Maryland and in Michigan were of a more general nature than those of the five other states and the figures not comparable. In each state, however, two indisputable facts stand forth: (1) that farmwork interferes seriously with school attendance, (2) that farmwork causes retardation.

ATTENDANCE

Farmwork reacts upon school attendance in three ways: (1) it keeps children out of school altogether, (2) it shortens the school term, (3) it causes irregular attendance.

The United States Bureau of Education reports that in 1915 (the last year for which figures are available) there were 145,891 children, 10 to 14 years, not enrolled in any school, public, private or parochial. Since over 60 per cent of this age group live in distinctly rural regions it is fair to assume that a large number of these are country children. In Georgia, for instance, a distinctly agricultural state, there were in 1918, 1,216 white children and 4,579 colored children 10 to 18 years of age who had never attended any school.¹ The State Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Dakota characterises as "a disgrace to any state" the withdrawal of farm children from school—in North Dakota only 30 per cent finish the 8th grade, and four per cent the 12th grade.² The State Superintendent of Virginia writes in a similar vein, "The number of children in Virginia who are now not attending school at all, and the number who are attending school with such irregularity as to make proper training impossible, forms an alarming per cent of the total number of children."³

In the studies of the National Child Labor Committee it was impossible to secure data for all those not enrolled in school, but enough instances were followed up to confirm the conclusion reached by the Juvenile Court of Weld County, Colorado, in an investigation of the schools of that county, that the reasons which cause a child to leave school are, on the whole, the same as those which

¹ *Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1918.*

² *Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota, 1917-18.*

³ *Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Virginia, 1917-18.*

keep him out part of the time. In Kentucky, while taking school records, the investigators learned of 170 white children attending no school whatever. In Colorado several families were found whose children were not in school and had no intention of going. One family, visited four months after the beginning of school, had six children, the oldest 16, none of whom had enrolled, although the schoolhouse was less than one and one-half miles from their home. The father owned his farm of 76 acres, and had lived there for 20 years; yet the whole family was so poorly educated as to be almost illiterate. In Michigan, fully 15 per cent of the children of the 133 "beet families" interviewed had never attended school in America. These families are migratory, moving from place to place, often from state to state as the demand for agricultural labor varies. No one is responsible for the attendance of the children, and they evade the compulsory education laws.

The school term in the country is shorter than that in cities. In a comparison of rural and urban statistics made in 1912, the Bureau of Education reported that the average term in urban communities was 46.4 days (over two months) longer than the average for rural communities. The actual difference between the term in city schools and in country schools is even greater, for the above figures include in "rural communities" towns with a population of 2,500 or less, although the school term in such towns approximates that of the cities more nearly than that of the country regions. This condition is usually attributed to the difficulty of raising funds in the country. Another factor enters in, however—the tendency in many rural districts to subordinate education to farm work. The compulsory education law of Georgia, for instance, empowers the city, town and county boards of education to excuse children temporarily from attendance, and expressly authorises them "to take into consideration the seasons for agricultural labor and the need of such labor in exercising their discretion as to the time for which children in farming districts shall be excused."¹ Schools in Michigan frequently declare "beet vacations" in the late fall. In the cotton-growing sections of Oklahoma the schools open as late as December and even the beginning of January. Summer sessions are sometimes held to make up for the lost time, but as the

¹ *Georgia School Code, 1919, Art. XI, Sec. 171.*

state superintendent points out in his last report, this is unsatisfactory. It frequently means a change in teacher, the weather is hot, attendance small and irregular, and interest at a very low ebb.¹ The same thing is true in the beet-growing regions of Colorado—in one section the schools opened November 29, and closed May 1, a term of only five months (less than the very low minimum required to entitle a state to receive federal aid under the proposed Smith-Towner bill). To shorten the school term in accordance with the requirements of the farm is manifestly unfair—it not only permits children to miss school; it obliges them to.

The most serious effect of farm labor, however, and the one which has been made the special point of the National Child Labor Committee's investigations, is the amount of absence which it causes. Children enter late in the fall, and leave early in the spring; even during the winter months they are absent from time to time to help on the farm.

The State Superintendent of Education of South Carolina reports that during March, April and May attendance is very irregular, and that the same thing is true during the fall months. "In many schools during October and the early part of November and during the months of April and May not half of the children enrolled will be found present any day. . . . When inquiry is made by teachers and other school officers as to the reason for the poor attendance in the early fall and late spring the answer is almost invariably the necessity of gathering and planting the cotton crop."²

Wheat raising in North Dakota has the same effect upon school attendance as does cotton raising in the Carolinas. The last report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction stated that an average of at least 20,000 farm children stay out of school each year for a period of 60 days to help in raising wheat and other small grain products.³ The remedy suggested by the state superintendent—changing the school calendar year from September 1st to June 1st to October 1st to July 1st—would only partially solve the problem of two months absence for farmwork.

¹ *Seventh Biennial Report, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Oklahoma, 1918.*

² *Fifteenth Annual Report, Superintendent of Education, South Carolina, 1918.*

³ *Fifteenth Biennial Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Dakota, 1918.*

In Colorado the local school authorities of counties in the sugar-beet growing section estimated that 4,841 children between the ages of 6 and 15 miss from two to twenty-two weeks of school, with an average of nine and a half weeks, because of work in the fields. In one school, four rooms were reserved for beet workers, but when the school opened only 30 children enrolled. This number soon dropped to 21, the third month there were 58 children, and the fourth 125. The Juvenile Court of Weld County as the result of their investigation referred to above, concluded that "by far the most of the children who are withdrawn from school to work are found on the farms." In Michigan beet fields similar conditions were found. One-third of the children lost three entire months in the spring term alone, and these are the same children who will enter late in the fall.

The Montana *School Bulletin*, published by the State Department of Public Instruction, discusses at length this same problem in its issue for December, 1919. "Unquestionably the largest proportion of children who are irregular in attendance at school are out to work. It is customary for hundreds of farmers, especially, to keep their children at home for several weeks in the fall and again in the spring when the spring work begins. The most flagrant cases are among sugar-beet workers who are mostly foreigners, but many American parents are using the labor of children in order to run their ranches." Attendance records covering a period of three years were given for eight children from beet-workers' families—these children had missed an average of 242 school days during this period and had attended an average of 258 days—only 86 days a year.

The tobacco industry plays the same havoc in Kentucky. On one farm two boys, 9 and 11 years of age, were helping their father; the school had been in session for only 74 days, and they had already missed 45 and 25 days respectively for farmwork. In another family the 10-year-old son was absent 51 out of 74 days in the first four months of the school year. In another family, very comfortably situated, the 7, 8 and 12-year old girls and the 10-year old boy all worked in the tobacco field instead of attending school. Their father said, "That's the advantage of the tobacco crop—every child is a hand."

In Maryland, the attendance records of 585 children in 15 schools were studied. Only 305, slightly more than one-half of

these children, had entered the first week; 50 more entered the second week, and 64 the third. An effort was made to ascertain the reasons for late entrance, and of the 132 cases in which information was secured, 97 or 73 per cent reported that they stayed out to work, chiefly on farms and in canneries. These children were all between 9 and 15 years of age. A school with a normal enrollment of 33 opened in the fall with nine pupils; another with 52 normally enrolled, had 18 the first week; another had 17 of its usual enrollment of 40. In the spring, when the strawberry season comes, the situation is even worse. One county superintendent received a complaint from a rural teacher that most of her pupils would not take their final examinations because they were out picking strawberries. In another county eight schools had closed two or three weeks ahead of time because most of the children had dropped out to pick berries. Fifty per cent of the children in one school dropped out in March and April; in another (out of a total enrollment of 30) *one girl* was left at the time of the investigation; the rest were all picking berries. In still another school, with an enrollment of 38, sixteen had withdrawn between February 17 and April 16. Again, an effort was made to secure information regarding the reasons for withdrawal, and of 90 cases, 62—nearly 70 per cent—gave farmwork as the only cause.

Attendance records for about 23,000 children were taken in Colorado, Kentucky, Oklahoma, North Carolina and Alabama, showing the number of days missed by each child and the reasons for absence. On the basis of these figures, the children were divided into four classes: those who had been absent at all for farmwork were classed as "farm workers;" those absent for any other reason, such as housework, illness, distance, indifference, etc., were classed as "other absentees;" those who had moved in or out of the district during the school session were classed as "migrants;" those who had been present every day were classed as "daily attendants." Excluding daily attendants and migrants (regarding whom information could not be secured for the entire school term) a total of 20,100 children was left of whom 8,835 were farm-workers. It was found that farm-workers had missed at the time of the investigation an average of 36 days (about seven school weeks); and other absentees had missed only 23 days (about five weeks); furthermore, the farm-workers had been absent 36.2 per cent of the

period the school had been in session at the time the records were taken, as compared with only 24.7 per cent for other absentees. These figures are conservative. In order to have personal interviews with the children and the teacher to determine the cause for absence, it was necessary to visit the schools before the end of the term, and the absence for work in the late spring was not included.

Irregular attendance is a loss not only to the children whose school term is shortened but to the entire group of children in the school. The following statement from the Annual Report of the State Department of Education of South Carolina is applicable to all agricultural communities. "For the first two months in the fall each teacher is constantly adjusting and readjusting his classes to meet the needs of the late comers. The pupils who could make rapid progress because of their full and regular attendance are constantly being retarded because of the earnest efforts of the teacher to promote the progress of the irregular attendants. After four years of close observation of country school conditions the writer feels that it is no exaggeration to say that in the average country school the pupils who attend regularly for the full session do not accomplish more than two-thirds the work they would accomplish on account of the non-attendance of so many children in the early fall and late spring."¹

The irregularity of the attendance of farm-workers is reflected directly in their scholarship. The State Department of Public Instruction of Michigan has just completed a study of retardation among 25,218 children in rural schools in nine counties. Of these children 29.2 per cent were found to be retarded, and, based on the judgment of the teacher in each case, over 75 per cent of these children were retarded because of frequent change of schools and irregular attendance. These two factors are operative to a high degree among the children of beet-workers' families, and the National Child Labor Committee's study showed that only 28 per cent of these children were in their normal grades; the remaining 72 per cent were retarded. In one school in Maryland, 7.5 per cent of the children were ahead of their normal grade, 42.5 per cent were normal and 50 per cent were retarded. Those ahead had all entered

¹*Fifteenth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education, South Carolina, 1918.*

the first week in September and had good attendance records. Of those retarded, only one-fourth had entered when the school opened in September, the remainder coming in from three to ten weeks late, and one-half had left before the term had been completed. The Juvenile Court of Weld County, Colorado, reported that of the 2,078 cases of retardation examined, 53 per cent of the retardation was attributable to farmwork; and that of the 1,410 retarded pupils who had been absent for more than half of the term, 79.5 per cent of the retardation was due wholly or in part to work in the fields. Their conclusions were: (1) That the greatest single causation of retardation is irregular attendance; (2) that the greatest causation of irregular attendance is the withdrawal of children to work upon the farm.

The *Montana School Bulletin*, referred to above also points out the effect of irregular attendance on retardation:

"Out of 27 children enrolled last year in one school in a section where the majority of children are kept at home to work during the beet-harvesting season and at other times when farm and home work is heavy, 14 children were from one to three years behind their grades. One family of six children, ages ranging from 6 to 18 years, had in 1913-14 a total absence record of 368 days in a school term of 150 days. With such a record of attendance it is not strange that five out of the six children were from one to four years behind their grades."

An inspector of rural schools in Louisiana reported that the children could not pass the simple tests given them. "A number of fifth-grade pupils could not add, more of them could not multiply; the time required for these operations was on an average more than twice as long as it should be, and the percentage of inaccuracy deplorable, while the situation with reference to skill in the use of punctuation marks parallels that in arithmetic," and the inspector placed first in his explanation of this poor scholarship, the irregularity of attendance in former years. It is also significant that in the one parish (local unit) in which the compulsory attendance law was being rigidly enforced, the records of the pupils were much better than in any other parish visited.¹

¹*Field Force Report, November, 1917.*

The studies of the National Child Labor Committee in North Carolina, Alabama, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Colorado, point to the same conclusions. Excluding migrants (for whose retardation change in locality is in part responsible), age and grade records were secured for 16,806 children. On an exceedingly liberal gradation basis—the three-year basis—56.4 per cent of farm-workers 9 to 15 years of age were retarded, as compared with only 34 per cent of all others. Of those retarded, 28.7 per cent of the farm-workers were retarded at least three years as compared with only 20 per cent for non-farm-workers, and only 1.1 per cent of farm-workers were ahead of their grade as compared with 4.6 among non-farm-workers. It is interesting to note that the per cent of retardation steadily increases as the child becomes of an age to work on the farm, rising in the case of farm-workers from 29.2 per cent among 9 year olds to 86.9 per cent among 15 year olds, and from 18.1 to 70 per cent among all others.

PROMOTION

It is not surprising that farm-workers are frequently "left back," in many cases as a direct result of their absence for work. A child can not be expected to complete in five or six months of irregular attendance a course of study intended for seven or eight months of daily attendance. In Alabama, for instance, two children of 15 years in the fifth grade were not promoted—they had missed 43 and 52 days respectively to work on the farm. In another school a 15-year-old child was found in the fourth grade. This child had missed for farmwork 83 of the 116 days the school had been held, and was not to be promoted. In another school four children (9, 10, 12 and 13 years) were all in the first grade, and were to remain there—they had each been absent 70 days, exactly one-half of the time the school had been in session; the school was to be held three or four weeks longer, but they were going to drop out for farmwork. Another 14-year-old child in the second grade had been present for ten days, and absent 85 for farmwork. In three states, North Carolina, Alabama and Oklahoma, information was secured with regard to the promotion of all children whose attendance record was taken, and it was found

that there were 10 per cent more failures among farm-workers than among all other absentees. (Daily attendants whose record is uniformly high were excluded.)

INFLUENCE OF LAND TENURE

From 30 to 40 per cent of the farms in the North Central States, and from 50 to 65 per cent of the farms in the South, are operated by tenant farmers.¹ During the course of its agricultural studies, the Committee became convinced that the children of this tenant class were not getting a "square deal" and that they suffered to a greater degree the ill effects of farm labor than did the children of families who owned their farms. Consequently in the last three investigations (in Oklahoma, North Carolina and Alabama), wherever possible the home tenure of the child was ascertained. Excluding migrants, this information was secured for 13,069 children of whom 5,410 were from tenants' families. It was found that among tenants' children farm-workers missed 39.1 per cent of the school term, as compared with 31.3 per cent for the farm-workers of owners' families; and that they had missed on the average 42.9 days, as compared with 34.5 days for owners' children. For the entire tenants' children group, an average of 398 days (35.7 per cent of the term) was missed, as compared with 29 days (25.8 per cent of the term) for owners' children. Again the effect of irregular attendance is evidenced in retardation; 58.4 per cent of tenants' children were retarded, as compared with 41.1 per cent for owners' children, and 49.5 per cent (nearly one-half) of tenants' children failed to be promoted as compared with 36.1 per cent for owners' children.

The higher percentage of retardation among tenants' children is due, not to mental inferiority, but to their greater amount of absence from school for farmwork. It is to be expected that poverty among tenants will be more acute than among owners, for their labor must not only furnish a living for their own family, but must make the farm yield a profit to its owners. They have to economise to the utmost, and can not afford to hire outside help. Undoubtedly their need is great; whether this explains the absence

¹Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States*, page 348.

from school of their children or whether it justifies it will be considered later.

MIGRANTS

The child of the migrant agricultural worker fares even worse. Like the child of the tenant farmer his attendance is irregular and subject to the need for help on the farm. But very often he does not attend at all—it is easier for him to follow the line of least resistance and stay out of school than to make continual readjustments to new surroundings, new methods of instruction and new teachers. Statistics with regard to migrants' children were gathered in three of the investigations (Alabama, North Carolina and Oklahoma). It was impossible to secure information with regard to the absence of the children before they moved into the district, and the records of their attendance while in the district did not indicate a greater percentage of absence than among "farm-workers." There was, however, a striking increase in the amount of retardation—62.7 per cent of migrants 9 to 15 years of age inclusive were retarded, and only .7 per cent ahead of their grade. The education of the child of the habitual migrant is a difficult problem. When the family moves from state to state, the child does not come under the attendance law of any; and even the child whose family migrates from one place to another in the same state is not included in the census, and consequently seldom has the attendance law invoked against him. These children constitute an entire class not reached by our educational laws—a class not small in numbers, nor concentrated in any one section. They are found throughout the country—in the cranberry bogs of New Jersey, the beet fields of Michigan and Wisconsin, the canneries of New England and of the Eastern and Southern states, the berry fields of Delaware and Maryland, in general agricultural work in Western and Central New York—practically wherever farmwork, with its seasonal requirements, is carried on. The National Child Labor Committee, a few years ago, made a study of 300 Baltimore families. From May to July they had picked peas and strawberries in the country regions near Baltimore; August to October, they had worked in the tomato and corn factories of Maryland and Delaware, and 100 families had spent the winter, from October to April, in the Southern oyster and shrimp canneries. With the frequent changes, the time

consumed in travel, the inclination to utilise child labor in all of these industries—what chance had the children of these families to secure any schooling whatever?

CONCLUSION

1. Enforcement of Compulsory Attendance Laws

If the chief argument against the work of children in the fields is its interference with education, it is through the schools that it must be combated. The eradication of child labor in agriculture will not come through prohibitive enactment; it must be incidental to an extension of the school term and a strict enforcement of adequate compulsory attendance laws. That this is feasible, even in regions where farm-work makes the most demands, is demonstrated by the experience of a county superintendent of schools in a beet growing section of Montana. She reported to the state superintendent that she had been successful in keeping the children in school, and explained her method:

“Last year these people were all visited and written to either by the teachers or myself or both and were told that if they took contracts this year that required the entire family to get out the beets it would be their loss as we would insist on the children being in school and would not hesitate to prosecute. We sent out a few letters and had an article published in both county papers urging every one in the community to constitute himself a committee of one to see that all children were in school and report to my office any that were not. As a result not a child in that district so far has been kept out for beet-work.”

This community stands forth as an exception, however, not only in Montana but in the country as a whole, for at present, lenient as the attendance laws are in most states, they are a dead letter in rural districts. Enforcement is usually left in the hands of local authorities, and they are unwilling to prosecute their neighbors. In Louisiana, the rural school supervisors report time and time again that no effort is being made to enforce the compulsory attendance law in the districts visited. In North Carolina, of 144 schools visited, 50 made no provision whatever to keep the children

in school for four months—the period at that time required by law. Parents are indifferent, if not hostile, and can not be suddenly converted to giving up the assistance of their children for what seems to them as vague and impractical an idea as “education.” One father frankly stated that his boy was worth \$1,000 for work during the beet season, but was nothing but an expense if he went to school.

2. Economic Value of Education

There are—as in any child labor field—two classes of families to be considered. There are those who do not need the assistance of their children, but who nevertheless allow and encourage them to stay away from school to work. This class constitutes a large majority. A Colorado family who boasted that they made \$10,000 from their farm the preceding year were allowing their two children, 7 and 11 years of age, to work in the beet fields during the school hours. Another family consisting of the father, mother and two girls, 9 and 10 years, worked 40 acres of beets, although they own a good home elsewhere in the state. They board it up for half a year, and live in a shack “in the beets.” Another prosperous farmer who owns more than 200 acres of valuable land, nevertheless keeps his 6, 8 and 10-year-old children out of school to work in the beet fields. The school superintendents of three counties in Maryland stated that in their opinion most of the families who withdraw their children from school to work in the fields could easily afford to send them to school for the entire term, and either to get along without extra help or to hire men for the work they now do.

There are some, however, so crushed by poverty that they do actually depend upon the work of the children for the support of the family. This should not be so; it is a short-sighted as well as an unjust policy to cripple the future of children because of present economic necessity. If forced to do without the help of the children either the families would receive other assistance (such as scholarships or mothers’ pensions), or the conditions creating the poverty would be ameliorated.

In farming, as in all other industry, education pays, and it is only fair to the child to give him this start for the future. The Missouri College of Agriculture made a study of 656 farms in one

county. Of these 554 were operated by men who had received a district school education, only; the remaining 102 by men who had gone beyond the district school. It was found that the better educated farmers operated 33 per cent more land; they owned four-fifths of the land they operated as compared with three-fifths owned by those with only a district school education; they kept one-sixth more live stock; worked 14 per cent more land per workman; and earned 77 per cent more labor income per year. The report concludes: "While other factors may have played some part in his greater earning capacity, yet from a careful study of the organisation of his business, it appears that education must have played a very large part in his greater earning ability." A similar study was made in Indiana among tenant farmers, and the size of the farm, average capital and average income were directly proportional to the amount of education received. Cornell University conducted another investigation of this kind in an up-state New York County. They found that of 1,303 farmers, 1,007 (77 per cent) had received a district school education only; 210 (12 per cent) a high school education and 16 (one per cent) a college education. Here again the increase in labor income corresponded to the amount of education of the farmer. A comparison was also made between the average labor income returned on stated amounts of capital to farmers with a district school education only and to those who had received more education. In each case the farmer with the poorer education received a smaller return, varying from 48 to 87 per cent of that received by those with more education. This same investigation showed that only 17 per cent of the tenant farmers had received more than a district school education, as compared with 30 per cent of owners.

3. Reorganisation of Rural Schools

If we are to keep the farm boy and girl in school we must do more than hold out a promise of increased earnings in the future. It is a characteristic of childhood to live in the present, and we must provide a type of education that will make children consciously desire to remain in school because the work interests them. The Educational Committee of The First National Country Life Conference, held in 1919, summarising the suggestions that

have been made from time to time by various individuals and organisations interested, recommended a readjustment of rural education to include training for health, citizenship, life occupation and leisure. A great impetus to such a revision has been given by the Smith-Hughes Act, passed in 1917, under which federal aid is granted to states for agricultural, industrial and home economics education and for the training of teachers of these subjects. A measure, such as the Smith-Towner bill introduced at the last session of Congress, providing federal aid for general school purposes, will go even further in this direction. Fully as important as federal aid, however, is the consolidation of rural schools and the reorganisation of the school system on the county basis. Ellwood P. Cubberley, in his book *Public Education in the United States* points out that educational progress has been confined to city schools, and that this is due to the capable administrative leadership made possible by a centralised organisation. He likewise points out that we can not hope for success in our rural schools, nor look for the introduction of progressive features until the district system is abolished.

"The rural and village schools of most of our States, cut off by law from securing directive oversight from outside the county, and split up into thousands of little unrelated school districts, inspired by no unity of purpose and animated by no modern conception of educational work, have gone along without much change since the days of the sixties. Too often the little rural school stands to-day as a forlorn and shrunken landmark of what used to be an important rural social and educational institution."¹

The school must again become the center of rural life. Its work should be carried on and supervised by specially trained men and women acquainted with conditions in the country and able to awaken the interest not only of the children but of their families as well. The average rural school teacher today is not of this type; frequently she neither understands nor is interested in rural life, and is not prepared to develop the work of the school along lines adapted to its needs. A recent study of the preparation of rural

¹ *Public Education in the United States*.—Ellwood P. Cubberley, page 466.

school teachers in Missouri showed that from 87 to 90 per cent had not studied any subjects bearing on the economic and social problems of the country school; over 50 per cent had had no courses in rural school methods and management, and 29 per cent had never studied agriculture in their professional preparation, although required to teach it.¹ When the school has taken its rightful place in the community its service will be recognised, and parents, realising that the training the child receives in school is of far greater value than the limited experience he gets while assisting on the farm, will come to co-operate with educational authorities in enforcing attendance. Farmers' organisations already recognise the value of education and are emphasising its importance to the farmer, but until the individual farmer also is converted, he must be compelled by law to send his children to school.

Theodore Roosevelt said, "Our civilisation rests at bottom on the wholesomeness, the attractiveness and the completeness as well as the prosperity of life in the country." Whether or not country life shall possess these characteristics depends upon the amount and the nature of the education which farm children receive.

¹ *Sixty-ninth Report of the Public Schools of Missouri, 1918.*

KENTUCKY'S PROGRAM OF PROGRESS

The legislature of Kentucky, session of 1920, under the leadership of Governor Edwin B. Morrow, has put the Blue Grass State in the forefront of progress in child welfare legislation. Its record is one of the outstanding achievements of recent years in matters pertaining to social advance. Not all that needs to be done for the education and protection of children has been done, or can be done by legislative methods, but it would be difficult to point to greater achievement in state legislation on behalf of children, barring a complete overhauling of existing laws and thus mending faults and filling gaps. Kentucky has provided for just such an overhauling of the laws, in the authorisation by the legislature and the appointment by the governor of a Children's Code Commission, which will report after study and investigation and make recommendations.

Creation of a Children's Code Commission was specially urged in the National Child Labor Committee's report on "Child Welfare in Kentucky." This report was based on a field study of child welfare conditions and problems, lasting several months, and including the following subjects: Health, Schools, Recreation, Child Labor, Rural Life, Juvenile Courts, and Law and Administration. The report was published in book form by the National Child Labor Committee. It was also published by the State Board of Health in its Bulletin. In both forms the report had a wide circulation in Kentucky and served well its purpose of helping educate the public and of aiding in the framing of bills. Representatives of the Committee assisted personally in giving publicity to the findings and recommendations of the Committee's staff of specialists, took part in the drawing of bills and appeared at legislative hearings. All of the Committee's work in Kentucky was done on invitation and at the request of Kentucky people—state officials, social workers and other citizens. The Committee does not claim the credit for what the governor and the legislature did, not even for any of it, but is glad to have been of service in a co-operative way.

Among the principal contributors to the final result were

Dr. Arthur T. McCormick, secretary of the State Board of Health; Superintendent Colvin, of the Department of Education; the Kentucky State Teachers' Association; the Parent-Teacher Association; the Co-operative Council of Kentucky; the State Federation of Women's Clubs; the Kentucky Child Labor Association; the National Physical Education Service; boards of trade in various cities of the state; the press—and this is an incomplete list. Governor Morrow is especially deserving of praise, and the accomplishment was that of the legislature itself. In both House and Senate there were leaders who had the vision, and among the members generally there was manifest a real enthusiasm for the protection and education of Kentucky's children.

The first "Whereas" of the preamble to one of the health bills—now on the statute books—reads as follows: "Whereas, upon the invitation of the Governor of this Commonwealth"—(Hon. A. O. Stanley was governor at the time)—"the National Child Labor Committee, acting through a large corps of highly trained experts, has recently completed a careful investigation into conditions affecting child welfare, covering the entire state, but more intensive in representative typical counties in every section, which reveals conditions detrimental to proper bodily development and dangerous to health and life in a large percentage of the homes and schools in country districts and small towns, and in the mines and industrial communities in almost every section of the state where they exist"—etc.

In its report the Committee had clearly shown the inadequacy of the funds at the disposal of the State Board of Health, urged the establishment of a Bureau of Publicity and Public Health Education, and placed emphasis on the development of county and district health departments. The legislature has increased the budget appropriation for the State Board of Health from \$75,000 to \$135,000, and by appropriations for special purposes—establishment of a state tuberculosis sanitarium and state aid for county health nurses—has rendered \$165,000, all together, available for health work. A bureau charged with publicity and propaganda work has been provided for, and another the function of which will be to promote county and district health organisation, exercise supervision over county and district departments and co-operate with such departments.

To compare in detail the specific recommendations of the Committee with the specific legislative provisions placed upon the statute books during the session of 1920 is impossible within the limits of this article. Suffice it to say here that in the following enumeration of enactments and amendments the spirit of the Committee's recommendations is discernible where the letter has not been exactly followed.

The legislature has required the State Department of Education, in co-operation with the State Board of Health, to prepare courses in physical education which are to be given to all pupils or students in the common, graded, normal or other schools supported in whole or in part by the state. The same act authorises boards of education to turn over school buildings and yards to proper persons or agencies for use as community play and recreation centers. A vocational education bureau has been established in the state department. New provisions have been written in the law relating to the consolidation of county schools. The minimum salary of teachers in the state has been made \$75 a month. The National Child Labor Committee reported exhaustively on teacher's salaries. Many teachers were receiving as low as \$35 a month, or lower.

The legislature has changed entirely the old system, or lack of system, of certificating teachers. This was one of the points stressed by the Committee. An act provides for the grading by the state board of education of all persons examined for certificates. The county boards hold the examinations, the questions being prepared by the state board, which issues the certificates. Four classes of certificates are issued. The qualifications are to be raised gradually until 1926, when all applicants for elementary certificates of the first grade shall have had four years of high school work, or its equivalent, and in addition forty weeks' professional study in a state normal school or some other training school recognised by the state board. Other changes in methods and requirements of certification have been made.

Two of the principal needs of Kentucky's educational system, as seen by the National Child Labor Committee, were taking the office of state superintendent of public instruction out of partisan politics and doing the same thing with the office of county superintendent. Hitherto both offices have been filled by candidates running on party tickets. An act or resolution looking toward the

amendment of the state constitution and making the office of state superintendent a statutory instead of a constitutional office was passed. At present the state superintendent is elected by popular vote for a term of four years and can not succeed himself. It was enacted by the legislature that the county superintendent, as executive officer of a county board of education elected by the qualified voters of the county, shall be chosen by vote of such board. The minimum salary of the county superintendent has been made \$1,200 instead of \$800. The board is to be a "non-partisan" board of five members.

An act requires that the minimum tax rate for county schools shall in no event be less than 25 cents nor more than 65 cents on each hundred dollars of taxable property. Formerly the rate of taxation in certain counties was as low as 10 cents and the maximum could not exceed 30 cents. The state gave just enough money to the counties to make possible the existence of poor schools for six months, and many counties let it go at that, not adding any appreciable sum to that from state funds. Another act looks to the amendment of the state constitution, whereby the state may withhold ten per cent of monies collected for school purposes and distribute the amount with a view to equalisation of school opportunities. The county board may now levy taxes for school purposes without the intervention of the fiscal court.

Upon the county superintendent of education is imposed the duty of making recommendations concerning school buildings, repairs, etc. It is made mandatory on the county board to provide sanitary closets immediately for all schools lacking them, these closets to meet the requirements of the State Board of Health.

A new compulsory attendance law has been written. The law now requires the attendance of children living in county school districts the entire school term. This applies to all children of school age, which is between 7 and 18, unless they have completed the 8th grade, the higher limit having been raised, so far as children in county districts are concerned, from 12 to 18. The school age for children in cities of the first, second, third and fourth classes remains as it was. City children must attend school until 16 unless they have completed the eighth grade or are lawfully and steadily employed under the provisions of the child labor law. The compulsory attendance law is not without its faults still; perhaps it would

have been just as well to have raised the age limit for rural children to 16 instead of 18. Thus it would be the same for both country and city children.

The salaries of the state school supervisors, or inspectors, have been raised, and provision made for two additional supervisors. One of these will devote his entire time to the problem of the one-room mountain school, and the other to that of the problem of the mining camp school in the mountain area of the state. The state superintendent expresses the belief that Kentucky will solve these problems and set an example for the entire region of the Southern Highlands.

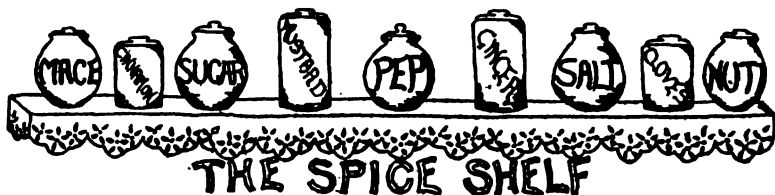
Of great importance is the act passed providing for the appointment by the Governor of a commission of five members to make a complete survey of schools and school administration—the entire public educational system of the state. The commission shall employ experts, not residents of Kentucky, to conduct a thorough study and present recommendations to the commission. The commission shall report to the governor. This step is highly indicative of Kentucky's earnest desire to give her children the best possible facilities of education. Together with the creation of the Children's Code Commission it shows that Kentucky means to be thorough as well as careful in what she does legislatively for the boys and girls who are to be her grown-up citizens tomorrow.

Besides the large appropriations for health work and that of \$10,000 for the expenses of the education commission, there were other noteworthy grants of money. The two state normal schools each received an addition of \$75,000 to their regular annuities. The state university was granted \$75,000 for the building of a dormitory and received \$40,000 to provide additional equipment in the engineering department. Thirty thousand dollars additional per year was appropriated for work in agricultural instruction. The appropriation for agricultural extension work in the year 1920-1921 is \$108,000 and in the year 1921-1922, \$126,000.

A provision in the child labor law calling for the physical examination of children applying for work permits, which was omitted from the law in making amendments in 1918, has been restored. Kentucky now has one of the best child labor laws in the South. At the legislative session just passed, a bill designed to weaken the provisions regarding street trades failed of passage.

Among the progressive measures passed was one creating a state board of charities and corrections to "establish a broad and humane and practical policy by the state in the care and treatment of all state wards" and to supervise the various institutions in which such wards are cared for. The new board consists of eight members, two of whom are women. A bill for establishing a Domestic Relations Court in Louisville was passed.

Altogether the record of the Kentucky legislature is worthy of high praise. Whatever faults and shortcomings there may be, the fact of great accomplishment remains. It is the beginning of many things. The action relating to education is but the prelude to an extensive remaking of the school system. The appointment of a Children's Code Commission is full of definite promise. Conspicuous in the legislative record of 1920 is its forward-looking, earnest, constructive spirit.



"I ain't gwine a work till my dyin' day;
'F I ever lays up enough
I's gwine ago off a while en stay,
I'll be takin' a few days off.
Case de jimson weeds don't bloom but once
En when dey's shed dey's shed.
En when you's dead tain't jes a few mont's
But you's gwine be a long time dead."

Little Girl—(*leaving lecture on Child Labor, to which her mother has taken her to make her realize how fortunate she is*)—"That means it will be against the law for me to wipe dishes, doesn't it, mother?"
—*Life*.

Government reports are not always so dead as they look. One using then has found the following enlivening statements:

"The H family consists of the mother and five children, the oldest fourteen and the youngest thirteen months."

"She succeeded in obtaining the mother's consent to the removal of the children's adenoids, had them weighed and sent on vacations."

"There were three children—Charles 6, Henry 3, and Anna 8 months."

"It will be the object of the meeting to devise plans for offering better opportunities to the delinquents in Columbus."

"In the case of new nurseries, a yard of playground should be regarded as essential."

An investigator was studying recreation problems in rural communities. He became interested in a musical instrument the

drummer was manipulating. It was an ordinary washboard, called the African Harp.

"I suppose you still use it for the family washing?" said the facetious investigator.

"Yep," answered the drummer promptly, "I've played many an old rag on it."

The Professor's child, a girl of eight, observed an individual acting in a manner as peculiar as it was unusual. "Oh, Father," said she, "Isn't he silly? Why, he's so silly, he's super-silly-ous!"



PSYCHOLOGY FROM THE STANDPOINT OF A BEHAVIORIST. John Watson. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

As Titchener is the high priest of introspectionist psychology, so is Watson the chief iconoclast of behaviorism. This book is intended for use as a college textbook. It contains all the meat of behaviorist psychology and therefore will have a wide reading among other than college students of psychological science. The reader will find no discussion of consciousness and no reference to such terms as "sensation," "perception," "attention," "will," "image" and the like. Professor Watson says in his preface: "These terms are in good repute, but I have found that I can get along without them both in carrying out investigations and in presenting psychology as a system to my students. I frankly do not know what they mean, nor do I believe that any one else can use them consistently." The subject matter of the volume is human behavior—reaction to stimulus or situation—and its data are obtained from the study of human behavior. The author points out, however, that behavioristic psychology is neither an objective psychology nor a modified system of psychoanalysis.

R. G. F.

THE UNSOLVED RIDDLE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE. Stephen Leacock. New York: John Lane Company.

Stephen Leacock, professor of political economy in McGill University, always writes with grace and distinction, whether in "lighter" or in serious vein. The present little volume is as safe as it is sane, but his treatment of the subject—the social unrest and the way of salvation—is both fresh and refreshing. In Professor Leacock's view we are between the Scylla of individualism and the Charybdis of socialism. The middle course is the only safe and sane course to steer. Professor Leacock is a strong proponent of progressive social legislation, particularly legislation designed to insure children a fair start in life.

R. G. F.

INTRODUCTION TO CHILD PSYCHOLOGY. Charles W. Waddle. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company.

This is the best of all introductory, general treatments of child psychology. It presupposes some knowledge of general psychology and some familiarity with the principles and viewpoint of modern biology, but can be read with profit by any intelligent person. Ellwood P. Cubberley, in his introduction, thus describes the topical arrangement: "The first chapter is a historical statement as to the scientific study of children, and serves to set off the present-day work in its proper perspective. The second chapter describes the methods of studying children. The third gives a good simple treatment of child life, from the biological point of view, and puts the subject in proper biological perspective. This is followed by a chapter dealing with human behavior and the instincts, in which the use of the term 'instincts' is carefully restricted within scientific limits, and the usual loose thinking on the matter of instincts avoided. Play, language and drawing are then selected for treatment as representing three typical child activities with instinctive bases, and as illustrating the mental development of the child. The knowledge we have as to genetic development along these three lines, and the teaching of these three subjects, follows. The author then takes up the questions of heredity and environment as showing themselves in the moral nature of children and in juvenile delinquency—heredity, environment and the moral nature of children being the central subjects toward which the whole book has been leading. The general facts and principles of mental development, and some of the established laws for this, followed by a consideration of individual mental capacities, closes the treatment." Professor Waddle's book is worthy of unequivocal commendation.

R. G. F.

TOWARDS RACIAL HEALTH. Norah H. Marsh. New York City: E. P. Dutton & Company.

Have we not attained a place in the progress of civilisation when we should abandon the *laissez-faire* attitude toward all human misery resulting from venereal diseases, prostitution, illegitimate children; unhappy marriages, broken homes and loveless lives as well as perversion of the natural and most sacred instincts? Can we not hope for progress in attacking the cause of these evils when we can give our children proper training and guidance toward right ideals? "Towards Racial Health," by Norah H. Marsh, is a very constructive book, which is full of suggestions of how the parent and educator may guard against the pitfalls which so often result in wrong mental impressions upon the mind of the young child, and of how we may continually give the instruction and guidance that leads to high ideals, the development of ethical values and the sublimation of the sex impulses.

Very recently we have been making great strides toward abandoning our old policy of closing our eyes to the misery caused by venereal diseases, and have actually made progress in controlling these diseases, but we shall soon

reach a standstill in handling this problem and we shall make no progress in either curing or preventing the other evils mentioned, if we do not help our children establish the right healthy moral attitude towards all the bodily functions, give them sound knowledge and high ideals. The material in this handbook should be of great value to all who would grapple with this problem rather than risk their beloved children to the misery-producing *laissez-faire* attitude of the past.

H. H. MITCHELL.

THE NEW STATE. M. P. Follett. New York City: Longmans, Green & Co.

To those of us who are overwhelmed with the realisation of the failure of our democratic form of government, this book offers the open sesame to new conceptions. The underlying principle of the book is that of a "group organization movement substituting intention for accident, organized purpose for scattered desire." This is by no means a new ideal—every new "ism" contains the demand for an organised social point of view. In the economic field syndicalism, socialism, and sovietism, all three much tabooed words, are essentially pleas for group consciousness. In the world of philosophy, psychology, and religion the conception is a group interpretation of life.

Miss Follett divides her book into three fundamental parts: the first is an attempt to ascertain the principles which must underlie any ideal and vital state. The second determines how far these principles are expressed in present political forms. The third describes how these can be applied to the true state.

The principles involved in a new interpretation are: (a) The collective idea attained by collective thinking of a group, a thinking which integrates the differences of individuals and produces a unit thought; (b) a second principle is collective feeling, a sympathy with the group; (c) a third is the collective will. The individual must realise that he can find his greatest freedom in the development of the community. A rather clear distinction between crowd rule and the author's conception of group rule is given and a further analysis of the psychological processes involved in community organisation.

The cultivation of new principles under existing conditions and in existing institutions is the test of its efficiency and here Miss Follett is neither clear nor sufficiently practical. Community centers and school centers are stressed by her as the nuclei for the development of such an attitude toward community life and community organisation.

The presentation of ideas is made incoherent by the unnecessary repetition of words and thoughts. It is significant for the politico-sociological world, however, that more and more books of this type are being written for absorption by the public.

THERESA WOLFSON.

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The American Child

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF GENERAL CHILD WELFARE

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Incorporated to promote the interests of children

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EDITORIAL AND NEWS NOTES

This has been an "off year" in legislation, with only eleven state legislatures meeting in regular session. An unusual number of special sessions were held during the winter in LEGISLATION states in which no regular session was scheduled, but for the most part these special sessions dealt only with the special business for which they had been convened, and considered no child welfare legislation. Complete information from all the states is not yet available, but it is apparent that in only a few states were important children's measures passed.

Conspicuous in the year's legislation was the achievement of Kentucky which was noted in the last issue of *THE AMERICAN CHILD*. In New York the provision for a children's code commission "to examine laws relating to child welfare, investigate their effect and propose remedial legislation in relation thereto," marks a long step toward simplifying and coordinating the confusing laws and administration of laws in that state. The New York legislature also passed a bill extending medical inspection to include children employed in mercantile establishments; but bills revising the street trades law and prohibiting tenement homework failed of passage. New Jersey created a Bureau of School Census to take annual census of all children between the ages of 5 and 21 years. Louisiana placed a mother's pension law on its statutes, but a bill to regulate street trading in that state failed to pass the upper house. Further regulation of children on the stage was provided in Maryland, where a bill was passed requiring permits for children under 16 appearing in theatrical performances.

In several states, however, there has been a definite step backwards in child welfare legislation. In Virginia the child labor law was amended to permit children 12 years of age to work in canneries when schools are not in session—this in spite of the fact that, under the federal child labor tax law, employers who take advantage of this provision to engage children under 14 years of age will be liable

to the 10 per cent federal tax on their net profits for the year. In Delaware the school code adopted last year was amended at this year's special session of the legislature. Among the changes is a reduction of the required term of school attendance from 180 to 120 days for children having a proper excuse for absence—agricultural work being named as a proper excuse.

A bill to regulate child labor in the District of Columbia rested in committees of both the Senate and the House at the adjournment of Congress.

The section of the child labor law of Missouri which prohibits the employment of children under 16 years of age in proximity to dangerous machinery has been declared by the
MISSOURI LAW Supreme Court of that state to be unconstitutional. The opinion of the Court was written
UNCONSTITUTIONAL in the appeal of a suit brought against a milling company by a boy 15 years of age who was injured while employed in a corn mill. The boy's employment was supposedly illegal under section 1726b of the child labor law. The trial court awarded him \$5,000 in his suit, but the Supreme Court reversed the finding of the lower court, holding that, since the words "prohibiting the employment" were not included in the title of the act, which was called "an act to regulate," the section in question violates the constitutional requirement that "the subject of the act must be clearly expressed in the title." Missouri children thus lose one of the most necessary safeguards which have been thrown about their employment, the importance of which is recognized in more than half of the states. It is hoped that the Missouri legislature will not be long in re-establishing this provision in its child labor law, but with the higher standard age limit of 18 years.

The Supreme Court adjourned on June 7, without rendering any decision on the question of the constitutionality of the federal child labor tax law. The Court will recon-
NO DECISION ON vene in October. The Bureau of Internal
FEDERAL LAW Revenue announces that it will continue to enforce the provisions of the tax law in all parts of the country, pending the decision of the Court.

In its report on industrial problems, the Industrial Conference, called by the President in December and reconvened on January 12, "urges upon all states not having adequate legislation upon child labor and compulsory education that they give these topics prompt and sympathetic consideration." Section 5 of Part IV of the report declares that:

PRESIDENT'S
INDUSTRIAL
CONFERENCE

"The Federal Government has already recognized the unsoundness in the economic use of the nation's resources of permitting the entrance of young children into industry. Such a practice results in the progressive degeneration of the race and tends to impair the human resources of the country on which the coming generation must rely. The matter cannot wisely be left to the sole initiative of the separate states. Such a course is not only unfair to the states which have attempted to deal with the problem. It places a premium upon states which are willing to subordinate the future well-being of their citizens to a present questionable competitive advantage in industry.

"In considering child labor, as well as in other aspects of the industrial problem, a differentiation should be made between the various employments which the children enter. The entrance of children of tender years into a mill or factory tends to stunt their development, and injure the race. The argument that the child is thus enabled to learn a trade is unsound. For the trade may be more quickly learned, with greater opportunity for subsequent progress, by a boy of sixteen who has spent ten years in elementary schooling, than by a boy who loses the opportunity for intellectual and sound physical development by entering the mill at ten or twelve. On the other hand, the employment of children in agriculture may, if wisely supervised, develop physique and lay a good foundation for their more formal education in the country school.

"But sheer prohibition of child labor is, at best, only a negative attack upon the problem. It is not thoroughly effective in promoting the economic welfare of the nation unless the time now spent by the child in industry is devoted to adequate schooling and to activity which will develop his physical well-being. We must not only protect our children from the physical degeneration which results from an early entrance into the mill or factory, we must enable them by education to take their place in society.

"It is a startling fact that of the 5,516,163 illiterate persons of over ten years of age in the United States at the last census, over 68 per cent were native born. There were approximately as many native born white illiterates as there were foreign born. The problem is not, therefore, solely or primarily due to the large influx of foreign men and women from the less literate countries of Europe. It is primarily a condition

of illiteracy among our own people, and the lowest percentage of illiteracy (1.1 per cent) was among the native born children of foreign or mixed parentage.

"Not only are the prohibition of child labor and provision for compulsory elementary education complementary; the age limits for these two classes of legislation should be, as far as possible, the same.

"Up to the present, the Federal Government has not been able to deal comprehensively with the subject of child labor. The present federal child labor tax law imposes a tax of 10 per cent upon the net profits of any mine or quarry which employs children under sixteen years of age, and of any manufacturing establishment which employs children under fourteen. It makes no provision which assures the non-employment of children in street trades and various blind alley occupations during the time they should be at school.

"The fact that the former federal child labor law has been declared unconstitutional should not be interpreted as registering or encouraging popular sentiment against such legislation but rather as occasion for arousing public sentiment in the interests of the rights of childhood.

"The intimate relation between these rights and both compulsory education and child labor legislation suggests that the ideal solution of the problem would be reasonable uniformity by all the states in their legislation upon these topics. The Conference, believing that the education and welfare of the childhood of the country is not entirely a local interest, urges upon all states not having adequate legislation upon child labor and compulsory education that they give these topics prompt and sympathetic consideration. Already in forty states compulsory education up to the age of sixteen with certain exceptions, has been provided for. This has opened the way for consistent legislation upon the question of child labor. Under legislation of this character experience is rapidly demonstrating that the economic, as well as other vital interests of the country, are best conserved by lengthening the period of education. This makes possible a normal physical, intellectual and social development of the youth of the country."

Everybody ought to read the report of a survey of 10,000 rural homes recently conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture. In this report the farm woman of America tells her own story; in it she is discovered. **CHILD CROP** It is a rather startling story, full of surprises, gripping the interest from beginning to end. We note **ON THE** here something about children. There were few **FARM** of them. In 7,467 farm homes there was an average of but 1.18 under 10 years of age. The number of children in farm homes in

the east falls below the country-wide average, the survey showing 0.9 children under 10 years and 0.77 children between 10 and 16 years, on a basis of 2,573 reports, while that in the western section is the highest with 1.4 children under 10 years (1,734 reports) and 0.97 children between 10 and 16 years (1,823 reports).

Florence E. Ward in the *Weekly News Letter* of the Department of Agriculture, comments as follows: "In any event child life is at a premium in rural districts, and for the future of our agriculture, if for no other reason, an intelligent effort should be made and as much money expended to safeguard the child crop on the farms as to safeguard other crops that have to do with building up the farmstead."

The National Child Labor Committee is intensely interested in this problem of child conservation in rural America. It has found that the child is at a premium in many rural homes and districts as a farm laborer. This is particularly true of the areas of tenant farming, but the tiller of his own soil is not without blame. Saving the child for the farm country means primarily saving him for his own maximum efficiency and happiness. It means saving him from child labor—that is, from excessive work—and means also giving him good schools and a good education and proper opportunities for recreation and social enjoyment. It means much else in the way of the rebuilding of American rural life, in which we hope to see him bearing his full share. But he ought not and doesn't have to stay in the country unless he wants to. *He won't*—unless he wants to.

Of considerable interest is the series of full-page illustrated articles (or rather, advertisements) which a group of Southern cotton-mill operators is financing in the *Washington Post*. It has been running for several months, but apparently is scheduled to run for many months to come, so we are still looking forward to a lot of interesting reading matter. Why the *Washington Post*? Perhaps because it will reach more Congressmen and Senators there than anywhere else, and goodness knows they ought—as a matter of duty—to be well read and well informed, if anybody ought.

The announcement of this series on "Life in the Southern Cot-

ton Mills" tells us that—"For two months experts have been carefully investigating Southern cotton mills and cotton mill cities, with a view of laying before the American public the true story of the remarkable strides that have been taken in Southern welfare work, the happy and contented life that Southern cotton mill operatives lead, and the remarkable educational and recreational advantages that are theirs." The experts, as the succession of articles well shows, have kept that view in view without a doubt. When we read that there is no housing problem in these towns we naturally think of Paradise. Everybody is housed and well housed. We'd like to live there for many other reasons. The children have perfectly wonderful schools. Illiteracy is almost unknown from childhood to old age.

The cotton mill owners of the South—many of them—are doing splendid things, no doubt. There is no reason why they should not do them. We have no objection to their taking "remarkable strides," as indeed they have. But we wonder a little. We wonder if the glorious conditions described in this series of articles are general in cotton mill towns, or simply represent outstanding pieces of good work. We wonder if all the advantages described are actually available to all the children of each community or if perhaps some of the children have other things to do than go to these excellent schools and play on these excellent playgrounds. We wonder where the people and their representatives in the state legislatures have been all these years, that protection and education of children have been left in large part to philanthropic mill owners; in respect to health and schools and some other things vital to a democracy it almost seems as if there may have been opportunity for the state to do certain bits of welfare work on its own account. We wonder if these same mill owners, in case the federal child labor law should be declared unconstitutional, will seek to have their state legislatures (no offense meant by the word "their") pass laws putting an end to the ten-hour day for child laborers in factories and prohibit children from going to work in factories before the age of 14. That chance may come and it will be a test of real interest in and devotion to the welfare of boys and girls—the labor supply of tomorrow, not rightfully of today.

We presume the articles are being published principally as an advertisement of goods. Consumers of goods have a right to know

the conditions under which those goods were produced. They have a right to know and will know before many years have passed that nothing they buy has become theirs at the expense of any child.

Several welfare agencies engaged in child-health work and having definite programs of procedure and purpose have formed a Council for Co-ordinating Child Health Activities. These agencies are the National Child Labor Committee, the Child Health Organization of America, the American Red Cross, the American Child Hygiene Association and the National Organization for Public Health Nursing. Other agencies will be added. Major Homer Folks and Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy represent the National Child Labor Committee.

Through the Council each of the agencies will be kept informed of what the others are doing and planning, and not only will the Council serve to avoid duplication of effort but also to effect co-operation both in general and in special enterprises. Each agency will seek to define its program still more clearly in the light of better information as to the work carried on or contemplated by the others, and will from time to time submit its plans to the Council for discussion. Methods of child-health work will be discussed. Through the Council, each agency will receive the benefit of suggestions and criticisms made in conference, and experience will be pooled. The Council does not supersede the agencies represented, and does not have any authority of its own. It is a medium of communication and co-operation.

BREVITIES

From Georgia comes the news that the new compulsory attendance law has crowded the schools with about 40,000 new pupils since January 1, 1920.

The word from Massachusetts is less encouraging: "The number of working children in Massachusetts," says the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, "has increased so that one-half of the population now begins work at 14 years of age. Of the 60,000

children who each year become 14 years of age in Massachusetts, 30,000 leave school for work during that year."

A comparison of the delinquency of children who are employed and children who are at school shows that about three working children to one school-attendant appeared before the children's court of Buffalo in 1919.

The Iowa State Board for Vocational Education is conducting part-time dull-season courses in agriculture in four counties at 19 different centers. The classes are open to persons over 14 years of age who are engaged in farming, and are in session five days a week for ten weeks. The course comprises both classroom and laboratory instruction.

The Ohio Consumers' League reports that in Cleveland, in 1919, 72 per cent of the boys between the ages of 15 and 20, and 64 per cent of the girls between 16 and 20 were at work. Five hundred applicants for work permits were temporarily refused permits because of physical defects, while 4.8 per cent of the girls and 8.6 per cent of the boys at work are subnormal.

A big increase in the number of children obtaining both vacation and permanent employment is reported in Milwaukee. In the first two weeks of July, 4,712 permits were issued in that city to children between the ages of 12 and 17 years, the number issued for the same period last year being 1,806. Similar increases are reported from other cities. The District of Columbia, however, reports a decrease in the number of permits issued in the year ending July 1, 1920.

The Bureau of Internal Revenue has given warning in Virginia that the state law, recently passed in that state, permitting children 12 years of age to work in canneries, will not in any way relieve employers who take advantage of its provisions from paying the federal tax of 10 per cent of their year's profits for the employment of children under 14 years of age. Nor will certificates of age issued by the state be accepted in lieu of federal certificates, and employers are cautioned to keep on file federal certificates of age for all children under 16 years.

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FIFTEENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILD LABOR

The Fifteenth National Conference on Child Labor was held at New Orleans April 15, 1920. General theme: "The National Child Labor Committee at Work." The speakers at the forenoon and afternoon sessions were members of the Committee's staff, and the program was designed as a report to the public of what the Committee is doing—what it is finding and what it is accomplishing in the child labor and allied fields. The interrelations of all these fields and the practical bearings of all effort of the Committee on the child labor problem were strikingly shown. The addresses were followed in each case by interesting and valuable discussion.

At the morning session, at which Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D., Assistant Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, presided, Wiley H. Swift, Special Agent on Law and Administration, Mabel Brown Ellis, Special Agent on Juvenile Courts, and Dr. Harold H. Mitchell, Special Agent on Health, each discussed present needs and standards in their respective fields. Their addresses are printed in the following pages. Papers by Gertrude H. Folks, Special Agent on Schools, and Raymond G. Fuller, Publicity Director and Special Agent on Recreation, read at the afternoon session, are also printed here. Dr. Clopper, speaking at the afternoon session, discussed child welfare surveys and children's codes. The substance of his remarks appeared in his article on "Children's Codes," in the May issue of *THE AMERICAN CHILD*. Josephine J. Eschenbrenner, Membership Secretary, spoke on "Child Welfare and the Citizen's Responsibility," reviewing her experience in the task of making the contact between those who are actively engaged in this work and those who are supporting it.

Charles E. Gibbons, Special Agent on Agriculture, discussed the problem of "Child Labor and the Tenant Farmer." The children of the tenant farmer, he said, do not fare as well, usually, as the children of the owner. Instability of income, frequent

shifting from place to place, and the lack of the right kind of food are factors in the tenant farmer's living conditions which deprive his children of even such educational and health opportunities as are available for children of farm owners. As a step toward the solution of the problem, Mr. Gibbons urged the need for closer understanding and co-operation between landlord and tenant, both for their own mutual well-being and for the welfare of their children. Mr. Gibbons is preparing for publication in a later number of **THE AMERICAN CHILD** a paper on the salient aspects of the agricultural problem in relation to child labor.

Dr. Felix Adler was to have spoken the same evening at a joint session of the Child Labor Conference with the opening meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, but on account of a railroad tie-up was prevented from reaching New Orleans in time. He spoke at a later meeting of the Conference of Social Work; the substance of his remarks is printed herewith. The address of Dr. Lovejoy as president of the National Conference of Social Work will be reported in the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, and is therefore not printed here. The same is true of addresses given by Dr. Clopper, Mr. Swift and Mrs. L. B. Bush, all of the Committee's staff, at a joint meeting of the National Child Labor Committee with the Children's Division of the National Conference of Social Work.

A NEW-OLD METHOD OF APPROACH

WILEY H. SWIFT

Public opinion has been to school. Prior to 1910, the effects of social education were beginning to be strikingly evident. Political parties began to write social planks. The whole plan of life was lifting and all children, not a part, but all, were coming in for consideration. In time this process of education might and probably would have carried us to the point where we now stand. It would, however, have taken many years. Social construction under ordinary circumstances is a painfully slow process.

A new force came into the field some years back and its lifting power was tremendous. One had to shut his eyes to fail to see effects springing directly out of this new factor. While the public was being taught social righteousness, business men were taking courses in economics. They were learning that costly machinery must be run to fullest capacity and that this requires intelligent operation, intelligent operators. They were learning that with the expansion of business, and the development of absolutely new industries the supply of workers was being heavily drawn upon. At the same time they saw that the flow of workers from the back country was being cut short by education and improved economic conditions and by the very limits of the power to reproduce. American wives were getting tired of being in a constant state of pregnancy from the age of eighteen to forty-five. They were beginning to demand a little rest from their labors before death.

These two forced employers to give thought to the conservation of their help. It was recognized that the average worker was wearing out all too quickly for successful business and that steps should be taken to save him out of the junk pile for a while longer. So came a very healthy movement among employers for shorter hours, for the abolition of child exploitation, always an economic blunder, for better housing, and sanitary arrangements, better health, better schools, a better community life. Every employer now desires

first of all a race of strong contented workers and seeks aid from all sources to this end. It is an economic matter, and employers are now wise in their day and generation. The result is that employers have ceased to oppose and have come to co-operate in social construction. I know that there are exceptions, individual and state. They help in that they are exceptions. We point them out as the bad boy of the community is pointed out. We are almost thankful for these exceptions.

These two forces acting together were producing evident and striking results. Those of us who were watching the children of the country saw great improvement in every state. And while we were looking at it a third great force came into view: the war. War always has a direct economic and social effect.

With reference to children there were two distinct periods of the war, short as our part in it was. First, there was the period of insanity. Everybody started running around hunting for something to do to help win the war, and in the excitement of the times a large number of good Americans decided to sacrifice boys and girls—a vain, senseless, sinful decision, but a very real one. Fortunately, we recovered from that folly and entered the period of sanity. In the midst of war we began to plan to save our country by growing that which no country can long be great without: strong men and women. The war-draft stunned us by its revelations of our national weakness not only as to physical strength but also as to effective training. Among other things it showed the deficiencies of the great back country. Rural America, where most of our children still live, came under the glasses and we, for the first time, saw it as it is.

The result was that the American people turned at once in a body to the matter of providing both care and opportunities for all our children. "Back-to-School" drives became nation-wide and many new agencies entered the field of child welfare for the purpose of safeguarding the country.

The result of all this was that the National Child Labor Committee was actually pushed along paths upon which we had just begun to walk. We began to study intently life in the back country, the rural child, and our discoveries have been astounding. The problem of child care in this country is not primarily a city problem. It is a rural problem. We were brought to a very deep realization

of the fact that an intelligent handling of the question of the employment of children demands:

That the rural child be included. It is as much a crime to work a child to his hurt on a farm as in a mill.

That steps be taken to insure good health of children. It is a bad thing to have a sick child go to work in a mill or a store. It is almost as bad to leave whole families of children to fail to grow into strong men and women because of the lack of a little instruction and care.

That proper schools be provided and that children be placed in them. Ignorance is ignorance whether in the city or in the country. In either place it is a weight hanging to the feet of liberty.

That provision be made for the best care of all defective, neglected, dependent and delinquent children.

Having been pushed along these lines by the forces of the life about us we find ourselves now at the center of the child welfare movement. We could not have held ourselves out of it if we had wished to do so. The constructive worker must bear all these different branches in mind. The employer must think of them else he does not think economically; and social economy is not so very different. Patriotism can never forget these.

Let us consider where we now stand: The employer is vitally interested in the development of children, but as an employer, only in so far as it concerns his help or possible supply of help and the taxes which may be assessed against him. In good-reason he can not be expected to go beyond that. His direct interest in child welfare will be bounded by the limits of his own mill-village and counting all these only a very small percentage of all the children will come within the range of his concern. We can not rely upon him to make the whole social life good. He necessarily stops at the point where the best and most enduring force of workers is guaranteed. Much of the higher welfare of children rises above that point.

The war-feeling is subsiding. We have almost forgotten about the war. Many of the forces for child welfare are scattering. We do not feel them as we felt them one year ago.

And still there lies the great back country, the home of most of our children, a land unknown to special social constructive agencies. More than that, try as we may it will be in thousands, millions of cases an impossibility to reach these children by the usual legal methods.

And yet they must be reached, and that becomes in my opinion the one big job of this Committee—to make the country a good place for a child to live in.

In the main we have but one method of approach. It is the method which was first used by this Committee with great success—education. For the sake of the child and for the sake of the country, there must be education in and for health, efficiency, good living, good homes, good community life. The child and the country will not be safe until all the people know what is best and want it so much that they will demand it. The approach to all child welfare work is along the road of education.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE CHILD
LABOR PROBLEM

RAYMOND G. FULLER

I

My desire is merely to call attention to some of the elements of value in a psychological approach to the child-labor problem. My suggestion is that the data of modern psychology are increasingly valuable to the understanding and interpretation of the child-labor evil, and that in the actual procedure of child-labor reform we shall yet find psychology of immense practical service. I do not exclude from the meaning of child-labor reform exactly what the words imply: the reform of child labor.

The evil of child labor is not to be measured wholly in terms of what child labor does to some children; it has to be measured again in terms of what society ought to do for all children—that is, it is a matter very largely of experiences and opportunities denied. Again, in measuring the evil in terms of the effects of child labor we can not consider only the physical effects, we must consider also the psychical effects. Then, in recognizing the fact that the destiny of most children is some sort of employment sooner or later, we are concerned with the question of vocational fitness, which is more than a matter of physical fitness or even of training in the technics of an occupation; we are concerned with vocational guidance that regards the special aptitudes and abilities of the child. Vocational guidance must go farther than that. It must discover the psychical weaknesses and defects in the child that render one occupation less favorable than another. Moreover, there is need of finding out and clearly formulating the real differences between *child labor* and *children's work*, so that in our condemnation of the former we shall not overlook the virtues and values of the latter. On each of these points modern psychology already has something significant to say.

Psychology is no longer confined principally to the study and classification of conscious states; it is the science of behavior and

the integrations of personality. The newer psychology, the comparative, evolutionary, genetic psychology that is based largely on objective, observational and behavioristic methods of study, is rich in utility and suggestion for the student of the child labor problem. This biological psychology is sociological in a degree in which the older psychology never was. It is a scientific instrument becoming better and better adapted to the furtherance of humanitarian and educational ends. We have a Child Psychology of growing applicability to pedagogical practise, judicial procedure and industrial betterment. We have a Child Psychology applied to schooling, a Child Psychology applied to play and recreation, but not yet a Child Psychology applied to labor.

II

Much has been said of children's rights in connection with the child labor problem. But with reference to what basic considerations, what sources of knowledge, what principles and facts, are we able to determine what children's rights may be? There are two questions to be asked and answered in the determination of the rights of children. The first has to do with the function of childhood: What do children need by way of preparation for adult life and service to the group? The second has to do with *their own nature*: What do children need, considered *as* children—what do children need by reason of the sole fact that they *are* children? While these two questions are different, they are not divergent: indeed they are convergent.

Now, though it is true, undoubtedly, that we ourselves need in child labor reform a social vision, a social conception of the child labor evil and the objective in child labor reform—in a word, an humanitarianism broader than the old humanitarianism of pity and tears for the individual exploited child—it is equally true that our central and dominant interest should be in the child, the child as child. He is our proper point of departure in child labor reform. The elder economists used to talk about the economic man, as if he were a separate and distinct being from other men; but that viewpoint has been discarded. There is no economic man, merely as such. There is likewise no child laborer, merely as such. There is, instead, a child. We may consider the child in connection with

child labor; we may consider child labor in connection with the child; but in either case we need to know *what the child is*, by nature.

So, of high importance is the comparatively new science of Child Study, or Child Psychology, of which G. Stanley Hall is the founder and chief inspirationalist in America. This great teacher and preacher of the gospel according to childhood has emphasized the fact that in both body and mind the child is a product of aeons of racial inheritance and that in neither can he be rightly understood except as a product of the past and a prophecy of the future. He has emphasized relationship between racial inheritance and individual development and between physical development and psychical. The signal accomplishment of Child Study is this, says Waddle: "It has proved the child to be not an adult in miniature, either physically or mentally, but a totally different being. His body is not merely smaller; it is different in every fibre. His mind is not merely quantitatively different, it is different in kind." Abundantly has this science substantiated the assertion of Rousseau, "Nature would have children be children before they are men," and confirmed the truth of Ruskin's words, "To become a man too early is to become a small man."

Out of the nature of children arise their needs; and out of children's needs, children's rights. As the primary and principle right of children is the right to childhood, so it is also the right to a full childhood and a normal childhood, which really amount to the same thing. A normal childhood is the prerequisite of a normal, fully efficient adulthood. What constitutes a normal childhood? This is the most important question in the entire field of child welfare. The answer will not be attempted here, beyond the pointing out that a normal childhood is one of natural development in accordance with developmental needs, that development of body or of mind depends on previous development, and that between physical and psychical development there is close correlation and more or less interdependence.

III

Childhood is peculiarly and pre-eminently the motor period of life. The child's great need is muscular activity, which is also neural and psychical. His nature demands it. His growth and his health—both physical and psychical—depend upon it. Without

it, the establishment of proper and necessary co-ordinations in the neuro-muscular system, and of that constitutional unity which the ancient Greeks described in the phrase, "A sound mind in a sound body," is impossible. But there are appropriate and inappropriate times in the course of the child's development for certain kinds of activity. There are serious dangers in the wrong kinds at certain stages. There are kinds that are wrong at all stages. The applied psychology of child labor would deal with the requirements of a normal motor life as compared with conditions in child labor.

Activity in which old racial experience is re-enacted in childhood is developmental and hygienic. It coincides with a normal motor life, which is more than physical activity, being also psychical. It follows the line of least physical and psychical resistance, and answers to physical and psychical needs and demands. The past is not only about us, but in us. Imperatively the racially old seeks expression through the individually young. Though the value of expression may be found in catharsis and sublimation, the expression is needful for development and health. In prepubescent years, the child is a little savage—a running, hunting, throwing, playing, fighting animal. He is the biological product, the ontogenetic representative, of savagery in the race. His natural motivations to activity have their roots away back in hoarier than hoary antiquity. Early adolescence, too, has its own inheritance from racial antiquity and its characteristic forms of naturally motivated activity. The applied psychology of child labor would deal with these natural motivations to activity, these bases of behavior—briefly speaking, the instincts—and show how child labor, in its many varieties, overfeeds or starves some part of the instinctive life, and with what results.

It would deal also with school-leaving. The child labor problem is as much a problem of premature school-leaving as it is of premature going-to-work. The causes of school-leaving are behavioristic causes—causes of behavior. School-leaving is behavior. The majority of children who leave school do so of their own accord, or rather without direct compulsion from parent or employer. It is usually their own act and should be studied as such. Where it is not their own act, the motives underlying compulsion on the part of others may be studied.

The causes of school-leaving must be considered with reference, first, to the failure of the school to hold the children, which is really a failure to hold their interest and loyalty; and second, to the lure and attraction of the work that is child labor. Conditions in the modern schoolroom are directly antagonistic to the physiological needs of children, since the demand for bodily movement, especially movement of the fundamental muscles, is denied. Because of this, and because of the stressing of the accessory muscles, with an accompaniment of severe nervous effort and strain, much of the work in the schoolroom is done under defective psychic motivation. The motivation is, in too large a degree, external rather than internal. Again, defective motivation is due to certain other characteristics of natural activity.

Activity in childhood becomes increasingly constructive—if the constructive, creative impulses are thwarted, the child's activity becomes less satisfying as well as less profitable. Activity, moreover, becomes increasingly social, and the work of the school is usually carried on with little of social spirit and co-operative method. Interest in vocations increases, and the schools in general fail to recognize and utilize it. Those that do establish vocational training and guidance greatly reduce their school-leaving mortality. This vocational interest, at first, is not so much interest in vocations as vocations, as it is the manifestation of an unsatisfied craving for the concrete and practical. The sense of practicality in the effort a child makes does not depend on the adult notion of its utility; he does easiest and best what in his present stage of development and outlook has definitely useful meaning; he learns easiest and best what seems to him applicable, and really remembers only what he applies.

Against conditions such as these that cramp and stifle and starve and baffle, children consciously or unconsciously rebel. "Nature has not adapted the young animal to the narrow desk, the crowded curriculum, the silent absorption of complicated facts," says Dewey. "His very life and growth depend upon motion, yet the school forces him into a cramped position for hours at a time, so that the teacher may be sure he is listening or studying books. Short periods of exercise are allowed as a bribe to keep him quiet the rest of the time, but these relaxations do not compensate for the efforts which he must make. The child is eager

to move both mentally and physically. Just as the physical growth must progress together with the mental so it is in the separate acts of a child. His bodily movements and his mental awakening are mutually dependent." These requirements of nature, well worth considering in connection with schooling, are well worth considering *in direct connection with child labor.*

One reason why children leave school is retardation, which may be the result of mental or physical defect (and this itself may have been induced by conditions of school life) or the result of a misfit between methods of teaching and the learning process. We are apt to forget that learning takes place chiefly through dealing with real situations. In human evolution, mind is the creature of crises; in the life of the individual, learning and thinking obey a similar law of mental development and acquisition. We cram and stuff the child's mind with adult nutriment and wonder why he fails in avidity. Children are natural-born learners, built to learn, eager to learn—and we give the best marks, not for learning, but for reciting from books and performing memory stunts, which is a totally different thing.

Learning proceeds in a large part through the operation of the instinct of curiosity. Curiosity is the basis of a large share of the intellectual development in animals and in man. It is to the intellect what appetite is to the body.* It is a cause of growth and development. But the child's curiosity is repressed in school, and that is another of the reasons why school displeases him. It irks him that the school leaves out and even discourages one of his favorite and principal methods of acquiring knowledge.

On the positive side of going to work our applied psychology would be concerned with motives and motivations such as the following: filial devotion, which is one of the rarest of the numerous causes of child labor; the self-assertive instinct in various forms and manifestations; the desire for "manly independence"; the desire for money for the sake of its possession, for the sake of its use in self-display or for the sake of candy and movies, of self-indulgence and amusement; the desire to follow friends and acquaintances who have already gone or are going into industry; rivalry with one's fellows, emulation, hero-worship of older boys;

*Kirkpatrick's phrase.

the influence of "success books"; the spirit of exploration and adventure; etc., etc. Mention would be made of the migratory instinct, the desire for a change of environment, as a cause of leaving school and going to work and as a cause, further, of that shifting about from job to job which characterizes child laborers.

Our applied psychology would give special attention to the causes and consequences of these many changes of employment. The psychical and psychopathic effects of the early experiences of the child in child labor are of the utmost significance in relation to the child labor problem. Disappointment, disillusionment, shock; intermittent work and idleness; a flitting from one job to another; a vain quest for satisfaction; the formation of habits of vacillation and of failure—these come to the child laborer, and leave their marks in weakened will and character. Repeated failure in this period affects the mental health seriously and permanently, and with the child of neurotic constitution the common experiences of this period are highly dangerous to mind and personality. For mental health a child must have much success and not too much failure and disappointment.

Our applied psychology would deal extensively with the mental hygiene of industry as regards children. We are studying the mental hygiene of industry with reference to adults; but children, as we know today, are not adults in miniature, and industrial hygiene in their case is a somewhat different matter. Much of the work that children do in the factory and on the farm, as well as in school, is done with defective psychic motivation. There is over-emphasis, perhaps, of the small, accessory muscles, or there is thwarting and repression of instincts, or no evocation of the natural enthusiasm and spontaneity of childhood upon which depends the symmetry of psychic life and growth. The first result of doing things with defective psychic impulsion—that is, with psychic friction—is fatigue. Cumulative fatigue is fertile soil for psychopathic ailments and personality disturbances of various sorts. Work with such concomitants as worry, repression of play instincts, lack of proper periods of relaxation, separation from the natural group, is conducive if long continued to nervous disorders and derangements appearing in childhood or in later life. The roots of most disturbances of personality and mental function are traceable back to childhood. Child labor is partly responsible for the neurotic

and neurasthenic conditions discovered among the men in the selective draft.

Our applied psychology, further, would include a consideration of the physical, mental and moral benefits of a normal play life and especially of supervised play. One of the chief indictments against child labor is that it deprives children of a normal play life. The physical benefits of play are, for the most part, inseparable from the psychical. And play is psychical. Attention would be given to the essentiality of play in the exercise and development of the social instincts, such as loyalty, altruism, co-operativeness; in catharsis and socialization of the pugnacious instinct; in sublimation of the impulses of the psycho-sexual life—both the homosexual and the heterosexual impulses. It is chiefly in play that the individual learns the rules of the game of life and acquires willingness to abide by them.

IV

Nobody believes in *child labor*. We all believe in *children's work*. The National Child Labor Committee *opposes* child labor, but *favors* children's work. It advocates work that develops and educates. It asserts that the doctrine of all play and no work or responsibility is quite as pernicious as the doctrine of all work and no play. It recognizes that children possess work impulses as well as play impulses, but that the latter as well as the former are repressed and thwarted by child labor. There are common elements in play and work, and these with the practical implications of such relationship, would be considered by our applied child-labor psychology, which would finally devote itself to the differences between child labor and children's work.

In distinguishing between these two, very definite psychological facts and principles are available for guidance and aid. This from John Dewey is suggestive: "To confine the growing child to the same kind of muscular activity is harmful both physically and mentally; to keep on growing he must have work that exercises his whole body, which presents new problems, which teaches him new things, and thus develops his powers of reasoning and judgment. Any manual labor ceases to be educative the moment it becomes thoroughly familiar and automatic." Child labor is child labor partly because it is not educative in this psychological sense.

We are setting up standards of physical fitness for children entering industry, and are thinking a little about setting up standards of mental fitness. We ought to set up standards of *children's work*. We are measuring *children* with reference to *their* fitness to go to work, but we ought also to measure *work* with reference to *its* fitness for children. This, of course, is in large part a psychological problem.

Any occupation in childhood that causes over-use of the small, accessory muscles, or continually restricts the use of the large, fundamental muscles, any occupation that precludes the development of the finer neuro-muscular co-ordinations (like much of farm work, which in the beet fields, on the other hand, puts too much burden on the small muscles); any occupation that tends to the formation of bad motor habits; any sedentary occupation; any occupation that stands in the way of a wholesomely objective life; any occupation that deprives children of the free muscular exercise accompanying play, or of the psychical self-expression found in play, or of its mental and moral discipline; any occupation that interferes with a *full* childhood, a childhood of normal and complete development, a *characteristic childhood in each of its stages*—is far from being a gainful occupation. Any occupation that conflicts with, or fails to supply, the natural needs of children robs the child of his inherent rights.

THE JUVENILE COURT AND CHILD LABOR

MABEL BROWN ELLIS

Four years ago, an American boy, 15 years of age, was brought before the Children's Court of New York City, charged with threatening his former employer with a revolver when the man refused to pay the wages which the boy claimed were due him on discharge. He was placed on probation and set out to find work. The first position offered him, which he promptly accepted, was with a bakery where he worked from six o'clock at night until two in the morning. He received \$5.00 a week. When the probation officer heard about the night work, he persuaded the lad to give it up and promised to help him find more desirable employment. But before arrangements could be made the boy himself had found work in a saloon. Again he was persuaded to leave and the probation officer secured him a job as errand boy with a lumber company at a wage of \$7.00 a week. The next entry on the probation record, however, states: "Boy was washing windows on third story of apartment house; fell, fractured his skull, broke both arms and is internally injured; not expected to live." After the miraculous fashion of boys, he did live and was able to leave the hospital in three weeks, but, according to the record, he would be unable to work for some time. Before another month had elapsed, although still unable to use his right arm, the boy secured employment as usher in a cheap vaudeville and motion picture house where he was on duty until eleven or eleven-thirty each night. Once more urged to change his position, he found work as elevator runner in an apartment house. Since he was still under 16, his employment was in direct violation of the law, but by this time his probation period had expired and the officer, apparently drawing a long breath of relief, seems to have left him undisturbed.

While this lad displayed an ability little short of genius in discovering and seizing upon the most undesirable kinds of work open to a child of his years, his story could be duplicated in many particulars by the records filed away in juvenile courts the country over.

The juvenile court occupies, indeed, a peculiar vantage ground from which to view the operation of child labor laws and to aid in their enforcement: first, because the children whom it serves come largely from the poorer groups in the city and are, typically, the boys and girls who leave school at the earliest possible moment to seek employment; and second, because during the probation period, a representative of the court sees the working child regularly, frequently as often as once a week and has an unusual opportunity to observe the results upon him of the occupation he elects to follow. No other social worker knows the most helpless and most exploited type of working child more intimately than does the probation officer.

It is not strange, then, that in at least six states probation officers are specifically named among those charged with the enforcement of the child labor law and that in at least twenty-five states, peace officers and truant officers, who often are the only probation officers for small courts, are so named. Even more frequently is the enforcement of special sections of the child labor law, notably those relating to street-trades, messenger service and public exhibitions, whether in the theater or on the street, placed in the hands of the juvenile courts. The causal relationship between delinquency and street-trading has been so long recognized that the eight* states which have regulated street-trading by state law all consider the child who violates these statutes a juvenile delinquent and in need of court protection. Likewise, the juvenile court laws of sixteen states include in their definition of dependency and neglect, children under specified ages who are found peddling or offering any articles for sale on the street, and practically the same list of states protects for the same age-period children employed in street exhibitions of singing or dancing.

Certain states proceed farther yet in their statutory recognition of the relationship which exists between the juvenile courts and child labor. In Wisconsin and Kansas, it is possible for a juvenile court judge under certain conditions, to grant general employment certificates. In Colorado, Louisiana, Wisconsin and Oregon, the judge may grant permits for the employment of children in theatrical performances; in Washington, Texas, Nevada and the District of

*Twenty-one states have statutes regulating street trading, but only eight of these are state wide in their application.

Columbia, he may exempt children from the age or education requirements of the child labor law, if in his judgment the circumstances demand it. But as a matter of fact, although these provisions are still found in the statutes, they are seldom utilized, for most people, including the judges themselves, would agree that the issuance of employment certificates should be the function of the public school and not of the juvenile court.

Jurisdiction over cases of adults arrested for the illegal employment of children is conferred by statute upon only one court, that of the District of Columbia, but if the circumstances under which a child is employed have directly contributed to his delinquency, the employer could be tried on the latter charge in the majority of juvenile courts.

So much for the legal side of the question. Fortunately, the juvenile court was founded and continues to exist, not only as an agency for the enforcement of laws, but as a vital force for the protection of childhood. No probation officer worth his salt cares whether or not the child labor law specifically names him among those charged with its enforcement for he knows that it is his duty to help in the enforcement of all laws relating to children. No juvenile court which rightly interprets its high function of searching out and seeking to remove the causes of juvenile maladjustment will fail to note the frequency with which premature or unsuitable employment enters into the child's life as a factor of considerable, perhaps of overshadowing importance. A court which takes, as all courts should, a really vital part in the welfare of the community recognizes the fact that its responsibility both to the working child and to the child who wants to leave school to go to work does not cease with an impartial administration of technical details of the law.

For the purposes of this discussion, the boys and girls who appear before our juvenile courts may be considered as forming three distinct groups: first, children holding employment certificates who have dropped out of school, whether or not they are actually at work; second, children employed without certificates and ineligible for them; third, children still in school but rapidly and eagerly approaching the time when they may leave. The first group is, in city courts, a large one; the second is comparatively negligible; the third, while seldom recognized by the court as a child

labor problem at all, is by far the largest numerically and imposes the most serious responsibility upon the probation officer.

There can, of course, be no question as to the duty of the court when a boy not yet old enough or far enough advanced in school to go to work is found illegally employed. The boy must be returned to school or, if he is discovered during the summer vacation, arrangements must be made to occupy his time in other ways, preferably in that outdoor recreation which is his divine right by virtue of being a child. It is not a fair solution simply to order a child to stop work without providing him with some substitute activity and it has been our failure to recognize this fact which has led to most of the unpopularity of child labor legislation with court officials.

Nor must the possible economic need of the family be disregarded. The probation officer who would consider his work really well done, can not feel satisfied until some way of meeting the situation has been devised, whether by increasing the earning capacity of other members of the family, by a wiser expenditure of its present income, or by supplementing that income from outside sources.

But the responsibility of the court does not end with the child or his family. An employer who violates the child labor law in one instance may do so in another and it may easily happen that before any representative of the state labor department reaches him in his regular rounds, other children may have suffered. Not only should the juvenile court make it a practice regularly to report to the proper enforcing agency any violations of the child labor law which become known to it, but it should also follow up its reports to make sure that action is taken upon them. In 1917, the judge of the juvenile court of the District of Columbia became dissatisfied with the co-operation he was getting from the two child labor inspectors of the District. He requested a representative of the National Child Labor Committee to go through the court records and find out exactly what was happening. During the six-months period for which records were available, it was found that 48 cases had been reported to the inspectors by the court and that in only 12 of them had any action at all been taken. During the same period, only 6 prosecutions—one a month—had been brought by the inspectors independently of the court, and this during a summer

when violations of the child labor law had been notoriously frequent and flagrant.

With this analysis of its own records as a basis, the court was able to put the situation clearly before the Commissioners of the District and to demand and get better administration of the child labor law, not only for its wards, but for all the working children of Washington.

Next in size to the group of children who are illegally employed come those who hold employment certificates and are at work or are looking for work. There is a tendency among probation officers, and indeed among all of us who call ourselves social workers to consider that when one of our clients "has a job," he is settled and off our hands. It is certainly easier so to think and even social workers at times become human enough to follow the line of least resistance. But when we think clearly upon the subject, we all realize that this is not enough. Miss Addams, in *Twenty Years of Hull House*, tells the story of a frail man, accustomed only to clerical duties, who lost his position in the panic of '93 and came before the Mayor's Committee on Employment, seeking work. In the severe winter weather, he was put to digging ditches, promptly contracted pneumonia from the exposure and died within a week, leaving two little children alone in the world. This is an extreme illustration of the need of fitting the man to the job, a poignant illustration of the blindness with which we are all, at times, afflicted. But is it not a far more terrible thing to let a bright and promising boy or girl wander about from one blind-alley trade to another, until ambition is dulled and all hopes of attaining any position higher than that of unskilled laborer are forever crushed? How can a probation officer avert such a tragedy from his wards?

He can, first of all, study the mental and physical condition of the child assigned to his care. All modern juvenile courts insist upon such a study of the individual as an essential part of the investigation prior to the hearing of the case. The large city courts maintain or have easily accessible clinics for this express purpose. Small city or rural courts must depend upon the physicians of the community for help or upon travelling clinics sent out from state institutions, or upon school physicians and psychologists. In default of anything better, a rural probation officer can easily provide himself with charts showing the relationship between weight and age and

height to guide him in judging health; and should study the child's previous record in school as a basis for estimating his retardation and the reasons therefor. The court examination often reveals physical defects which have escaped discovery in school and the court has the peculiar advantage of being able to order the correction of such troubles as can be remedied and to enforce its orders.

It is fairly obvious that a girl with latent tuberculosis should not be allowed to go to work in a cotton mill, or a boy with a heart lesion to take work which requires heavy lifting, but it is not so obvious that a child in fair physical condition to start with may be absolutely drained of vitality by confinement at any monotonous task for long hours during the period of adolescence. A probation officer needs to know not only what industry his ward proposes to enter but what part of the process he is to perform and whether it involves eye-strain, undue fatigue, exposure to extremes of heat and cold, or dust, or poisonous fumes, lifting, prolonged sitting or standing; whether there is danger of accident from unprotected machinery; whether the place of employment maintains decent standards of sanitation and ventilation. Most of these facts should be available in the records of the state department of labor; if they are not, a request from a probation officer that information be secured regarding a specified shop or factory will ordinarily receive prompt attention. From the technical standpoint, the officer should know whether the kind of work the child is doing offers any chance of trade education or of advancement and whether it is suited to his special type of ability. From the human standpoint, he should know something of the character and business policy of the firm or employer.

Particularly is this true in the case of girls who go out to service. The field of domestic service has been the No Man's Land of industrial research and it is as yet untouched by any legislation except the compulsory school attendance law. Yet the records of juvenile courts contain many stories of the abuse and exploitation of these young girls who leave their own homes to earn a living in some one's else kitchen or nursery. Most carefully must a probation officer who desires to place a girl at service inform herself upon the composition of the family of the prospective employer, the location and privacy of the sleeping-room provided for the girl and the arrangements for her free time and recreation. Feeble-minded

girls should never be so placed. A most shocking illustration of the indifference with which they have occasionally been placed in the past was recently brought to the attention of a probation officer in a southern city who discovered that a feeble-minded girl, a confirmed masturbator, had during the course of her employment as a nurse-maid, taught the little five-year old son of her mistress to follow her perverted practices. That mother is paying high for her effort to secure cheap service.

Given such a knowledge of the child and of his prospective employment, the probation officer is in a position to judge with some likelihood of success whether the two will fit. If the combination is not a good one, he must help the boy to find a position that is desirable and this implies a working knowledge of opportunities for employment in the community which is an essential part of the equipment of any well-trained probation officer. It is not necessary that every juvenile court should set up its own vocational guidance bureau. That would be in most instances an unwise and unnecessary way to handle work more appropriately carried on by other agencies. But it is necessary that each probation officer should make constant use of all agencies which handle applications for work or workers, that he should study the "Want Ad" columns of the daily papers and that he should gradually work up, for his own benefit, a list of men who will promise to give work to difficult boys and to keep a friendly eye upon them. In this connection, the recent development of the Rotary Club work for boys is of special interest.

During the period of probation—and the president of the National Probation Association has urged that this period should rarely be shorter than a year—the officer may, if he will, measure the effect of gainful occupation upon the child by weekly observations of his weight. No state in the Union has yet provided for the physical re-examination of working children. The courts have the opportunity of setting the pace for the rest of us for the officer sees the child weekly and it is a simple matter to watch that sensitive index of physical condition, his weight. The Child Health Organization has adopted the slogan: "A scale in every school." Some of us would like to see a scale in every juvenile court and in every children's institution as well.

Records, it goes without saying, must be carefully kept if

succeeding probation officers are to profit by the labors of today. The investigation sheet made out for a working child should show as a minimum the following facts: Name of school last attended, grade and date of leaving; Number and date of employment certificate; Name of present employer; Kind of work done by child; Hours and wages. It ought to show as well similar facts for each position held since the boy left school, and should contain such illuminating facts on conditions of work as have already been discussed. Such complete records, which will perhaps be possible in that Utopia where juvenile courts have enough probation officers and enough stenographers will throw a flood of light upon the instability of the child as a laborer, the comparatively small wage he can in normal times earn at any occupation open to him under 16 and the crying need for vocational guidance in the schools and for juvenile labor exchanges in the business world.

But juvenile court records even in their present incomplete condition contain much of value to the student of child labor problems. There is no better discussion in print of the relationship which may exist between the probation officer and the foreign-born parent of a working child than may be found in the pages of *The Delinquent Child and the Home*, where Miss Breckenridge and Miss Abbott picture the work of the Chicago court in interpreting American standards to foreign-born parents who "clung stubbornly to the theory that a child must leave school and go to work as soon as he is confirmed, without any regard to his age or fitness for work," and who were quite willing to sacrifice education to the land-hunger of the peasant. "Perhaps the most striking single effect of poverty," they say, "that seems to have a direct connection with delinquency is the heavy burden of financial responsibility which the child helps to bear. It is the normal thing for children in these families to leave school and go to work at 14. Many of them go to work much earlier."

Thus the court is brought face to face with the problem of dealing wisely with the third and largest group of its children, the boys and girls of 14 and 15 who are counting the hours which must elapse before their release from school. It is one of the tragedies of our educational system that most of them regard it as a release and that in many instances the term is correct. A really good teacher regards a difficult boy as a challenge to her powers and

is unwilling to let him go until she has won him, but a poor teacher is always ready to thrust him forth. Most of the boys before the juvenile court are difficult boys. If they were not difficult they would not be before the court. And there are never enough good teachers to go around. The probation officer has then not only to meet the problem of juvenile unrest in school but also to combat the occasional indifference and lack of co-operation on the part of the teacher which make his task so much the more difficult. Here the work of the court psychologist is of supreme importance. For if a child is of very low-grade mentality, there is little use of urging him to remain in school past the legal age for employment and he should be in an ungraded room during his entire school life. The child who manifests ordinary ability may be capable of doing good work if transferred to a different teacher and may be nursed along into a technical high school or business course. Every such child who is saved from going to work prematurely through the exertions of a probation officer is a distinct contribution to the resources of the community by the juvenile court. We have a way of thinking that the whole purpose of mental tests is to discover feeble-mindedness, forgetting the thrill which comes to the psychologist when he is confronted with a child of more than normal ability. Some juvenile delinquency is the reaction of such children who are genuinely bored by the stupidity of the adults surrounding them and have to "start something or die," as one boy put it. It is a crime against society as well as the child to permit an occasional spark of genius to be snuffed out by premature employment. The probation officer must lend his influence to secure scholarships and advanced training for the exceptional child, revitalization of the school curriculum and adjustment of personalities for the ordinary child, and protection and such training as he is capable of absorbing for the sub-normal child.

In at least one other way, juvenile courts come into direct contact with the need for regulating the employment of children. Each year they commit boys and girls to child-caring institutions where presumably they are to receive shelter and an education. In accordance with this theory of institutional care, the names of many such places have been changed from "reform school" or "house of refuge" to "training school" or "industrial school." Sometimes the juvenile court retains jurisdiction over children thus

committed; sometimes the jurisdiction is transferred to the institution; but in most instances some representative of the court, either the judge, the chief probation officer or members of an advisory board are required to visit all places receiving children on court commitment, to observe for themselves the sort of care they are receiving.

At the National Probation Conference a southern man, a probation officer in a juvenile court, told of his experience in thus inspecting a training school for boys. He went to the place because his juvenile court, which had been accustomed to commit boys to this institution in the hope of curing them of truancy, discovered that when boys were discharged they came home harder to keep in school than when they went. And he discovered that in this training school, there was no school at all. There was a farm, a fine farm, on which, he said, they raised "cows, pigs and chickens, corn and a few children," and where, to quote him again, "the only culture was agriculture." That situation can be duplicated again and again in state and county institutions throughout the south. It is child labor of the sort which as yet is unregulated by any law except the compulsory education law, and the responsibility of discovering it and making it public rests upon those persons whose duty it is to inspect institutions, among whom are included the official representatives of juvenile courts. It is time that we faced squarely the whole question of child labor in institutions. In a northern state institution, not long ago, visitors walked into a room full of little girls, 6, 8 and 11 years old, dependent children, every one of them, who were sewing tobacco sacks on contract from seven forty-five in the morning until eleven forty-five at noon—four hours, in silence, five days a week. Ten or twelve of them had the itch but with their little hands tied up in clumsy bandages, they were stitching away just the same. They went to school four hours in the afternoon. No one knows how much of that sort of thing is going on in supposedly reputable institutions and no one has a better chance of finding out than has the probation officer who drops in at all hours without previous announcement.

It is absurd to apply the term vocational training to such household tasks as scrubbing long corridors or teaching boys to darn stockings, and children who are kept out of school for half a day for training of this type are simply being cheated of their

right to an education. We grant the difficulty of drawing the line between work which is really educational and work which is drudgery, but until we get household managers and farm foremen into our institutions who have had a professional training for their work and who assume a professional attitude toward it, let us not call institutions which give boys and girls no chance to learn a real trade, training schools. If it is impossible at least to give children the honest equivalent of a public school education, let us frankly say so and not attempt to camouflage the fact that they are earning their own living, under the protection of the state, in direct violation of the compulsory education and the child labor laws, thus practically nullifying the purpose of the juvenile court which was responsible for their commitment.

In the preceding discussion, we have touched upon a few of the ways in which the juvenile court is related to the enforcement of child labor legislation. There are many others which might be mentioned, notably the administration of mothers' pensions by the juvenile courts of certain states, but it should be clear without further argument that the relationship is close and constant; that the courts have unusual opportunities for the observation of working children and that we must continue to depend upon the hearty co-operation they have always given us when they once understood our aims, to raise the standards of child labor laws and to obtain their better enforcement.

THE RURAL CHILD AND COMPULSORY
SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

GERTRUDE FOLKS

In going to different sections of the country and visiting rural schools, one is frequently impressed with the thought that every child all over the country is doing precisely the same thing that the particular group visited is doing—going to school and learning to read, to write and to do all the other things that we consider part of education—and we are inclined to pride ourselves upon our public school system. But if we think fairly we are forced to admit that, although under our educational laws every child *should* be in school, there are hundreds of thousands who are not. School statistics are not adequately compiled in most states, and it is impossible to determine exactly how many children are not in school. The last statistical report of the Bureau of Education, however, estimates that 17% of all children between 6 and 18 years of age are not enrolled in any school, public or private. Especially is this true in the rural sections. One of our Southern states, a distinctly agricultural state, reports that in 1918, there were over 1,200 white and over 4,500 colored children between the ages of 10 and 18, who had *never* attended any school. And North Dakota, a state which represents an entirely different type of agricultural work, reports that only 30% of farm children complete the 8th grade in school, and only 4% complete the High School course. The president of a state Normal College in a Southern state recently made an estimate of the average education of all the people in the state over 6 years of age; and he found that the average for all—including university and college graduates, high school and normal students, boys and girls in the elementary schools as well as those who had never attended any school—would fall somewhere in the third grade. For this non-attendance of rural children there are several causes—unquestionably, farm labor is one factor and will be discussed later. The distance of the schoolhouse from the homes, poor roads, and lack of free transportation is another cause.

Educational reports, in their present state of inadequacy, seldom touch on this point, and no figures for the country as a whole can be given. In North Dakota, however, the State Department of Education reports that 7,541 children were excused from attendance because they lived more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the school house, the maximum distance which a child is obliged to go according to the compulsory attendance law. In another state in which the Committee is now working, an agricultural state, the school superintendents of 27 counties reported on the number of children living more than 2 miles from the schoolhouse—the limit fixed by the compulsory attendance law of that state. Their estimates varied from 5% to 50% with the majority reporting 10 or 15%. The indifference of parents, especially of those who themselves never received an education is a third cause that should not be underestimated. One who visits rural schools and talks with the teachers and the children is constantly amazed at the extent to which this ignorance still prevails. But there is another reason for non-attendance, more fundamental, and chiefly responsible for the above causes—the inadequacy of our rural schools. They are not performing their function with sufficient success to win over prejudiced and indifferent parents, to compensate them for the immediate dollars and cents loss that may result from the loss of the help of the children on the farm, nor with sufficient success even to make the child prefer school to work. Unquestionably the majority of country children of school age who are not enrolled in school and those who do not attend regularly are helping on the farm, but it by no means follows that this work is the cause of their non-attendance. Rather it is an excuse—it is not often that the child who wishes to stay in school is made to stay out and help on the farm. Except in the case of hired labor and to some extent tenant labor, actual poverty is not an important factor in the majority of cases. The labor of the children is utilized not because it is essential to the life of the family, but because to both parent and child it seems to have a value that school work does not. It gives a sense of practical worth-whileness that the school fails to give. As a beet-grower in Colorado once said to a member of the Child Labor Committee staff, "My boy is worth \$1,000 for work during the beet season, but is nothing but an expense if he goes to school." Another family who boasted that they had made \$10,000 from

their farm during the preceding year were allowing their two children to work in the field during school hours. To the parent the work of the school appears unpractical and unimportant; to the child it is often monotonous and irksome. With such a combination, there is only one place to turn for a solution of our attendance problem and that is the school. We cannot expect an awakening on the part of the parents until the school offers more than it does today. Everyone is familiar with the traditional "little red school-house." Thousands of that very same type of school still exist all over the country. The buildings are just as primitive and poorly equipped; the teachers are just as young, uneducated and poorly paid; the curriculum is just as stereotyped, unpractical and dead.

Without minimizing what has already been done along the line of rural school improvement, it is fair to say that the modern rural school is still the exception and not the rule. Many counties in most states have one or two "show schools," but the rank and file are pitiable. Like everything else, the schools suffered during the war. Time and again, in the state in which the National Child Labor Committee is now working, when county superintendents have been asked, "Have you a strong movement towards consolidation; has practical agriculture or industrial work been introduced?" etc.—their reply has been "Before the war we had begun work along those lines, but of course all that was dropped." It will take renewed effort to begin this work again, to bring it up even to the pre-war standard, and to carry it on at a rate that will show any appreciable results within the next ten years. Too often school officials are inclined to take the point of view that one county superintendent expressed in the preface to his biennial report. He wrote, "In accordance with the law I am submitting this report, but there has been no change in the schools since the last report. Two years is entirely too short a time to look for any marked changes in the school system unless the superintendent be a revolutionist of the most extreme type." If this be true, we shall have to search out regular Bolsheviks for our educational leaders, for rural schools have a long way to go before they can make a legitimate appeal for the attendance of rural children.

There are however four fundamental changes which are requisites for any great progress: (1) The abolition of the old

district system where it still exists, and the substitution of a centralized county system under the leadership of a full-time, well-paid experienced county superintendent with an adequate number of supervisors. (2) The consolidation of one and two room schools. Consolidation is of many kinds. I have in mind a school recently visited as a "consolidated" school. It was a typical one-teacher frame schoolhouse, with no better equipment, no better instruction and no more activities than usual. I inquired about the consolidation, so-called, and found that another one-teacher school down the road with an enrollment of about 15 students had been abolished and the children told to attend this school. Not only was no improvement made in the school, but the children of the other school lived more than two miles from this schoolhouse, and after the first month not one of them attended, and under the compulsory attendance law they could not be forced to do so. By consolidation, I mean the elimination of two or more small schools and the substitution of a larger, well-equipped, well taught central school, to which transportation is furnished by the school board for those children living a specified distance from the schoolhouse. (3) The third need is one with which everyone has been familiarized this year—the question of the low salaries paid to teachers, the consequent teacher shortage, and going a step further, the consequent employment of untrained if not absolutely uneducated teachers. In spite of some progress made in several sections of the country this year, the report of the National Education Association published last fall, still fairly represents conditions, and the subject will not be discussed here except to bring it to mind as a contributing cause to the non-attendance of rural children. This applies not only to teachers but also to state superintendents, county superintendents and supervisors. (4) The fourth change which must be made in our schools is a revision of the curriculum, both as to methods of instruction and content of subject matter. This alone could be made the subject for an entire conference, and cannot be expanded in this paper. But until we have in our rural schools a type of instruction and of activity that not only is based on modern theories of child psychology but that is especially adapted to rural life, we shall not have the cooperation of the families whose children we seek to educate, nor the interest of the children themselves. The most fundamental reform of all has not been

mentioned—the one which will make possible all of the above—namely, an increase in the amount of funds available for school purposes both on the part of the states and of the federal government, and their distribution on a basis which will tend to equalize educational conditions throughout the country and to give special aid to communities in which consolidation is being accomplished.

The title of this paper "The Rural Child and Compulsory School Attendance" is a question-begging phrase. The real problem is not that of compelling the child to attend school, but of educating the farm child; the ultimate solution is not to be sought through compulsory attendance laws alone, but through a reorganization of the rural schools that will touch the schoolhouse, the school-teacher, the school curriculum, and the relation of the school to the community. Compulsory attendance laws are necessary; at present, in most states there is need of extending their scope; in every state, even in those in which the laws themselves are adequate, there is need of a much more rigid enforcement in rural districts. But, as far as the education of the individual child is concerned, these laws will be of little value unless accompanied by a change in the type of education which is given. We look forward to the time when the element of compulsion will be necessary only in extreme cases; when the school will have resumed its traditional and rightful place as the center of the life of the community, and parents recognizing the value of education will urge their children to attend. When this time comes, there will be no attendance problem, for the children themselves will be interested in the work and activities of the school and will consciously desire to attend. This is an ideal, but it is an ideal which can be reached, for it has been reached in some cases. In the state in which the Committee has been working attendance records have been taken in three or four hundred rural schools. For the most part they are the typical one-room schools such as those described above, but there are also some good consolidated schools. Although these records have not yet been compiled, two facts stand forth—(1) that whereas in the one-room schools the average attendance is usually about 50–60%, and often lower, in the consolidated schools it is seldom below 90%, and (2) although the teachers of the consolidated schools have many more pupils to deal with, they can give the exact reason for every pupil's absence, whereas the teachers of the one-room schools usually say,

"I don't know; he just doesn't come." If, then, we find that as the school approaches a satisfactory performance of its natural function, the attendance problem solves itself without constant recourse to attendance officers, should not those interested in the education of rural children give fully as much consideration to the kind of school which the child attends and the type of instruction which he receives, as to the enactment and enforcement of compulsory attendance laws?

WHAT IS HEALTH PROTECTION FOR WORKING CHILDREN

HAROLD H. MITCHELL

The value of certificates of physical fitness of children applying for work permits has probably been very much over-estimated in the minds of many of us interested in child-labor problems. There seems to be a belief that if we can only get a doctor to say that a child who is applying for a work permit is of normal physical development and of sound health, we have protected that child's health. Unfortunately the matter is not so simple. In fact, the value of physical examinations under the present methods of administration is quite limited.

For those children who have marked and serious physical defects the examinations are more valuable inasmuch as they are likely to result in withholding the permit until the defects are corrected. Such rejection often causes the defective child to take treatment when he had previously been indifferent to the advice of the school medical examiner. The more careful and conscientious medical examiners are rejecting from employment all cases of extreme malnutrition, dental caries with pyorrhea, tuberculosis, uncompensated heart disease, the severer forms of diseased tonsils, badly defective vision, and grossly hypertrophied adenoids, but the selection of this limited group of children for treatment represents only a part of our problem. I can not give you accurate data showing the percentages of the rejections in different cities, because the variations in the laws and in the methods of compiling these figures makes any comparison unfair, but in every case a much smaller number are refused work permits, or are held until corrections are obtained, than we would claim was the total number of defective children among those examined.

A study of the records and methods used in fifteen cities leads me to believe that those cities where twenty to thirty per cent of the applicants are refused on the first examination, and where three to five per cent of the applicants are finally refused because

of failure to have the defects sufficiently corrected, are considerably above the average in the physical standards required for a permit. In most cities it is obvious that the physical standards for the examinations are so low that many children with serious physical defects are allowed to work and no follow-up efforts are made to have these defects corrected. I am convinced from the examinations of school children and the findings of the draft examinations that there must be a very much larger percentage of children with physical handicaps among those applying for work permits than the records of the examiners will show, even in those cities where the largest proportion of the applicants are rejected.

It may appear from this that the remedy is the application of higher physical standards by the medical examiners so that every defective child will be required to have his defects corrected, or be refused a certificate. I doubt, however, if this is practicable. We cannot reject our boys and girls as unfit for earning a living on the same basis as the physicians rejected the draft applicants who were unfit for military service. As we know, the draft examination was to protect the army against filling its ranks with defective men while the examination of the child for a work permit is to protect the child.

I believe we should have minimum physical standards, and of course every child should be required to meet these minimum standards before he is given a certificate, but we must remember that these minimum standards can not be sufficient protection to the health of *all* the children, for the examinations can reject only those children who are in immediate and almost certain danger of injuring their health. One state and several of our cities are already using such standards, but they are actually protecting the health of only a relatively small proportion of the working children.

The difficult phase of this problem is the protection of the child with physical handicaps that are less serious than those mentioned, and the protection of the healthy child from the injury that may result from the hazards and strain of his employment. This can be accomplished successfully only by a capable administrator with discretionary power.

We have come to be afraid of laws granting discretionary power, because they have been so often abused. It is so difficult to find capable and conscientious administrators for our child-welfare laws, that many of our leaders have become discouraged with

laws giving discretionary power, and have turned to legislation that provides some measure of protection for the child regardless of the scientific ability and understanding of the administrator. I am convinced, however, that in order to insure health protection to more than the very limited number who are so obviously in need of medical care, we must develop this work under laws giving discretionary powers.

I believe that only so far as we obtain intelligent and scientific administration of laws applying to child welfare shall we find larger and more active support for the movement. There is need, therefore, of giving first consideration to plans for promoting, upon a scientific basis, with trained workers, the development of all child-welfare activities—whatever may be the need of extension of these activities. The development of health protection for the working child must be done in a scientific manner by an administrator who sees the problem from the standpoint of the welfare of each individual child. As we succeed in obtaining this kind of administration, we shall gain the cooperation of all intelligent employers. The development of industrial hygiene has shown that business men can be convinced that it is poor business to allow their employees to suffer physical injury when it can be prevented. Likewise, we can obtain the co-operation of many employers as soon as we give to administrators discretionary power enabling them to follow up working children with a view to protecting their health, instead of our present unscientific method of excluding children from employment because of failure to attain an arbitrary standard of physical condition. I believe that such administration of our laws with discretionary power is possible if we will but organize the work properly, and if we will pay salaries adequate to secure the services of administrators of ability and training.

Of course I would accept an arbitrary physical standard, even though it protects a very small proportion of our working children, rather than have *no* protection of their health; but I do contend that we should recognize that this method can never give the health protection that is greatly needed by a large proportion of our adolescent children; that to give this protection we must use scientific methods that treat each child as an individual case, rather than the method so largely used of treating them as a wholesale group.

In deciding whether we should give our administrators discretionary power for this task of determining the physical fitness of our children for work, we should consider the way the administration of the law has actually worked, where such power has not been given. I find that most of the medical examiners feel that they must decide whether the child's physical condition is sufficient cause for refusing an employment certificate. They have no other way to protect the health of a child than the refusal of a work permit. Under such circumstances they visualize a case of a child who has refused to have his carious teeth filled and yet has gone to work after the employment certificate has been refused. Such a case in the courts, places the examining physician in an embarrassing position, which he always wishes to avoid. He knows that the care and discretion he has used to protect the health of the child is not appreciated by the legal mind. Under such circumstances the physician cannot afford to guess at his prognosis. Discretion is used in deciding the question, but this discretion does not give the child protection for his health. In other words, a law that does not give discretionary power to the examining physician or to the issuing officer, only protects the children with the more serious physical defects and it is often left to our law courts to determine which defects are sufficiently serious to need attention.

On the other hand, discretionary power should result in the refusal of all those work permits that are now being refused and would make it possible, in addition, to treat every case according to its individual merits. The case with minor defects could be given a limited time to have the defects corrected. Every correctable defect could be corrected, because follow-up work would be possible. Each certificate could be issued for a specific occupation. The weaker children could be spared from the more fatiguing or hazardous occupations. Whenever there is a doubt concerning the probable hazards or effect of an occupation upon a child, the certificate could be issued for a limited time after which the child would be required to submit to another examination. Information could thus be obtained to show the effects of various occupations upon immature workers. For every change of occupation the applicant would be examined and considered for the new occupation.

To the physician there can be no choice whether he shall use

discretionary power. He must always use this discretion as to the seriousness of physical defects. The choice is whether we shall allow our courts to limit the expert advice of the physician. The physician should not be placed in the impossible position of having, as his only means for protecting a child's health, the refusal to permit the child to work; but he should be able to require such follow-up work as is necessary to give the child full health protection. The physician should decide for or against the probable injurious effect of certain specific occupations upon individual children, and the advisability of special periodic physical examinations or of change to another employment. He should also decide the advisability of giving each minor physical defect proper treatment, and in what cases the correction of the defect should be made a condition of employment. Minimum physical standards should be applied to withhold permits for any employment from those children with the more serious defects. And, likewise, physical standards should be agreed upon for the correction of minor physical defects, and for the follow-up work advisable for obtaining these corrections. There is particular need for obtaining and using accurate knowledge of the hazards of various occupations. But every child presents an individual problem and justice demands his individual consideration.

As I have mentioned, it is difficult to obtain able and conscientious administrators to whom we may entrust this discretionary power, but our large cities can well afford to employ a medical executive on full time with assistant medical examiners. The executive could see that provisional or limited-time certificates are issued, or certificates withheld, wherever this is found necessary to protect the health of children in all occupations or to obtain the correction of physical handicaps. I believe that our smaller cities can secure such an administrator through an organization that will place several child welfare activities under the direction of one trained and capable social worker. The work of vocational guidance, school attendance, juvenile probation and the issuance of employment certificates are so related as to suggest a single executive. Such a position should provide a salary that would make possible the employment of an able executive. Relatively untrained assistants could soon be shown how to carry out the details of these activities under expert supervision, and the medical examiner could be depended upon to determine the physical condition of each

child applying for a work permit, and to advise the issuing officer which children need physical defects corrected and which children need special follow-up work other than the routine periodical examinations. With the help of the issuing officer he could advise regarding the hazards of the various occupations.

To summarize, I would say that we can not give health protection to more than a very small group of our working children unless we have capable executives, with discretionary power, to issue employment certificates; that this can very probably be accomplished, in our larger cities by employment of full-time medical executives who will give special study to the health problems of the working child, and in smaller cities by grouping several child welfare activities so that trained social workers may be employed who will direct the issuance of work permits and follow the advice of part-time medical examiners in protecting the health of each individual child.

THE NEXT STEP TO BE TAKEN BY THE NATIONAL
CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

DR. FELIX ADLER

Before discussing the subject of my address, I ask leave to state a question which has greatly occupied my mind of late, and which I imagine must be of general interest. The question is: Why do foreign national ideals exert so strong an influence on large numbers of the American people? I have read that something like a million Russians have gone back to take part in the reorganization of their country. The American Zionists are striving to realize their national ideal in far away Palestine. Irish Americans consecrate their nationalist enthusiasm to the Irish Republic that is to be. If these millions were disloyal to the United States, the explanation would be obvious. But, on the contrary, they eagerly and sincerely protest their loyalty. They do their duty as citizens; they pay their taxes; they enlist in the armies of the United States; and by far the greater number of those who are of foreign stock intend to continue to make their home here. Their home, yes; but their heart,—is it in Ireland, is it in Palestine, is it in Russia? It would be unfair to say as much as this. The fact rather seems to be that their affections are divided. They love this country as a man loves his fireside, and this he will defend at the risk of his life. But they love Ireland, Palestine, etc., as a man loves some sacred shrine,—as the Mohammedan loves the holy places at Mecca, turning towards them his face in worship, and making them the object of his pilgrimage.

Even the native Anglo-American, whether of Puritan or Cavalier descent, was strongly moved during the recent war by the magnetic attraction of a foreign, namely, English nationalism. The English motherland was engaged in a life and death struggle with a hostile power, and the Anglo-American population promptly responded to the call of English nationalism. I repeat that I am not questioning the loyalty of any of our citizens;—I am struck by the fact that, say what you will, two loyalties seem to exist

side by side in the minds of large numbers of our people. And the reason why the foreign nationalisms are so potent amongst us, is that we in the United States have not yet achieved a distinctive national ideal of our own, or at any rate that this ideal is still embryonic, and for the most part latent.

Let me define exactly what I mean by nationalism. Nationalism is the collective self-consciousness of a people, the feeling which a people has for the things that are peculiar to itself, such as its literature, institutions, traditions, aspirations. A nationalist is one who thinks of himself as a single organ in the vaster organism of his people, for whom the esteem in which his people are held, the role they play in the world, the realization of their noblest ambitions, mean more than his private prosperity or prestige. I am far from denying that Americans have ideals. At certain highlight moments of our history Americans too have even transiently been nationalists,—but habitually their ideals are individualistic. This great country is regarded by them as an opportunity for the individual to thrive in. The state is regarded as the servant of the individual,—true of all individuals, but of all in their individual capacity. Even the most spiritual expressions of American idealism, as in Emerson's writings, are still strictly individualistic.

But now a new world situation has come about. Extreme individualism, carried far beyond its wholesome limits, finds itself face to face with its opposite extreme, collectivism, as now tried out in Soviet Russia. And the thought I wish to present is that the rise of this tremendous antagonist, and the immense issues at stake for civilization in the conflict being now waged, should lead us to revise our individualistic theory of life and of the state, and should challenge us to the formation of a national ideal of our own, that is, of a collective purpose for the American people, and should also help us to define what that purpose is to be. Are we to pass from one extreme to the other? Are we to exchange for the unbridled capitalism of the past the new directorate of the proletariat? This certainly will not be our decision. We, the people of freedom and initiative, will continue to prize all that is inalienably precious in this individualistic conception of man; but we are bound also to recognize the superior worth of the collective welfare as our inspiring motive. Collectivism fertilized by individual initiative, individualism ennobled by the collective aim, should be our guiding principle.

To work out in practice this ideal, to exemplify it in the broad area of American democracy, is to my mind our national task.

I shall not attempt in this address further to elaborate my thought. The mere enunciation suffices to indicate the point of view from which social workers of whatever class should, from now on, regard the particular business they have in hand. To prepare the American people for the upbuilding of a new type of civilization, founded on the ideal just mentioned, is the problem which all social workers should keep before their mind. A diseased people, an ignorant people, a people dragged down from its moral level by unreclaimed criminality in its midst, can not become the architect of the new civilization that is to be. Therefore the fight against contagious disease, the efforts to improve the schools, or to introduce a wiser and saner treatment of criminals,—all these enterprises, all these indispensable efforts, must go on. But they are concerned with means to an end. Health is a means, knowledge is a means; it is the end, the goal, the new civilization, that must be kept in view.

The social worker today who does not see the things he is trying to do in a new light, that is to say, in their relation to the new world order that is striving to come to the birth, has not profited by the experience of the last five years, has not been touched to finer issues by the great destinies that are now hanging in the balance. To go on just as we did before the war, moving in our accustomed ruts, absorbed in the special and partial interests in which we are particularly concerned, without reference to the larger horizons that have been opened, must be impossible to any social worker who is worthy of his salt.

And it is on the basis of these considerations that I would offer a few suggestions as to the next step to be taken by the group of social workers to which I belong, namely, the National Child Labor Committee.

The next step should be to give our assiduous attention to child labor in agriculture, on the farms. The elevation of the agricultural population of our country has a direct bearing on the large world problem to which I have just referred. The agriculturists of the country, broadly speaking, represent the element of stability. The industrial, factory operatives in the cities, again broadly speaking, represent the element of unrest. The scales have dipped unduly

towards urban life. We need, in the interests of social stability, to redress the balance, by making the children of the agriculturists better educated, increasing their mental and moral resources, as well as by making agricultural life more attractive.

We are told that one and a half million children today are laboring on the farms. Their work is not such as to make them fit to take up the problems of the American people, to be architects of the new civilization. Incredible conditions have been disclosed in certain rural communities. Thousands of children have only the smallest number of months of schooling. Compulsory education, where it is prescribed by statute, is often "a promise to the ear."

We have not been courageous enough in dealing with this situation. We have given too exclusive attention to the child in the mill, and not sufficient attention to the child on the farm. But today the best farmers' organizations are with us, we can count on their hearty co-operation.

I should like to add two reasons why the work with and for the agriculturists seems to me both urgent and fascinating. The first is, that, unlike the monotonous labor of the factory operative, the occupation of the farmer is full of variety, and if only he is rightly educated can be made mentally stimulating to an extraordinary degree. Farming today is applied physics, applied chemistry, applied biology. The work of the hands, instead of deadening the mind, develops it. And secondly, because the agriculturist is both by nature an intense individualist, and yet by force of circumstances is compelled more and more to co-operate with his neighbors, both for business and social purposes, it seems likely that that wholesome combination of collectivism and individualism to which I alluded in the earlier part of my address may be illustrated even sooner on the land than in the cities.

THE CHILD IN THE OPEN COUNTRY

"LITTLE DEELY," THE WOODHAULER'S DAUGHTER*

JOHN F. SMITH

Uncle Zeke first saw her on an afternoon in June, when she stood in her own yard crying while her father, Old Man Ike, with a mowing blade in his hands was chasing her older brother, Isom, trying to catch him and "an' cut his damn guts out, jist to see um drag the ground atter 'im." Deely stood near the five-rail fence crying her protest until her mother, fearing that Old Ike who would never catch Isom might turn on someone he could catch, rushed out and took the screaming, protesting, kicking youngster into the house. She was then five and a half years old, but Uncle Zeke liked her.

Old Man Ike had come home that day drunk. It was his favorite way of coming home. Many a time he passed Uncle Zeke's house, his team of well-kept horses in a wild run, the driver sitting on the spring seat with hat off, with his iron-gray hair flying in the air, giving war-whoop after war-whoop as the frightened and whip-lashed team tightened their speed for the long ascent that began just below Uncle Zeke's gate. When the team reached the first and only bench in the long winding road they had smooth traveling for a short distance, but the next ascent by the "meetin' house" was so steep that they soon became winded and merely walked rapidly—but walked under the stinging lash and the wild war-whoop of the driver.

When on top things suddenly changed. Old Ike at the first glimpse of his home half a mile around the curve waked the echoes with a whoop and followed this with oath after oath mingled with the words of his favorite "drunk song," "Round Corn Sally."

"Hide out, little ones, yore pappy's full an' 's a-comin'". Hell—

*This is the second instalment of "The Child in the Open Country," the first instalment of which appeared in the May issue of THE AMERICAN CHILD.

up-a-lim', Sookie (his wife) you don't half know me yet. Put on the kittle an' the corn pone; set out the jam an' the pot-licker; Old Ike's a-comin' as hongry as a hell-hound with his tongue hanging dry, his tail tucked down, and his tushes as sharp as a mowing blade. Hed—dap! G——damn you!" and down would come the lash on the flank of his off horse which sent him at break-neck speed around the curve.

Poor Sookie who was always on the lookout for that first whoop hurriedly prepared his dinner, which had long been cooked, and wisely planned to be busy at something else when he made his appearance at the door. From the time the first whoop was heard Little Deely clung close to her mother's skirts. Whether she was in the house or outside she always broke hastily for her mother the instant her father's voice rang through the trees.

Upon arriving at the barn Old Ike usually poured forth a flood of sulphurous epithets at everything and everybody. Isom was cursed for not having enough feed, or for having too much for the horses; the bony calf was sent scurrying away with rocks bounding from its ribs; chickens that ventured into the feed troughs suffered martyrdom if caught. Every hog that appeared around the corner felt the sting of the well trimmed lash,—and Old Ike was an expert in the use of that instrument. He knew well how to measure the distance and how to time the jerk to make the last three inches wrap about a hog's tail or hind leg with most telling effect. It usually had to be about the hind leg, for very few hogs that dwelt on that farm or passed on the road possessed tails. Old Ike's brindle cur, Grizzly, attended to that matter and always manifested least interest in those that had very short stumps.

Isom usually appeared about the time Old Ike finished "ungearing" the horses. He came to serve as a buffer between his infuriated father and his mother and sister. He loved his sister and mother, and he always feared that some of the threats which he often heard his father make might be put into effect. He was active and quick as a cat, could run well, could dodge a rock, and always felt sure of himself when the old man was "wrathy." So his appearance was usually carefully timed. Old Ike was almost certain to fall out with him about something at first sight. Isom knew this, and he knew that he could keep him out of the house till he became tired out with ranting and hunger, or

until intoxication should grow upon him and make him fall asleep. Like a mother dove, a quail, or an oven bird, Isom often feigned injury and thus drew the enemy farther and farther from the nest. He did not find it safe to play the game too close to his pursuer for Old Ike could throw a rock when sober almost as accurately as a rifle could put a bullet, and the boy didn't know what time the old man's cunning might come to him even while he was drunk.

"How do you keep him after you so long when he's hungry?" said a neighbor boy to Isom one day.

"Oh, that's a snap. I know his tricks. You see he likes nothing better than to catch a hog or a young mule standing with its tail towards him and slip up and give it a cut with his whup. Heap a-times I play 'possum. I stop ever once in a while and stoop over, making lak I knocked off a toe nail or stuck a thorn in my foot. As soon as he sees my tight britches he peartens up an' begins slipping up on me. But I always keep my eye on him, an' before he gits close enough to shy a rock at my head I cut into the brier patch and trot on apiece further."

"Did he ever ketch you?"

"Yes, he did once when I fell in the gulley. But dang if ever he does it agin."

"How do you ever git 'im stopped?"

"Oh, he jist keeps on till he gits so danged drunk that he jist falls down an' goes to sleep, or he gits petered out and goes to the house to dinner. I know he's too tard to do anything to um there so I go back to work.

"Why don't he git you at night?"

"Wy he fergits all about it by that time. Mammy she tells him I'm out at work like a little man an' that pleases him. Then when I go in I brag about what I've done an' he gits in a good humor. He's sober by then, an' he aint sech a danged fool when he ain't drunk.

Thus had this uncouth, unlettered lad of fifteen learned the gentle art of managing an obstreperous father, and he got a lot of exercise and fun out of it. But he always seemed cowed and abashed in the presence of other boys. He never talked much but if some boy wanted a bark whistle or a four-strand round whip Isom knew how to make them. He knew just how to cut the notches in the three triggers for a bird trap or a "deadfall." He

knew that black snakes and colubers lay eggs but that rattlers and copperheads bring forth their young alive. He knew that lizards and "scorpions" sit on their eggs, that young buzzards and carrion crows are white, that a "doodle bug" flips dirt out of its hole with its tail while lying on its back, and "they's a quair sort of wawse (wasp) that ketches a worm, digs a hole and puts him in it, then takes a rock in its mouth and smoothes the place over jes lak a woman a-arnin'."

But he never went to school a day in his life. He was too busy cutting wood to sell, hoeing out weeds, picking berries, an' "heppin' pap an' mammy about the place" to go to school. Deely told a neighbor one day that he picked up a first reader once after she got home and thumbed through it looking at the pictures. But the words meant nothing to him so he laid it aside, picked up his ho'-made banjo and began playing old tunes.

His banjo was a work of interest. The body was made of black walnut with an ordinary axe, an auger and a pocket knife. It was "whittled" into shape, scraped thoroughly smooth with bits of Old Ike's whiskey bottles, rubbed thoroughly with axle-grease and polished with beeswax. The drum head was made of cat hide tanned in ashes and ooze. The neck was made of white maple, all in one piece. The keys were of apple tree roots carved into shape with the help of a file. A twenty-five cent knife and a hot poker were the chief carving tools, but when it was finished it had a creditable appearance and a fairly good tone.

When will the time come when some institution, some organization or group of organizations will recognize the possibilities that lie in this crude skill of youthful wood carvers of our hills and take steps to develop the talent into something that will be of great value to the individual boy and the community. The hands and eyes of these lads should be trained to see and execute things artistic, and a market should be found for their products. Here lie potential forces that have not yet been harnessed and given direction. Thousands upon thousands of worthy youth waste much of their manhood in idleness and grow into old age to become burdens on their friends, or at least non-producers because they are not given the training that will develop them into earners for a whole lifetime. Both the young and the old can use carving tools. When these are put into hands that have been properly

trained we shall no longer find it necessary to order our wooden toys from Japan and Switzerland, but will bring them down from the hills and out of the homes that stand far back in old fields. A trade like this will be one of the greatest rebukes that lawlessness among unreached people can ever receive.

At length the time came for Deely to start to school. Her mother never had any "schoolin'," Isom had never even seen a chart, her pappy had gone to school for a few weeks when he was a youngster to Old Put Dennis who "wore out charts and hick'ry switches,"—but Deely must go to school and make a scholar.

She, however, was of another opinion. Her humiliation at her pappy's conduct weighed so heavily upon her that she felt that she could never face a school room full of neighbors' children. She had stayed at home from babyhood—always painfully at home. So had her mother. Neighbors rarely called, and they more rarely visited the neighbors. Old Mrs. Sims sometimes came and blubbered for an hour or so,—she was the wife of Old Jim-Ed'ards Sims, the only crony that Old Ike had—but Deely never enjoyed these visits; they were always too "weepy". She was like millions of children who hear all the "graveyard talk" and gossip of the neighborhood from ancient grannies, and who are often driven almost to desperation by monotonous twaddle—the best that some poor grannies can afford—and moonings about "agervatin' babies" and wordy nothings. They do not often attempt to give voice to their sorrow and yearnings, but thousands of silent little lips and drawn faces tell a tale to those who have eyes that see. Sometime when we become wiser perhaps we shall teach the psychology of childhood to every youth—omitting circulating decimals, the diagramming of sentences, complex fractions, etc.—so that these same youths when grown into mature life may know what affects a child and what will inspire it. We allow too much child-energy to be consumed in silent suffering that finds expression in a surly disposition, that puts a scowl on the face, a bit of scorn in the heart, and a dash of the devil in the eye and the character.

But Old Ike's decision had been in favor of school, and Deely knew that sooner or later she would be forced to give in. She would not do so, however, without a struggle. Each morning for a week Old Ike had left orders for her to go to school but he was off to the woods or to town long before school time and the orders

were not obeyed. Finally the crisis came. The load of stove-wood had been put on the evening before and the wagon had been driven up to the barn ready for an early start to town next morning. But when starting time came Old Ike didn't go. It took longer than usual to "gear-up" and get ready. The wagon was greased, the lines were oiled, and a new "cracker" was plaited and put on the "whup." When all was ready he entered the house.

"Now Deely, damn my whiskers if we hain't had enough of this foolishness. You jist git thet-there basket an' put yore dinner in it; an' git them books, an' put on yore bonnet, an' come an' git on that wagon with me. I tell you, this mornin' you're goin' to school."

Deely continued to wash dishes as if she had not heard. Her father turned abruptly and walked from the room.

He returned in a moment with a long peachtree sprout, one of many he had allowed to grow on his trees for convenience, walked up to Deely, took her roughly by the arm without a word and thrashed her mercilessly. Deely didn't whimper. She wriggled and fought, and her poor drawn little face and white lips told the agony she was suffering but cry she would not. This made Old Ike even more furious and he "laid on the hick'ry" all the harder. Great welks rose and blood came but Deely's face only became more drawn and her little body was drawn more and more into a knot.

"Damned if I don't whale the life out of you, you little huzzy, if you don't fix that dinner!"—and the blows fell faster.

"I'll go, pappy," came a thin, frightened, subdued little voice, and the thrashing stopped.

"Well, be mighty plague-goned quick about it now I tell you."

Deely went about preparing her dinner,—a fried egg, a piece of corn bread, a bottle of buttermilk and a half-pint bottle of "sorghum 'lasses." Old Ike turned to the door just as Isom appeared with an axe with a broken handle in his hand.

"An' now, young man, I don't want to hear a dad-blasted word out of you this mornin'."

Isom looked surprised. He had been out chopping, had broken his axe handle and had come to the house to put in another one. But when he saw the frayed switch that his father held in his hand, and Deely moving about the kitchen in silence he guessed what had

taken place. He returned Old Ike's gaze, and for the first time in his life the old man felt cowed and afraid before his son. Something in the boy's eye plainly told the father that there was a new force on that place to be reckoned with whenever Deely was to be thrashed like a dog. Isom turned and walked away in silence, and Old Ike felt very much relieved.

"Good-bye, Deely. Be a good girl," shouted her mother while hanging out clothes. Deely merely looked around in silence,—and her mother partly understood.

Back to the wash tub at the spring went the mother and began rubbing and rinsing the clothes. A certain number had to be "battled." These were laid out on a rock till the other neater things were finished. Then the "battling" began. Isom and Old Ike had rolled a big stove-wood cut of poplar down to the wash place and propped it up level, Isom had made the "battling-stick"—a heavy paddle about twenty inches long and five inches wide of white maple. This wouldn't stain the white clothes. The clothes were first soaked thoroughly in soap suds, then put on the "battling-block" and pounded until the water and dirt were beaten out—and most of the buttons unwittingly beaten off. Then they were washed again, rinsed, wrung out and hung out on the clothes pole.

But Sookie noticed that her "battling-arm" once so strong and muscular was growing weak. She was troubled with a shortness of breath, and an occasional hacking cough. All these symptoms had been growing on her for months but she did not complain. She went on milking the cow, churning, sweeping, hoeing the garden, washing the clothes, cooking, knitting the family socks and stockings, doing the numerous other things that the poorer housewives are compelled to do—doing them without a murmur. But today she noticed that her condition was really serious.

Isom came down to soak his axe handle in the hot suds "to tighten her up," and found his mother seated with chin resting on hands apparently in a deep study.

"You feelin' bad, mammy?"

Sookie sat a moment before replying.

"Isom, I haint never said nothin' about it, but I'm jist about give out. I'm a-gittin' worse and worse, an' I've been a-gettin' that a-way for a long time. 'Pears like I haint got no breath an'

no strenk. I jist caint do the work I use to, an' seems like I'm a-gittin' weaker all the time."

"What hurts you, mammy?"

"They aint nothin' specially that hurts me; I jist git all give out."

"Mammy, caint I hep you finish up the clothes?"

"Yes, if you will, son, it would jist hep me a power. My back jist gits so weak I caint hang up the clothes hardly."

So Isom's strong arm did the heavy work while his mother did the lighter duties. It was by no means customary for him to do this. He felt as his father did, and as the other men and boys in the neighborhood felt, that it was part of a woman's task to wash the family clothes. The women always *had* done the washing; the men had other things to do; so why should it *not* be that way? And the men knew quite well that the women preferred to do it. A man at the wash tub possessed about as much grace and skill as a bear, and, according to the "Widder" Sandlin, "Most always made a mummick of ever' thing an' fixed it so it warn't fitten for a body to wear." Therefore the women washed while the men did other work. And they did this work with few conveniences. A tub—sometimes two—a wash "kittle"—often merely a stove boiler—a bucket, sometimes a scrub board, quite often a battling stick and a battling block, and a line of poles erected on high forked posts—the "Widder" Sanlin always called them "posties"—this made up the equipment. The men had never done the washing and knew not how hard the task is. But the mother's hands were made strong by milking and by work in the garden, so she could wring out the sheets and even the quilts with comparative ease—if such things can ever be done with ease.

"Isom," said his mother while both were at work, "what did yer pappy do to Deely this mornin'?"

"I don't know, mammy, but I think he beat her. I broke my axe-handle an' come for another'n' jest as he wuz a-walkin' to the kitchen door with the butt of a lim' all splintered up in his hand. Deely wuz puttin' things in the little dinner basket. Pap looked at me right savage an' says, 'I don't want to hear nairy word out'n you this mornin', young man.' I didn't say nothin' for I didn't know what was up. But mammy, I tell you, if he beat her hit's got to stop."

"Isom, I'm afeard he'll whup her agin before they git to school."

"Well, I'll make her tell me about it, an' if he does thurs goin' to be hell to pay. They're some of pap's ways that I ain't a-goin' a-put up with much longer."

The washing was soon out and the two separated, Isom going back to his chopping and Sookie going to the house. Isom thought long and seriously over what he and his mother had just talked about. He was tired of the whole business and he wanted to get out of it. He planned to leave home, but after thinking that over he saw that his mother and sister would both be left "worse off" than ever. He feared that his mother would not last long under the strain and he was quite sure that some calamity would befall Deely. There seemed to be nothing to do but to "stick it out." If his pappy continued to abuse Deely he would "beat him up as shore as hell." Thus were all his nobler thoughts driven away by his vain efforts to adjust his thinking and his life to the home-life he had to live. In a ravine near by the wood thrushes and hermit thrushes were singing, but their melody was lost on his ears. Dozens of warblers were making the trees a joyous paradise, but it all seemed like a prison to him. Is it any wonder that so many lads of the hills develop into rakes and criminals when all the "nobler rage" is suppressed by the home life they have?

When Sookie entered the kitchen she found the dishes unwashed and discovered a few spots of blood on the floor. These told a tale. She hastened to heat water to wash up the blood for she feared what might follow if Isom should come and find them. She also picked the tube of the rifle full of ashes and carefully replaced the cap. This she had done every time the rifle was loaded afresh after Old Ike began chasing Isom with axe or whip or mowing blade. Poor Sookie also did some thinking. She recalled the days of her courtship and the days before when she had to wash and scrub and hoe corn for an impatient old father and a quarrelsome mother. She married rather young to escape such a hard life—and found another much more severe. Her whole married life had been a disappointment. She fancied that beautiful days and seasons of rest would come, but these had never appeared. There had been two bright spots on her past horizon; these were the days when her two babies were born. She found real joy in these little ones, the only real joy she had ever known. But that was fading away for Isom

was growing up a surly fellow who found little companionship in his mother, and Deely was small and "old" for her age and appeared to be a sickly child. The fact that her children were not growing up into beautiful and lovely maturity wrung her heart strings—but she could not help it. Home was a hell to them and a hell to her. She would leave it and end it all but for the children and the scorn of the neighbors. She wondered why some women are such fools as to marry men against the advice of everybody. And she wondered why some men can be such beasts. She wished at times that death might come gently and end it all,—but there were her two babies,—they would always be her two babies.

Old Ike did not whip Deely on the way to school. He stopped his wagon at the level place in the road just below the meeting house, and two boys who were at the spring afterwards told what happened. He climbed the high bank above the road to a fence corner where a cluster of sprouts stood. He cut one of these and trimmed it neatly, then he jumped down again.

"Now Deely, git that basket an' them books an' clim' right down over this brake-block."

Deely obeyed, but the boys said her face seemed to be all drawn up when she moved.

"Now then, take a bee-line down that-air path towards the school house. An' I'm a-gwine foller along to see that you git there."

Deely's head dropped—for she had seen the boys—and without a word she moved down the path. When near the spring she stumbled on a moist rock and dropped her bottle of buttermilk which broke.

"Let me take that dinner basket, young lady," said her father, and the basket was surrendered in silence.

"Hi-dy boys!" shouted Old Ike to the two youngsters at the spring.

"Hi!" said both in unison,—and they stood looking on without further comment.

Down at the school house stood another group of boys who had been throwing wet cobs and buckeyes with hickory switches.

"Looky yander, fellers, a-comin'!" shouted one of them. All eyes were instantly turned up the branch. There down the Dripping Spring path came a wee little girl with brown bare feet and sunbonnet, her dress very long, her face hidden in shadow

and her step seemingly painful. Behind her walked Old Ike, the notorious drunkard and wood-hauler, carrying a small dinner basket in one hand, and a long switch in the other. Behind them at a safe distance came the two boys carrying a bucket of water between them but spilling most of it in their hurry.

The group of boys stood silent as the newcomers marched past. Miss Emma, the teacher, was seen within approaching the door. She had watched the silent procession through a window and was ready to meet the father and the little girl.

"Boys, dag-gone if I don't believe I seed blood on her ankle as she walked by." This from a small boy.

"Aw shet up yer lip, yer eyesight's bad," remarked an older fellow who always posed as the final authority among the boys.

The two visitors reached the door where Miss Emma stood waiting.

"Now take this here basket an' walk right up them steps," spoke the child-driver. Then he addressed the teacher:

"Miss Emma, I've fetched this gal of mine down here for you to take charge of. I had to whup her before I could make her start, and I want to leave this here—holding out the switch—with you for you to make her stay with. An' if she runs off I want you to jist let me know."

Miss Emma took the switch and Old Ike awkwardly put on his slouch hat, turned and walked away. As he walked past the group of silent gazing boys he noticed a switch in the hand of everyone except the smallest.

Miss Emma had not spoken, but when little Deely reached the doorway the teacher's arm went out and encircled the child, drawing her close and holding her in the gentlest kind of embrace she had felt since she nestled as a baby on her mother's bosom. There was a slight squirming of the little body at first, and then it began to shake with sobs. Half a dozen curious girls had come from the other side of the house to look on, and one of them said afterwards that she never in all her life saw a more sorrowful face on any human being. Miss Emma with her arm still around the little girl and with Old Ike's hick'ry in the other hand turned from the curious crowd of youngsters who had gathered in front of the door and walked back into the school room. Two of the older girls followed her.

"Boys, dag-gone if she ain't a pippin," said the small boy who thought he saw blood on Deely's ankle, and this time no one disputed his word. He spoke of Miss Emma and referred to the way she had received the little girl.

Everybody was wild to look in at the windows but no one dared to do so. The two girls came out after awhile wiping their hands on their aprons but the boys couldn't get them to talk. One of the fellows did hear one of the girls say, "Wy she broke it all up in little pieces and throwed it in the stove."

That afternoon after everyone else had gone the boy who thought he "seed blood" raised a window, climbed in and examined the stove. Next morning with bated breath he made the following report to the boys:

"Boys, she's shore in that stove broke up all in little short pieces. They ain't a piece left long enough to make a ramrod for a squirt gun." And for days afterwards the stove became an object of veneration to the younger boys.

Little Deely sat in silent suffering all the forenoon. At noon Miss Emma and the two older girls ate their lunches indoors but Deely ate nothing. She only walked to the water-bucket, changed seats a few times, and answered all questions in monosyllables. The afternoon was spent in silent sitting, and when "turning-out time" came she picked up her basket and books and without a word to anyone walked back up the Dripping Spring path to the road and hurried on home. Other children went that way but she walked far ahead of them.

When she arrived at home she found her father and mother picking beans in the garden. She had never seen her father doing such a thing before. He always insisted that "milkin' an' gyardenin'" belong to the women folks. A man's got sumpum else to do." Deely went into the house and began sweeping the floor.

Old Ike had come home sober that day,—a very rare thing for him to do, and he had brought Sookie nine yards of calico to make her a dress. Old "Taterheel" Monks, the basket maker, rode out from town with him and reported afterwards that Old Ike seemed to be in a deep study all the way. He swore at his team only once—a thing which few could believe—and actually kept his temper when he discovered that a loaded wagon had driven into the other end of the bridge after he was nearly forty feet inside the bannisters.

It was therefore Old Ike's turn to back out. It was when the off-horse reared and plunged towards the bannister that the explosion occurred. He remembered how Peter Dale was crossing the bridge years before with a mule colt following behind the wagon. Somebody shot at a frog underneath the bridge and frightened the colt so badly that it ran ahead of the team. Another wagon was there to stop the colt so it turned back, became more frightened and leaped over the bannister into the water fifty feet below. Poor Peter was in sore distress. He thought the colt would surely be killed by the fall or drowned, not reckoning on a young mule's ability to swim. He drove hurriedly to the end of the bridge, "took out" the mare and led her down near the water's edge and had no difficulty in calling the high diver to the bank and to safety.

Old Ike vowed afterwards that the "cussin'" was the only thing that kept his off-horse from going over "jist the very pime blank way that Peter Dale's mule colt went. Only it would have busted shore for it wuz a heap heavier, you know." But aside from the "cussin'" Old Ike backed out without protest and let the loaded wagon pass.

He didn't run his team up the hill past Uncle Zeke's as he commonly did, and when he reached the top of the long winding drive he didn't yell to let Sookie know he was coming. Old "Taterheel" declared afterwards that it all looked "mighty quair."

"So I axed him whut he'd come on to 'im to make 'im so diffurnt. 'Jist hurryin' home to do a little work' sezee; but I 'lowed that they wuz sumpum else aside of a little work that wuz a-botherin' 'im."

It would have required a long time for Old "Taterheel", or for anyone else, to guess the truth. Old Ike finally told Uncle Zeke that it was two things that "sorter skeered 'im that day." One was Deely's white lips when she said, "Pappy, I'll go," and the other was "the cut of Isom's eye as he turned on his heel and walked away."

Isom appeared as usual just as the old man was ungearing the team, but there was no falling-out this time. Old Ike really "made a pass" at being cordial.

"Son, that looks like a good feed of hay you've got in for the hosses."

Isom almost collapsed. If his father had thrown the wagon hatchet or the coupling wrench at him, or started chasing him with

the pitchfork he would have known what to do. But to be knocked helpless in this unexpected manner was more than he could understand. He decided that he could not understand it, and that his presence might result in further embarrassment, so he went back to sharpening sticks to "stick" his mother's tomato vines. And when Old Ike left his hat in the hall and went out into the garden to pick beans with his wife the boy was bewildered sure enough.

Deely walked out into the yard to pick up chips in order to start the supper fire. Isom noticed that she walked slowly and painfully.

"Deely, whut chu reckon's happened to pap?"

"I don't know. He purt near killed me this morning. Wush I'd been big; I'd a-knocked his head off."

"Whut did he do to you?"

"He whupped me with a lim' till I couldn't stand up nur git my breath hardly."

"Did he whup you arter you left here?"

"No."

Isom looked relieved at this answer. He had expected the worst, and he had made up his mind as to what to do, but the worst didn't happen. He afterwards confided to one of Uncle Zeke's boys what he had decided to do:

"By ganny, I jist decided that pap had to quit beatin' Deely. I made a great big hick'ry-bark whup and kep it soakin' in water down below the spring. I was jist goin'-a let him git dog-drunk, and then I was goin' a-tie his hands an' feet an' whup hell out'n him."

Old Ike didn't come home drunk for weeks. He had more respect for Isom than ever before. Deely continued to go to school, and things seemed to be going better in every way. Miss Emma and the two big girls had completely won Deely. She had always been told by her father and mother, and by the neighbors, that a school is a place where little folks "git whupt," but she found things different. She did not express her appreciation to the teacher and the girls in words but she clung close to them and they knew that she felt what she would not say. One day when one of the girls—a beautiful girl she was—was telling a funny story to Deely she showed her teeth in a smile. The smile was but a modified grin,

but it was the best the little girl could do. She had not been brought up on smiles so she was not skilled in the art. But she did say to Isom one day—he told one of Uncle Zeke's boys about it—"Wush I could smile an' be purty like Hallie." Hallie was the pretty girl at school who told her funny stories at recess time.

Crowns will await those choice spirits with angel disposition who pause in their busy days and take time to tell wholesome stories to the neglected children of the poor. They hear so much that is morbid and depressing,—whinings about ailments real and imaginary, pathetic whimperings about bad luck and things that "go agin um", sex-talk from foul-mouthed men and boys and foul-toothed, whispering old women. They need wholesome stories, wholesome laughter that has no tinge of "smut" in it, wholesome thoughts that will become transformed into beautiful character. Hallie told good stories, stories with real fun in them, to Deely and won her, and so may anyone who has tact and the gift win soul-hungry little ones who have been on starvation mental and spiritual rations from babyhood.

Deely never played at school. Her little soul "dwelt apart." She held aloof from the other children, ate her dinner in the house with Miss Emma and the two big girls. Or if those three good angels chanced to go out on the roots of the big beech to eat their lunch Deely trailed with her little old basket behind them. She always sat where she could see Hallie's face. She seemed to know no games. She would sit and watch other children play "Frog-in-the-meadow", "Fox-in-the-morning", "Marching round the levee", "Snap", "Handkerchief", and the other games they played, but they seemed to offer no joys to her. Once when Elwood Gray, the champion climber and contortionist of the school, climbed to the top of a tall sycamore where he "skinned a cat" and hung by his knees, then his toes, from a limb at the very top, she clapped her hands and smiled her little grinning smile.

She learned slowly. "Thoughts . . . too deep for tears" seemed to crowd out the new thoughts that came. There were memories of scoldings, of growlings between her father and mother, of oaths and bursts of anger, and chimney corner whimperings that filled her mind and hastened her age rather than her mental development.

If those to whom it is given to read aright the lines on the

faces of abused and neglected children should only translate those lines into terms the public could read and understand they

“ . . . could a tale unfold whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul . . . ”

Laws made to ameliorate the untoward conditions of poor children rarely reach to the heads of the creeks. A housing law doesn't stop the "cold-wind cracks" in floors, nor put screens on doors, nor open up windows at night time. A sanitary law doesn't erect good privies for those whose standards for a satisfactory privy are fairly well met by a thick bunch of jimson weeds; nor does it always drain the swamps at the back of the field, nor put the vendors of worthless patent medicines behind federal bars. A compulsory school attendance law doesn't operate very well when neighbor must enforce it against neighbor's children. No legislation for child-protection can dig the potatoes, hole up the cabbage, strip the sorghum cane and pull the fodder, pick worms from tobacco leaves or gather in the corn. Legislation will not drive out passion and anger from unscrupulous fathers, or plug up the blubberings and whimperings of disappointed sunken-eyed grandmothers, or dispel the scoldings of nervous, overworked, untrained mothers. Until our educational system is revised to meet the real burning needs of real living people instead of serving as a vehicle for mistrained, professional educators many of whom foist a standardized system on the public; until our programs of social service are made comprehensive enough to reach out like sunbeams to farthest and most inaccessible places; until we take hold of the country church problem with scientific tongs and put "sense and sympathy" and knowledge of childhood and youth instead of bigotry and pious ignorance into thousands of pulpits; until every girl is trained thoroughly in things she ought to know about motherhood and children and child-training; until every boy is taught what his responsibility is to his wife, his home, and his children of the future,—until these things are done and done well we shall continue to have little Deely's and tens of thousands of other unreached children who grow apart from their fellows and give expression to the forces that grow strong in them in sexual crimes and general depraved lawlessness. There is no time for educators and social workers to play with pet theories and split hairs while unreached children abound. There is so much lunk-headed indifference born of pedagogical ignorance manifested

in some educational programs that to those who have long looked from the level of the stump-line and seen neglected child-life as it is, the body grows weary and the heart grows impatient when efforts are made to clear the vision of those who pose as leaders in all things educational. Somewhere near every unreached child there is a gentle heart ready to serve if it only knows how; but many a pedagogical pharisee merely passes by on the other side.

Weeks and months passed and the winter came on. Old Ike frequently "got on tears" but he was never again quite so obstreperous after he reached home. One trip from town was especially hilarious and was long commented on by the people who dwelt along the road. It was the day when Dolly Sims rode out with him. Dolly was young and beautiful, was the daughter of one of Old Ike's remote neighbors, and possessed a bit of dash for a country lass. There had been some foul whispers about her behavior. A fresh young chap incidentally remarked one day to Uncle Zeke's oldest son: "Dolly is a d——d good sport all right." And he said it with a toss of his head and a tilt of the cigarette which all young men who are "weather-wise" understand. Old Ike had "tanked up" pretty heavily that day and had given Dolly several drams. He was always rather slow about giving away liquor—was never known not to accept it, however—but "Dolly might have ev'ry drop if she wanted it, an' lick the bottle stopper to boot." As they drove on the drink took effect and both became noisy and began spooning. They "caught up with" Old "Taterheel" Monks who was walking out from town with a bag on his shoulder. Old "Taterheel" was rarely seen without a basket or a bag on his shoulder.

"Clim' in, 'Taterheel'; we're goin' to have the hell-bustin'est time before we reach the top of the hill you ever heered about. Whoa—ah'. Dad-blast yore old skin. I'll cut yore liver out with this whup if you don't stand still. Gid—dap spot'—dad-burn yore ole hide. Git along there!"

Ole "Taterheel" did climb in behind, and afterwards chuckled and told the neighbors about what happened. There were moonings and spoonings and honeyed words, wild yells from both the drinkers and a "whole passel of rip-roarin' fuss and other damn-foolery."

"I warn't a bit sorry when I got out an' walked on," said the old basket-maker, "fer I never in all my life seed an ole man

make sech a dummed fool of hisself over a gal. It was might near his house when I left um. Jest as I turned 'round the corner of the road I looked back an' saw the off horse give a big jump fer some reason. One end of the spring seat come off the bed and both fell backerds too tarnation drunk to know or keer what was happenin.' A leetle funder on I met Sooky, Ole Ike's wife, walkin' as straight as a Indian with a streak in her eye. I didn't stay to see what happened. I went on an' let um alone. I guess they fit it out tho amongst themselves."

The neighbors along the road long afterwards referred to that midday joy-ride, winked at one another in Old Ike's presence and laughed. But Old Ike never told a soul what Sookie said or did when she appeared at the wagon.

With the approach of winter Sookie grew worse. She finally had to take to her bed and Deely was compelled to stay by her. Her cough grew worse, and the medicine she got from Old Syl Beechboard did her no good. The "Widder" Sandlin came in occasionally to keep her company. Every time she came she sat with her knitting near the bed, squinted through her granulated lids, whimpered and told all the details about Elhannon's death. He had died of a "turrible hurtin' an' a coughin' in his lungs" some two years before. Other women came and sat up with Sookie at night. But all day and every day Deely was head nurse and housekeeper.

Can anyone but the Great Father ever know what a child suffers under circumstances like these?

At last the crisis came. The "Widder" Sandlin declared afterwards that she "seed a coffin in her dream pime-blank like Sookie's," and that a death watch ticked all night right at the head of her bed.

It happened early in the morning while Deely was asleep. Sookie had asked them not to wake the child. The "Widder" Bates and Old Aunt Marthy were at the bedside. Old Ike and Isom were in the room as sad and silent spectators. Aunt Marthy said afterwards that "It come on jes as easy as a ripple an' she went off jes lak a little child."

"Lor, Mizz Julie, she went off des lak a baby goin' asleep. Pore woman hed never knowed nuthin' but trouble and tribulation, an' I spec, Mizz Julie, hit wuz de fust time she saw peace ahead

since she wuz a little baby in her mammy's arms. She sho did take it easy. 'Twasn't 'tall lak she had to live.

"Miss Julie, 'pears lak I've almost always noticed dat when a pusson live hard dey die easy. An' if he didn't make her live lak a dawg no po' woman ever did. Must be she wuz glad to go.

"Mizz Julie, whut you reckon will become of a man-pusson who treat his wife an' babies so bad?"

These two women—Aunt Marthy and the "Widder" Bates—one black and a former slave, the other the wife of an old Confederate soldier, remained through the morning doing the necessary things about the sick room. They dressed Sookie and "laid her out." They worked side by side as human beings, recognizing no race distinctions, but did a humble service to the bereaved family which few others would have paused to do. The "Widder" Bates was a hardshell, but Old Marthy belonged to no church. She expressed her attitude towards the church one day to "Mizz Julie": "I jes tell you, Mizz Julie, I hain't got much to do wid dese mou'nful-faced preachers that do precious little but howl in de pulpit an' try to git folks to go to prayer meetin' when dey're too tired to go. I ain't nevah jine no chu'ch, but I always does whut de Lawd tells me to do. Evah time a chile git sick 'pears lak de Lawd jes tells me to go an' hep out, an' I goes. I ain't got much time to go to chu'ch; dey're too many sick folks dat need help fo' me to go an' heah some mou'nful-faced preacher-man howl at me. Dat ain't gwine kyore no sick babies, Mizz Julie. If he'd say sumpum to help de babies an' hep me I'd like to go. But I'se gwine take chances on gittin' to hebum wid heppin' de babies an' de po' sick."

Early after breakfast Old Ike walked down the road to the "meetin' house" and came out into the woods where Uncle Zeke and two of his boys were sawing board cuts.

"Zeke, I want you to go up an' take Sookie's measure."

"Wy she ain't dead is she?"

"Yes, died about an hour before day this mornin'."

"Well, she was a good woman, Ike."

Then Old Ike broke down and wept like a "whipt puppy."

"Yes, Zeke, she was the best woman that ever lived, an' I jist treated her like a dang-busted dawg."

"Well, she's left you now."

Uncle Zeke walked with great solemnity to a tall sourwood

sprout, took out his knife and cut it near the ground and trimmed it neatly. Then he turned to his sons as he walked back:

"Boys, you might shoulder your saw and axe an' take um home I reckon." Then he and Old Ike walked away in silence.

After "taking" Sookie's measure he walked into town—nearly five miles—selected a coffin and walked back by noon. Old Ike offered the use of one of his horses but Uncle Zeke declined. He usually preferred to walk when he had no heavy burden to carry. A neighbor asked him one day why he always walked when he went on a journey, and he replied, "Well, when I walk it always gives me more time to think, an' my legs don't jolt when I go over a rock."

How readily do the poor in the open country help one another. There's never a time when they are too busy with their own affairs to answer a call for help. They always go when a neighbor cries out to them. "Po' folks always hep po' folks," said Old Marthy one day, "Rich man don't never bother wid a hongry niggah."

Aunt Marthy said that Deely "didn't seem to change a bit" when she saw her mother dressed ready for burial.

"Mizz Julie, de chile des went on makin' a fire for breakfast jist lak nothin' had gone wrong."

The coffin and box were brought out that afternoon, Sookie's body was laid into it—Aunt Marthy superintending it all—and a little procession drove away to Pleasant Grove graveyard where other neighbors had the grave ready. There was no prayer, no ceremony. The coffin was opened so all who wished might look at the face a last time—and almost everyone, even the small children, looked at it—then it was closed and lowered into the vault. The neighbors withdrew while the grave was being filled, but Little Deely and Grizzly stood at the head of the grave looking in. Grizzly sat shivering and watching every move. Deely looked on in silence. When the mound was made smooth and beaten with shovels and the crude shale markers were placed in position they turned and walked away, Grizzly following at Deely's heels in a slow walk. Then the funeral party went home.

Within less than a year Old Ike was married again. Sallie Mullins was the "victim"—according to Aunt Marthy. She belonged to a large family most of whom had "married off" or left home, but she stayed on, took care of her old blubbering mother

till she died, then of her father whose face was eaten up by a cancer. Sallie had never gone to school a day in her life, had known little but heavy responsibilities, and so when the romance about which she had dreamed for so many years seemed within her grasp she was unwilling to let it slide even though Old Ike, whose reputation she well knew, was the hero.

"Well, if he thinks I'm purty enough, an' can stand me, I guess maybe I can stand him." Thus she spoke to the "Widder" Bates who declared afterwards that "the pore crazy girl hain't got a speck o' sense."

It didn't matter in the least to Sallie that she was "playing second fiddle" to Dolly Sims. Old Ike had made overtures to Dolly but came away crestfallen and badly worsted. He thus reported the encounter to Jim Ed'rds who afterwards told it to Uncle Zeke:

"You know, Jim, she was always as purty to me as a speckled pup. So I got a me pint one day an' went out to see her on business. But dang-bust my time, Jim, do you know she wouldn't tech a blasted drap; an' when I sorter hitched my chair over an' said sumpum' about marryin' dummed if she didn't batterwhang me on the jaw with her hand that made me see a streak of hell fire, an' jist cussed me out'n the house. An' I put. Yes, sir, the little wild cat huzzy almost spit fire right at me an' called me more names in a minute than you could take home in a hamper basket. Yes, sirree, I put out; an' I never felt so much like a ding-blasted whupt puppy in my life."

"Whut did you say to her, Ike," inquired Jim.

"Say! Wy hell-up-a-gum-stump, Jim, whut wuz there to say? I put, I tell you."

Deely endured her new mammy somewhat as she would the measles—something she was not responsible for and could not easily get rid of. The new mammy tried to ingratiate herself into the good esteem of the little girl, but Deely had known about her "snuff-dippin'," her shouting at "grave-yard meetin's," her capacity for swallowing the most unbelievable morsels of old wives' gossip, and her smothered whisperings as she passed "the turrible tales" on to some innocent neighbor. So the child held aloof, lived much with Isom and thought her own thoughts.

Sallie and Old Ike "fought like cats." Their home life soon became the talk of all the neighbors. Old Ike had said one day to

Uncle Zeke, "I ganny, Zeke, I jes couldn't do without a woman at my house no longer. Sallie was the first one I thought uv an' so I went arter her."

Uncle Zeke had already heard about his adventure with Dolly Sims, so he said, "Looks like a likely feller of yore age, Ike, might a-gone after a purty young gal."

Old Ike reddened a little and replied, "Better have a woman nearer your own age. They don't git so many fool notions as young uns." Uncle Zeke didn't press the matter further.

Old Aunt Marthy went to wash one Monday when Sallie was "ailin." She had certain observations to report next day.

"I jes tell you, Mizz Julie, Ole Ike's sholy met his match dis time. If he don't come drivin' down de hill some day wid his eyes all gone I ain't black. Dat woman'll sho' scratch um out. I went up to dinner an' Ole Man Ike he quawl 'bout de black biskits, an' 'pon my honor if dat woman didn't settle him too quick for anything. Dey wuz de wust biskits I ever et. Wy Mizz Julie, you could a-knocked a bull yearling down any day wid one uv um. Ise had a hard belly-ache ever since.

"But, Mizz Julie, I'se turrible sorry for dat po' little Deely. De little thing's gittin' right peak-ed. Looks lak she's wastin' away des lak a aig wid a hole in it. An' she's coughin' des lak her ma.

"Mizz Julie, when you gwine give me dat ole pair of shoes?"

What Aunt Marthy said about Deely was true. About a year after his father married Isom left home and hired out as a work hand at fifteen dollars a month and board. He had endured the bad cooking and the family quarrels as long as he could, but Deely had to stay. He could not take her along. He said to Elwood Gray one day, "I'd give anything in the world I've got if only I could git Deely away from home."

The poor chap didn't have much. When he packed his belongings to go away he found upon taking inventory that he possessed two pairs of home-knit sox, one extra "hick'ry" shirt, one pair of Sunday trousers that cost a dollar at "Cheap Nathan's," one shoddy coat, a "flop hat," a banjo, two coon skins, and a Jew's harp. Deely gave him a short pencil someone had given her while she was at school. He had no overcoat, no rain coat, no underwear. He had never possessed such articles.

When he left Deely walked with him to the yard fence—there was no gate—and stood leaning against a corner and watching him as he walked away.

"Come home sometime, Ise."

"All right, Deely, I will."

When he reached the top of the rise out the road he turned and saw her still standing there with her elbows resting on the top rail and her chin in her hands. Grizzly was sitting in his favorite lookout place on a flat top-rail looking out the road, shivering and whining. With this last scene in mind he went over the hill and disappeared.

The winter months passed slowly. They were months of hard work, suffering and loneliness for little Deely. Her pappy had begun coming home drunk again, and now that Isom was away there was no one to act as a restraining influence. The old man "tore-up-jack" with everything on the place. Bad food and scolding were having their effect, and he was growing desperate. Deely kept the tube of the rifle picked full of ashes as her mother had done before her. But he never beat Deely; he merely cursed and scolded. He said to Old "Taterheel" one day, "I've seed them white lips too many times at night ever to hit the little gal agin."

A baby was born to Sallie which soothed the old man's wrath for a time, but its cries of suffering caused by poor attention soon drove him to desperation again.

As spring came on Deely began to suffer with a new affliction. A "breaking-out" appeared on one of her ankles and another on the side of her throat. Her ankle became so drawn that she had to walk on her toes and her throat grew so bad that it began to interfere with her speech. Old Ike became alarmed and took her to town to a doctor. After a seemingly careless examination and a few questions the doctor wrote out a prescription, gave directions for giving the medicine, then turned and walked away. Old Ike returned to the office later to inquire what the trouble was.

"Whut you reckon the trouble is with her, Doc?"

"Looks like scrofula, Ike."

But it was not scrofula. Old "Taterheel" heard the doctor talking to another man one day when Old Ike was walking by.

"That durned old devil ort have been hung twenty years ago."

"Why 's that doctor?"

"Why? Did you ever see that little girl of his. She's got syphilis, and it's going to kill her. And her daddy's responsible for her having it. Twelve months from today she'll be in the ground."

"You don't mean to say——"

"I mean to say that sometime years ago he got it himself and gave it to his wife and child. His first wife died about two years ago of consumption. But I saw her, and I tell you that was not all of her trouble. Now it's breaking out on his child, and she'll soon follow her mother. Some durned old jackasses ought to be took out and shot while they are still young."

Deely spent much time outdoors. The warm sun had brought out the early flowers and the buds on the trees had begun to swell. A little way from the house were the falls, a rugged, picturesque gorge with a fine stream of water pouring over a ledge nearly fifty feet high. Along the sides of this gorge the wild flowers grew in great profusion—service (called "sarvice" in the open country), dogwood, redbud, great clumps of tall white honeysuckle, azalea, two kinds of anemones, hepatica, rheumatism plant, Indian turnip (Jack-in-the-pulpit), dog-tooth violet, bird-foot violet (which she called "mountain pansies"), crow's foot, everlasting, ragwort, ladies' slipper, wild poppies, and great forests of sweet William. She loved to wander about among these flowers and gather them. Almost every Sunday afternoon she could hear voices coming up the valley far below, coming from parties of young folks who loved to visit the falls and gather the wild flowers. These bubbling, laughing, skylarking youngsters never guessed that high upon a point hidden away by rocks and bursting buds frequently sat a tired little creature watching them and wondering how some people can be so well and happy while others must always be miserable.

She became interested in the animal and bird life in the woods. Ground squirrels were everywhere and ground hogs were plentiful. The latter came out on warm days to forage. More than once she sat still while one of these big brindle fellows nosed the ground all about her. Gray squirrels and red squirrels chased one another up and down trees and through the tree tops. Some old dead chestnuts stood on the hillside which made a paradise for the woodpeckers. She loved to hear their rappings on hard limbs and splinters and their never-ending bird chatter. The big black

pileated woodpeckers frequented these trees and nested in them. She always called these big birds "whut-whuts." Isom called them "good-gods" but she didn't like to use that term. Once when she was nestled down in a leafy seat one of these fine red-headed fellows flew down on a stump near her and searched it thoroughly for bugs and worms. After making a fine meal of the creeping things he found he flew back to a tree top and gave a loud call that was answered far away on another hillside. Then he flew away giving his peculiar flying call as he went and disappeared across the valley.

Deely told Isom about all these adventures and Isom afterwards related them to one of Uncle Zeke's boys.

But Deely's strength began to fail her rapidly. A peculiar redness and roughness appeared on her face and hands and in other spots on her body. She had seen something like this on other children, on those of one family in particular, but she didn't know what it was. Sallie put mutton tallow on it and gave her bitters, but this did no good. Her weakness at length became so serious that she could no longer take long walks but had to remain close to the house. On bright days she got far enough away to be out of range of Sallie's rasping, scolding voice, but on rainy days she had to "put up with" her tormentor.

She was at last confined to her bed, where poor food poorly prepared, stuffy air and inattention hastened the end. Neighbor women came in occasionally to help and "take turns settin' up." The "Widder" Sandlin came with her whimperings and weepy recital of incidents during Elhannon's illness. Old Aunt Marthy "dropt in" now and then to wash up the bed clothes and always came away disgusted.

"I swear to God, Mizz Julie, dey're lettin' dat po' chile lie dar and die in dirt. Looks lak she 's a-starvin' to death, an' she's almost et up wid chinchies. If I didn't go dar an' clean things up once in a while I dunno whut in de worl' it would come to. Sallie she sets round an' nusses dat po' squallin' baby an' looks 'most lak a skeletin herself. Mizz Julie, I jes don't b'lieve de woman knows how to cook a meal's vittles. 'Pon my honor, I jes b'lieve she's plum' eegnurent."

The end came one July night while the barn owls and whip-poor-wills were loudly calling and when the midnight stars were

brightest. Aunt Marthy was the only one present besides Sallie and Deely's father. In the final moments a huge horned owl across the hollow began calling to his mate.

"I jes don't b'lieve it wuz no owl, Mizz Julie," said Old Aunt Marthy next day. "Hit made de quairest noise of anything I evah heeard. I wuz skeered almost white, an' you may b'lieve me I didn't git out'n dat do till daylight."

The child became delirious before the end came, but Old Marthy never would tell what she said.

"No, Mizz Julie, I ain't nevah gwine tell whut she said. 'Twouldn't do nobody no good, an' I don't never want it said of me dat I hain't got no mo' sense den de "Widder" Sandlin, jes gwine on an' tellin' everything a sick pusson says."

Next morning a tall, sad and silent old man a little more stooped than usual came to Uncle Zeke's gate and called, "Hello, Zeke!"

"Hello, Come in!"

"No, I cain't, I guess. Come out."

Uncle Zeke put on his hat and walked out to the gate.

"Want you to make a coffin for my little gal."

"When did that happen, Ike?"

"Last night about midnight. Hit's jist more 'n I can stand, Zeke. Looks like I've made a plum failure of it."

Thereupon Uncle Zeke proceeded to give Old Ike the only lecture on morality and good conduct towards his family that the old woodhauler had ever listened to. He "took it like a baby." When he walked away he said, "Well, I'll do my best, Zeke."

Uncle Zeke made the coffin that morning, and his wife, "Mizz Julie," furnished the lining. Then he carried it on his shoulder up to Old Ike's house. Aunt Marthy went along and superintended everything.

Isom had arrived and looked on in silence. Word had been sent to him about Deely's condition but it had reached him late.

That afternoon another little procession drove away in three farm wagons, Grizzly walking with drooping head and tall under the "hind axle" of the foremost. In the last wagon rode Uncle Zeke, "Miss Julie," Miss Emma, the teacher, Isom, and Old Aunt Marthy carrying a big bundle in her hands. When they reached the graveyard they found the grave ready. The coffin was opened

for all who wished to take a last look, then was lowered beside Deely's mother. Grizzly sat by on an uprooted stump looking on. Aunt Marthy surprised everybody by opening her bundle and scattering whole handfuls of roses, honeysuckle and marigolds over the coffin. Then while the lid was being put on the box she squatted down at the foot of the grave and wept in silence. Grizzly shivered and whined, and Isom looked on unmoved.

Thus passed away this child of poverty and sorrow, one among the thousands of Deely's who live out among the fields and hills whose lives are as precious to them as ours are to us, but who cannot overcome the heavy odds laid against them. Many are robbed of their hope and chance for a happy life before they are born; many others experience untold suffering at the hands of unscrupulous fathers and untrained mothers. A large number of these.—and thousands of others who live in happier homes—are caught up by relentless diseases and hurried on into eternity.

Thus will it remain until we go about the task of reaching the unreached country child—the child of the less favored home—just as we would go about any other business enterprise. The time has come for action—action and organization. We have long talked in conferences about what ought to be done, while the little Deelys and their brothers and sisters have been waiting and suffering and dying.

Blessed be the organization whose hand will be gentle enough and whose arm will be long enough to reach up to the heads of all the long, lonesome valleys to lighten the burdens and brighten the lives of the thousands of Deelys who are patiently, silently waiting for that hand to be extended.

LOOKING BACK TO CHILDHOOD DAYS

WALTER PRICHARD FATON

When I was a boy at the age when the chart line showing the number of calories needed to counteract the destruction of tissue by motor activities takes a sharp upward rise, boys slightly older taught me the words and music of a certain ballad which can not be printed here. I regret to say that the place chosen for the lesson was the Methodist horse sheds. A few years later, when I reached college and perused Professor Child's collection of Scottish and English border ballads, what was my astonishment to discover this identical ballad! It was current, I believe, in some nineteen European tongues, in one form or other. No doubt Professor Child's versions were purer than the one I learned (employing "pure" in a strictly philological sense!), but in spite of the modern substitutes in my version, the ballad was recognizable, verse for verse as far as the professor dared print it.

Now, the point of this is, of course, that we go to Cape Breton or the Kentucky Mountains for the "last surviving examples of balladry," of songs handed down by oral tradition, yet right in the Methodist horse sheds, in a Massachusetts village twelve and a half miles from Beacon Hill, a group of smallish boys, not so many years ago, were giving a perfect example of oral tradition. I haven't the smallest doubt, alas! but that song is still being transmitted by the same means today, by boys who never saw it in print, and wouldn't dream it possible that it could be printed. Now reflections occur to me—why have children not been studied more as repositories of oral tradition—and what Puritan father, or Puritan father's son, brought that particular ballad over from dear old England? Perhaps we had better not press the second question just now, in this year of Pilgrim celebration!

I can at once recall many examples, from my own boyhood, of oral tradition, and of a peculiar folk lore of childhood. "Counting-out" games, of course, are something no child is taught by its

parents, and which few people, young or old, have ever seen in print. Clifton Johnson, in his entertaining book, "They say in New England," has taken down many of these jingles, and it is interesting to compare them with some person not from New England, to get the local variations. Did you ever use this one?

Aker, backer, soda cracker,
Aker, backer, boo;
If your father chews terbaccer,
Out goes you.

I did. I learned to lisp it from some child a year or two older, who in turn had learned it from an older child, and so on back into a remote past. Mother Goose rhymes, of course, are sung to children, and read by them in picture books; but counting-out games are not. The children themselves hand these down.

Here was a decidedly uncommendable rhyme we used to chant about any teacher we didn't happen to like—that is to say, almost all our teachers.

An eagle flew from North to South
With Biddy (Campbell, Smith, Parker) in his mouth;
But when he found he had a big (fat, thin) fool,
He dropped her down in the John Street School.

I do not recommend this poem either on ethical or esthetic grounds; I simply point out that it is self evident we didn't learn it from our elders. It was handed down not from father to son, but from one class of children to the next, and adapted by each to the local needs, sometimes by a daring employment of syncopation.

Children sometimes have an almost uncanny smack at rhyming. I well recall a certain village character, an excellent man and citizen, whose name was Gorus. He had, however, an unfortunate affliction which caused him to keep his head perpetually inclined to one side. We boys, little brutes that we were, would dodge behind a fence when we saw him coming, and then chant, at the top of our lungs,

Happy days are now before us,
Here comes poor old crook-necked Gorus.

The unfortunate man had to endure this cruel jingle, hurled at him from behind tree and hedge, for twenty years after the first

boy struck it off in a moment of inspiration. Parents labored hard to kill it; children were punished for singing it. Yet it endured as long as the subject thereof was a figure on our streets.

Another jingle which we employed for purposes of derision was not, like this, of local invention, but of authentic antiquity. It was chanted invariably in front of the cobbler's shop, to make him come out and chase us with a strap. He was rather fat, and the danger was not great; still, it was sufficient to lend zest to the adventure.

Leather-belly, Leather-belly, come and have a swim;
Yes, by golly, when the tide comes in.

How old this verse is, I can not say, but it is probably of great antiquity. Certainly, the cobbler considered it an insult, and pursued us as no doubt the cobblers of long ago had pursued the taunting small boys of Old England.

There was a curious weather superstition in the part of the country where I was raised, which obviously was not of great age. We boys believed that if, when we put our ear to a telegraph pole, the wires were giving forth a loud hum, it was going to rain. The fact that our elders poo-pooed this belief causes me to think it was a superstition invented by the children themselves. I do not know if it still persists, but certainly in my day boys laid their ears to the poles of a Saturday morning with profound and serious interest.

The peculiar games of childhood, their origin, growth and perpetuation, are an interesting study. How well I recall one game (alas! a "gambling game," and so only to be indulged in surreptitiously by me) that flourished some thirty years ago, and passed away, no doubt, with the passing of the tools with which it was played. In those days there was a picture of a professional ball player printed on a card, in every box of a certain brand of cigarettes. It became a matter of passionate concern to collect as many of these pictures as possible, always striving for a complete set. Partly to facilitate the collecting, still more, no doubt, to give outlet to the gambler's instinct, some boy invented a game which spread like a grass fire. You pasted a picture on a piece of heavy card-board, and every other boy had one so backed. Then one of you scaled out your card-board, and the other threw his. If he could span with his outstretched fingers from his card to yours,

you had to give him a picture from your precious pack. If he couldn't span, he had to give you one. The game was, of course, a variant of marbles—of "popping at a snapper."

And speaking of marbles, I often wonder what has become of them—and of tops and hoops, as well. I don't doubt they are all employed in the cities, but in the country, where I live, tops and hoops are now absolutely unknown, and marbles are only used by the very small boys, who don't know what to do with them. Why is this? What made the break in the long tradition of childhood sport? Of course, in the old days almost every village boasted a "notion store" (mine was kept by a grim spinster named Emily Ruggles, who was only grim on the outside, really), in which were sold tops, hoops, marbles, slates, garter and sling-shot elastic, paper soldiers and dolls, calico, spools, etc., etc. Such stores have passed quite away. The average village today has no provision whatever for the children's trade. Whatever the reason, at any rate, hereabouts "miggles" no longer usher in the spring, nor tops the autumn. Baseball and football, however, hold their own with undiminished force.

I notice through the country many public playgrounds where, in summer, the play is "supervised." I would not seem to criticise this proceeding. Doubtless there is good reason for it. But it always makes me sad, none the less. Supervised play! When I recall my childhood, and think of all the superbly fascinating games we invented, or were taught by children just older than we, games which were spontaneous expressions of our own needs and imaginations, supervised play strikes me as a little absurd. A "snake bush" (as we called the American yew) was a very prickly fort, which some of us defended, armed with barrel tops as shields, while others, as red Indians armed with small pine tree leaders for javelins, attacked with yells and war whoops. An old oak tree was converted into a gymnasium, with a punching bag made of bed ticking stuffed with bran, a trapeze, a rope to climb, and so on. With an old cannon ball we put the shot. We built huts in any little piece of woods, and were happy for days and days in an imagined world far, far from sordid, bread and butter reality. The only supervision I recall was in the use of edged tools. I was taught, thank God, to use a saw, a plane, a chisel, when I was but 8 years old, and at 10 I was able to build a 12-foot canvas

canoe which really floated and took me all over Birch Meadow in the flooded spring. Teach a boy really to make something with tools, to make it strong and right, and you have done more to make him happy, to develop him, than you can accomplish in any other way. Give him power to realize his own dreams, not try to supply him with the dreams you think he ought to have.

But I am getting far afield, having started merely to suggest that in the games and folk lore of childhood is a fascinating field for the study of oral tradition, that might conceivably throw some light on the processes of adult folk lore. I once sat on the balcony of a New York Club for several nights, and watched the birth and development of a new game, invented by the two daughters and the son of the janitor of a building across the street. It was played with a rubber ball, which had to be bounced down with the flat of the hand, upon the squares of sidewalk pavement, in a certain one-two-three order, while the player hopped after it on one foot, and could neither miss a bounce nor step on a crack. From night to night it grew, till it became extremely intricate and difficult. I have no doubt it was passed on along the block, and became a regular pastime of the poor little side-walk children, who, after all, show a marvelous adaptability, and are not discouraged by their stony environment. Such an environment, however, is far from ideal. A certain safe, free space, with grass and trees and a bit of woods and water, with some mystery to it, so one can seem hidden away, and then a lot of children turned loose to play, not "supervised" at all, is what I like best to see. If their little minds have been stocked in advance with stories and reading which feed and stimulate the imagination, have no fear but they will invent better games than you can. For that matter, have no fear but a thousand games from the remotest part will be taught to them, nobody can say just how, by the mysterious processes of oral tradition. The Southern Mountaineers may still sing the songs of Shakespeare's England, while we wonder at it. But right in the heart of the Eastern seaboard children still sing the songs and play the games of Shakespeare's England, and we do not think it strange at all.



"We have just learned of a teacher who started poor twenty years ago and has retired with the comfortable fortune of \$50,000. This was acquired through industry, economy, conscientious effort, indomitable perseverance and the death of an uncle who left her an estate valued at \$49,999.50."—*Seneca Voc'l School.*

THE WAY THEY ANSWER 'EM

(From high school students' examination papers in civics)

All countries are naturalized but all of them aren't civilized yet. A country is naturalized when it has something natural in it. When you become a citizen you have to answer allegiance to your old country.

The Serpent of the Nile was Cleopatra, who vamped Antony. The answers of the oracle were often amphibious.

—*School and Community.*

The "information tests" now so popular sometimes elicit strange information. Here are some aberrant answers obtained in the questionnaire of the Friends School of Philadelphia:

Define "doughboy"?

A name for American soldiers because the Secretary of War is named Baker.

Who founded the Methodists?

Methuselah.

Define "unicorn"?

A kind of bunion.

Define "dromedary"?

A place where students board.

What is a "silo"?

A kind of musical instrument.

Who is John Drinkwater?

The man who is making England dry.

What is a "palliative"?

Something to put out fires.

What is a "perambulator"?

Something to make coffee in.

What is the "Buford"?

The "Buford" is the ship used to deport alienists who are undesirable.

What is a "pedagogue"?

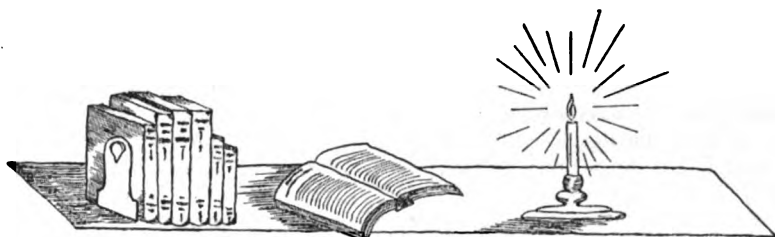
Something with ten sides.

A teacher who will not listen to reason.

One who is worshipped as a god.

An idiot.

—*The Independent.*



BOOK SHELF

THE ALMOSTS. A Study of the Feeble-Minded. Helen MacMurchy. New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, \$1.50.

This is an interesting attempt to illustrate certain types of feeble-mindedness by excerpts from the descriptions of famous characters in fiction, ranging from the Fools of Shakespeare to "Kippy" in Alice Hegan Rice's "Mr. Off." Dr. MacMurchy devotes her last chapter to an appeal for kindness and sensible training for the mentally subnormal whom she says, it is "easy to make happy, safe and useful."

M. B. E.

SCHOOL STATISTICS AND PUBLICITY. Carter Alexander. New York: Silver, Burdett & Company, \$1.80.

This book is an excellent text-book for those engaged in school administration. "The man of the hour," the editor states in his preface, "is the superintendent of schools," and his chief weapon in leading the people of a community in educational activity is publicity. Mr. Carter explains how effective publicity can be secured through the proper collection, compilation and interpretation of school statistics, and, fully as important, through the presentation of such data in a simple and graphic form. The value of the book is increased through the use of frequent illustrations taken from school surveys and reports which have been made during the last few years. If Mr. Carter's suggestions are followed out by school officials and his methods adopted, the book will accomplish its purpose, "to make known to the public those inner workings of the school, to the end that fluid educational interest may take on stability of action directed towards progressive ends."

G. H. F.

BOY-WORK: EXPLOITATION OR TRAINING. Rev. Spencer J. Gibb. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

The author states his thesis rather neatly in the first chapter:

"The value of the apprentice" (under the earlier industrial scheme) "lay, not in what he was doing, but in what he was becoming. . . . To-day this principle has been reversed. Exploitation, in fine, has taken the place of training."

We are thus made acquainted with the author's point of view and are quite prepared for the discussion which follows. It is most rapidly explained by citing the chapter legends: The Problem; The Boy; The Work; The Choice of Work; The Elementary School; The Continuation School; The Reform of Boy-Work; Conclusion.

His presentation of the "The Boy," in a manner compatible with the size of the book covers the physical and psychological changes occurring at adolescence with particular reference to his entry into work. "The Work" is an intelligent discussion of the "blind alley" question, pointing out how certain jobs have in them the essence of "training for the future" if only some effort be made by the employer. In the chapter called "The Choice of Work," which is an English phrase for Vocational Guidance, the author reviews the confusion arising from vesting the authority for directing juvenile employment in two bodies, the Board of Trade and the Board of Education.

School troubles exist in England as well as in America, and there as here "the problem is one of method." Continuation schools apparently stand a splendid chance of success with the provision under the Education Act of 1918, for their extension throughout the island. It is interesting to observe that old Mr. Cotton Trades protested vigorously against this section of the Act—its coming, he prophesied, would "mortally endanger the industry."

To our great surprise Mr. Gibbs says that one blind alley which "seems to be necessary is that of telegraph messenger." If presented as *boy-work*, it might be a tonic for ill-health, or a discipline for boys in need of probationary treatment. In view of the fact that he has earlier pointed out the exposure to the elements, and that this service at night is generally conceded to be morally dangerous, we are a bit shocked that this occupation should be considered for the adolescent boy.

As an introduction to the child labor problem in England this little book is useful, but its value is limited because one does not feel that the author speaks from an intimate knowledge of the question. It is perhaps partly a matter of compression, though that is a vice not to be entirely despised.

R. A. A.

A PHILOSOPHY OF PLAY. Luther Halsey Gulick. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, \$1.60.

"If you want to know what a child is, study his play; if you want to affect what he shall be, direct the form of play." So writes Joseph Lee in a "Foreword" to Dr. Gulick's posthumous book called "A Philosophy of Play." Dr. Gulick was a scientific and sympathetic student of his subject and no man has had better opportunities for study. His professional connection with physical training, athletics and games covered twenty years. His treatment of the psychology of play emphasizes racial heredity without ignoring the element of social tradition. This book is the most important contribution to the literature interpretative of play that has been made since Hall's "Adolescence"

and Lee's "Play in Education," with the possible exception of Patrick's "Psychology of Relaxation." It should be noted that much of Dr. Gulick's theory has previously been published in monographs and books. The present volume is a summing up of his observations and conclusions.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON PLAY AND RECREATION. Howard R. Knight and Marguerita P. Williams. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 35 cents.

The Department of Recreation of the Russell Sage Foundation has published a revised and enlarged edition of its 48-page pamphlet bearing the above title. This constitutes an up-to-date and fairly complete bibliography of play, recreation and community center activities, arranged under twenty main heads.

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Reserved for review in a later issue:

THE SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT AND SOCIAL WORK. Arthur James Todd. Macmillan Company, \$2.00.

WHAT THE WAR TEACHES ABOUT EDUCATION. Ernest Carroll Moore. Macmillan Company, \$1.40.

A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION. Walter S. Athearn. George H. Doran Company, \$1.50.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NERVOUS CHILD. Mrs. Elida Evans. Dodd, Mead and Company, \$2.50.

PSYCHOLOGY OF NATIONALITY AND INTERNATIONALISM. Prof. W. B. Pillsbury. D. Appleton and Company, \$2.50.

ARMY MENTAL TESTS. Yoakum and Yerkes. Henry Holt and Company, \$1.50.

HEY RUB-A-DUB-DUB. Theodore Dreiser. Boni and Liveright, \$2.00.

GAMES FOR CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT. Hilda A. Wrightson. The James A. McCann Company, \$1.75.

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The American Child



A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF GENERAL CHILD WELFARE

NOVEMBER 1920



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Incorporated to promote the interests of children

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IN THIS NUMBER

Child Labor in the Imperial Valley

Why Accidents Happen to Working Children

What the National Child Labor Committee Has Done This Year

Tenement Homework in New York City

The Relation of Work to Play

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THIS NUMBER FIFTY CENTS



Prof. A C. Coolidge

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AMERICAN PROGRESS

1620-1920

Just three hundred years ago that visionary band of Pilgrims gave thanks for their safe arrival in the land of opportunity. Three centuries of American progress!

But did those Pilgrim Fathers dream that progress would bring what it has? They brought up their children to work, instilled in them that sense of responsibility which has been the basis of much of our social effort, but especially taught them to revere education. Almost the first thing the Pilgrims did was to establish schools for their children, the free, public schools of America.

And today?

There are at least five and a half million illiterates in the United States.

Nearly one-fifth of all American children between 10 and 15 are out of school earning their own living.

Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas and Wisconsin all report a startling increase in the number of children leaving school to go to work in the year 1920.

Is this the progress that the Pilgrim Fathers intended? Is it a progress consistent with American ideals? Can we afford to progress at the expense of children?

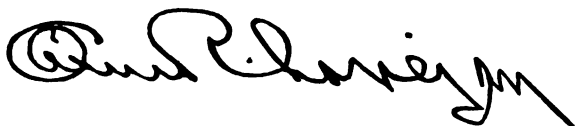
1921 is what we call a big legislative year; 42 state legislatures will be in session, and in them we hope to initiate better school, health, labor, and general welfare laws for children. In 15 of these

states such advances are imperative. We are also pushing our constructive state surveys, studying the actual conditions surrounding children in a given environment, and suggesting the particular measures necessary for their welfare. We are trying to deal not merely in palliative effort, but to get to the bottom of the thing.

Stephen Leacock says in "The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice":

"The chief immediate direction of social effort should be towards the attempt to give every human being in childhood adequate food, clothing, education, and an opportunity in life. This will prove to be the beginning of many things."

And we agree with him.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, which appears to read "Andrew Carnegie". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping tail at the end.

NEWS FROM THE CHILD WELFARE FIELD

The N. C. L. C. in West Virginia

Through the generosity of several public-spirited men and women of West Virginia, the National Child Labor Committee is enabled to study the conditions affecting children in that state in the fields of health, schools, labor, rural life, dependency, and delinquency, the laws relating to these fields, and the administrative agencies at work in them. The study is already under way.

The N. C. L. C. in Tennessee

The Tennessee Child Welfare Commission has just issued a small six-page pamphlet for general distribution in the state. We quote a portion, as follows:

"The Tennessee Child Welfare Commission was appointed by Governor Roberts in January, 1920, to perform a four-fold task—

1. To find out what are the actual conditions affecting child life in Tennessee.

2. To examine critically the existing system of law and administration so far as it concerns children.

3. To prepare a report of findings and recommendations to be submitted to the Governor and the Legislature.

4. To assist in getting old laws amended and new laws passed in cases where such legislative action is found to be desirable.

The State of Tennessee has long accepted—from the very time of adopting its Constitution—the policy of providing through law and administrative agencies for the protection and education of its children. The appointment of the Child Welfare Commission, for the special purposes above described, is in line with this well-established policy.

A Children's Code is the goal toward which the Commission is working. A children's code is a *charter of children's rights*, or, since

rights imply reciprocal duties, a comprehensive and thoroughly unified system of law and administration effectualizing in the highest possible degree the duties of the State toward its wards, the children. It is a name for an improved system in which—

1. All the laws relating to children are brought into harmony with one another.

2. The laws, on the one hand, and the administrative agencies, on the other, are better coordinated.

3. Both laws and administration are fitted to present conditions and adapted to modern legislative and administrative standards.

A children's code deals primarily with boys and girls, their interests and needs. It is legislative social service whose object is to enrich and to make secure the realm of childhood.

A child welfare survey of the whole State of Tennessee and covering all phases of child life in their manifold inter-relations was the first necessary step for the Commission to take—the gathering of authentic information. The Commission called to its aid the National Child Labor Committee, which had performed similar service with conspicuous success in other States. A staff of specialists has been at work in Tennessee for eight months making *one of the most comprehensive and exhaustive studies of child-welfare conditions and problems that has ever been made on a State-wide scale.* Their report, now before the Commission, embraces chapters on—

1. The Child and the State.
2. Health.
3. Schools.
4. Recreation.
5. Child Labor.

6. Rural Life.
7. Juvenile Courts.
8. Mothers' Pensions.
9. Institutions.
10. Home Finding.

This report is a remarkable exemplification of the scientific spirit in social work. Representatives of the National Committee will continue to assist the Commission in giving proper publicity to the facts obtained by the survey and in framing bills for presentation to the Legislature."

Hine's Photographs of Life and Labor

An exhibition of photographs by Lewis W. Hine was on public view at the Civic Club, New York City, from October 27th to

November 3rd. Mr. Hine's long experience with the Survey, the National Child Labor Committee and recently with the American Red Cross in Europe make his title for the exhibition, "An Interpretation of Life and Labor in Photographs," really descriptive. The artistic quality of the pictures may be judged by the fact that they had recently been shown at the National Arts Club, where they had the distinction of being the first exhibit of photographs ever shown there.

Beginning with the immigrant "On the Threshold," at Ellis Island, the pictures follow the worker into the tenements, and into many kinds of industry, in all parts of the country. The underlying motive of Mr. Hine's work has been to interpret the worker to himself as well as to the world.

Homework—To Be or Not To Be?

We quote from the trade journal, *Women's Wear*:

"A seventh trade association has been added to the list of members of the Associated Homework Industries of New York striving to prevent the abolition of homework in the State. . . . The list of members of the Associated Homework Industries now consists of the Associated Flower and Fancy Feather Manufacturers, the Hand Embroiderers' Association, the Children's Dress Manufacturers' Association, the Veiling Association of New York, the Passementerie and Trimming Manufacturers' Association, and the Ladies' Neckwear Association. . . . All the humanitarian causes for objection to homework have been removed, the members of the body maintain, and a study of the conditions now existing in the homes where work is done will show that all the charges of unsanitary conditions, child labor, etc., made by those striving to abolish homework are unfounded and unjust, they say."

There's an article on homework in the present issue of *The American Child*. Better read it, and see if you agree with the views of the Associated Home Industries. Better read, also, Miss Emma Duke's study of "Home Work," reprinted from the *Journal of Industrial Hygiene*. Copies may be obtained from the National Child Labor Committee.

How A Law Works

In Maine the legislature passed a law in January, 1919, providing that no child under 15 might be employed for hire while schools were in session. Maine is not a great child-employing state, but there were at that time 1,058 children between 14 and 16, working in all gainful occupations with permits, and the following September there were 1,545 children at work. Since the schools opened that month, however, and the law was for the first time effective, the number was immediately reduced to 862 who actually held work permits in the month of October. The law had put 683 children back in school.

Uncle Sam's Investment in Childhood

A preliminary statement of internal revenue collections for the fiscal year 1920, issued by the United States Bureau of Internal Revenue, contains the information that "approximately \$90,000 was expended for enforcing the provisions of the child-labor act," while taxes collected under this act amounted to \$2,380.20. A loss to the government of \$87,619.80, but an incalculable profit to the country.

Child-Caring Information Bureau

The Bureau for Exchange of Information among Child-helping Organizations has plans under way for the reorganization of its work under the directorship of Mr. C. C. Carstens, who comes to it after fourteen years of service as Secretary of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. This reorganization has been made possible by a grant from the Commonwealth Fund for the development of a field service to the constituent agencies of the Bureau which include sixty-eight child-caring and child-placing agencies, children's protective agencies and public departments for child care.

The Bureau originated at an informal conference held in connection with the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in Baltimore, in 1915. It was organized for the purpose of improving inter-society service, and for the exchange among members

of publicity material and information concerning policies, standards, methods of work, and other matters of general interest.

Ever since its organization the Bureau has hoped to develop a field service but until now funds for this have not been available. Many of the constituent agencies have been conscious of deficiencies in their work and have grown up in response to local needs during a period when principles and methods of child care have been to a large extent in the making. The result is that the greatest divergence in methods exists even among agencies doing similar work and little attempt has been made to compare methods or results. It will be the aim of the reorganized Bureau eventually to bring about comparable methods of recording essential information in order that the experience of the various agencies may be made available for the benefit of others; to encourage more thorough case work, uniform terminology and methods, and to develop a child-caring technique. Mr. Carstens expects to take up his full duties as Director of the Bureau on January 1, 1921.

Child Welfare in Connecticut

Due to the efforts of the Connecticut Child Welfare Association and certain interested individuals, the last session (1919) of the Connecticut Legislature enacted legislation creating a Commission on Child Welfare. The bill included no specific appropriation of funds to the Commission; its members were to serve without pay, but the Commission was permitted to incur such expenses as might be approved by the State Board of Control. The duties of the Commission on Child Welfare as imposed by law may best be presented by direct quotations from the act creating the Commission. The Commission is "to study and investigate the laws, conditions and practice of this and other states and countries relating to dependent, neglected, defective and delinquent children and the entire question of child welfare, and report the results of its investigation to the next session of the general assembly. Said Commission shall embody in its report a proposed code of laws, which shall include a revision of the provisions of the general statutes relating to children, with such changes and additions as it may deem advisable."

The Commission organized in the summer of 1919. Committees were formed subdividing the general group into smaller sections for the consideration of various aspects of the field of child welfare. A chairman, Dean W. P. Ladd of Berkeley Divinity Schools, was elected. Professor H. P. Fairchild, of New York University, was appointed executive secretary.

At the present time, the following pieces of work are being carried on or have been completed in the State of Connecticut by the Child Welfare Commission:

- (a) Case studies of children placed in family homes by public and private agencies.
- (b) A survey of all child-caring institutions.
- (c) A study of care of children under four by town authorities.
- (d) A study of court treatment of children and juvenile probation.
- (e) A review of the public provision for defective children.
- (f) Some very special case studies.

The object of these studies is of course two-fold, namely to demonstrate the need for revision in present legislation and to point out the lines along which remedial legislation is necessary. To facilitate the legislative work, the office staff has worked over very thoroughly the present legislation of Connecticut and has studied legislation of a similar nature in many other states. Further, some work has been accomplished in the way of legislative revision without the necessity for a correlative field study, as, for instance, on measures for children born out of wedlock.

Hoover and the Constitution

Herbert C. Hoover is one person, at least, who believes that if national regulation of child employment is not at present constitutional, the Constitution needs amending once more. Before the American Child Hygiene Association in St. Louis, October 11, he said:

"Up to the present the federal government has not been able to deal comprehensively with the subject of child labor. The original child labor law was declared unconstitutional. The present

federal child labor law imposes a tax of 10 per cent upon the net profits of any factory, mine or quarry employing children under 14 or 16 years. The federal government is incapable of making provision against other employment, and thus the great mass of children employed in street trades and various blind-alley occupations goes on unhindered. It appears to me absolutely critical that we should have such Constitutional amendment as permits the federal government to take direct action on this question, for so long as certain states are so backward in their social development that they will sacrifice their children to industrial advantage, it is not only unfair to the other states, but it is poisoning the springs of the nation at their source."

Mr. Hoover in this address gave his idea of "a program for American children," basing his whole discussion upon the principle that "the nation as a whole, has the obligation of such measures toward its children as a whole as will yield to them an equal opportunity at their start in life." He touched upon health, nutrition, housing, labor and education in relation to children and said in closing, "If we could grapple with the whole child situation for one generation, our public health, our economic efficiency, the moral character, sanity and stability of our people would advance three generations in one."

Juvenile Courts in North Carolina

Readers of *The American Child* will be interested in the following excerpts from the Bulletin of the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, of which Roland F. Beasley is the executive officer. The North Carolina Juvenile Court Law follows almost exactly the wording of the measure recommended by the National Child Labor Committee in its report on child welfare in that state.

"The office of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare has compiled the figures of juvenile court work in the State embracing the period from the time the law went into effect last year to July 1, 1920. While the law went into effect on the adjournment of the Legislature of 1919, no county superintendents of public welfare were appointed till July, August and September. Since these officials are the probation officers of the juvenile courts, little

work could be done until these officials were appointed and received some preliminary instruction in their work.

"At the Summer Institute for County Superintendents, held for six weeks at the University this summer, juvenile court work made a large part of the program, and two days each week were given to the students in actual field work in nearby localities.

"During the present year the Supreme Court of the State has handed down a most able and illuminating opinion written by Judge Hoke, upholding the Juvenile Court Law.

"The special session of the legislature passed an act permitting the towns of over 25,000 population to combine with the county in maintaining a juvenile court for town and county with a judge unconnected with any other court.

"Figures for the first year's work have not been obtainable with perfect accuracy, but there are enough to show that 4,404 children received the protection or discipline of the juvenile courts and the county superintendents of public welfare up to July 1, 1920. Of these children about one-third were colored and two-thirds white. Of these 2,640 were actually in court in person, and their records so entered on the 'Juvenile Record'—not a criminal record—while 1,764 cases were adjusted out of court."

"School Week" To Be Observed

"School Week" will be observed throughout the nation the week of December 5-11, as the Commissioner of Education is designating the first full week in December as "School Week," and is requesting the governors and the chief school officers of the several States and Territories to take such action as may be necessary to cause the people to use this week in such way as will most effectively disseminate among the people accurate information in regard to the conditions and needs of the schools, enhance appreciation of the value of education, and create such interest as will result in better opportunities for education, and larger appropriations for schools of all kinds and grades.

The Commissioner of Education suggests that during this week the public press should give more attention, and a larger amount of space to educational topics than usual, and that on

Sunday, December 5, ministers should use one or more of their church services for emphasizing the importance of education. Friday afternoon and evening of "School Week" has been designated as the date on which community meetings in the interest of education should be held at all schoolhouses, both in city and country, for the purpose of discussing the needs of the schools of the several communities, the means of meeting these needs, and of remedying conditions.

Don't forget Child Labor Day!—January 23, 1921 for churches; January 22 for synagogues, and January 24 for schools, colleges and clubs.

It comes at the end of National Thrift Week, and we plan to emphasize the relation of child labor to national thrift—the waste of child labor to the nation in health, education, efficiency and happiness. Pamphlets and special information for use in observing the Day will be distributed.

Will you see that it is observed in your community?

Write us for further information.

The American Child

A Journal of Constructive Democracy

Published Quarterly

OWEN R. LOVEJOY - - - - - *Editor*
RAYMOND G. FULLER - - - - - *Managing Editor*

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Yearly subscription, four issues, two dollars. Single copies fifty cents.

Address:

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE
105 East 22nd Street - - New York City

Contributors to this Issue

Emma Duke, formerly director, Industrial Division, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor. Went to the Pacific Coast to study child welfare conditions for the National Child Labor Committee in October, 1919. She spent twelve months gathering material through the Imperial and Sacramento Valleys and was assisted in this work by Miss Fanny A. Smith of Boston. Miss Duke is now undertaking some special work in connection with statistical material gathered by Henry Street Settlement.

Lucile Eaves, director, Research Department, Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston, Massachusetts.

Mrs. Mary G. Schonberg, formerly factory inspector assigned to tenement homework under the New York State Industrial Commission. Mrs. Schonberg is now secretary of the Child Welfare Division of the Women's City Club.

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT
of the
NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE
For the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1920

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, *General Secretary*

LEGISLATION

Eleven state legislatures met in regular session in 1920, and in addition special sessions were called in a number of states. From the standpoint of our work the most important legislative change was in Kentucky.

Kentucky

At the request of the Kentucky State Board of Health and the Child Labor Association in 1919, we made a study of child-welfare conditions in that state. The Committee recommended a program of legislation in which the most important features were:

1. Creation of a Children's Code Commission to coordinate and standardize all laws relating to children.
2. Increased appropriations for the State Board of Health for various purposes, including organization of county health units.
3. Taking the offices of state superintendent of public instruction and county superintendents of schools out of partisan politics.
4. Standardization of child labor and compulsory education laws.
5. Establishment of a Department of Labor in the state government.
6. Establishment of a state department for handling public welfare work.
7. Various improvements in the juvenile court situation.

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The legislature, at the session of 1920, took action on a large part of this program. A publicity campaign was carried on and two members of the Committee's staff assisted in drawing up bills and getting them passed.

1. The governor appointed a Children's Code Commission as authorized by statute and the Commission is now at work. This was the main recommendation of the Committee and likely to be the most far-reaching in results.
2. The total appropriation for the state health work was more than doubled, and a bureau established to promote county organization.
3. Resolutions were passed as a step toward amending the constitution in such a way that the offices of state superintendent of public instruction and county school superintendent can be taken out of party politics.
4. The child labor and compulsory education laws were improved in several important respects.
5. A Board of Charities and Correction was created. There had been none before.
6. A Domestic Relations Court for Louisville was created.

Alabama

In addition to the legislative achievements in Kentucky, perhaps the most encouraging advance occurred in Alabama. Following the establishment of the Child Welfare Department provided by the Alabama Legislature in 1919, and efficiently organized by Mrs. L. B. Bush, formerly of this staff, a bill was introduced at the special session of the legislature providing for an increase of the annual appropriation from \$12,500 to \$30,000. This bill was enacted without change and will enable the Department still further to develop the agencies for child welfare recommended in our report.

Other States

Legislation was enacted in the following states:

Louisiana

Makes provision for mother's pensions.

Massachusetts

Prohibits the operation, cleaning or repairing of freight elevators by children under 16 years.

Mississippi

Compulsory school attendance is made state-wide, (except that districts may, by their own vote, be exempted); increases the required school term from 60 to 80 days a year.

New York

Creates a children's code commission to revise and standardize the laws of the state which relate to children, and report back to the legislature; extends medical inspection provisions to include children employed in mercantile establishments.

Virginia

Provides an 8-hour day for children under 16 years in canneries, factories, mercantile establishments, etc.

We regret to record the following unfavorable legislative changes:

Delaware

At a special session the new school code was unfortunately weakened by reducing the required school attendance from 180 to 120 days a year.

Maryland

Permits non-resident minors to appear in theatrical performances with travelling companies in the City of Baltimore; and amends the work permit provisions to permit boys over 14 years of age who are mentally retarded to obtain temporary work permits.

Virginia

Permits children 12 years of age to work in canneries when schools are not in session, and to work in errand and delivery service.

INVESTIGATION

In most of the states above referred to the Committee provided one or more of its field staff to study conditions and advise on desirable legislative improvements. The principal field investigation during the year, however, was in Tennessee. The Committee received an invitation from Governor Roberts, the five state departments of health, labor, schools, charities and agriculture,

the University of Tennessee, the Anti-Tuberculosis Association, and other local agencies in the State and a guaranty of \$7,000 toward covering the expenses of the investigation. Eight members of the staff spent approximately four months each in the field assembling material and at the close of this fiscal year the report is in the printer's hands. The co-operation of the state departments and interested citizens has been extremely gratifying and we have reason to believe that at the next session of the legislature important changes will be made, especially in the interest of better education and health standards and in better protection for working children.

FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LAW

The test case against the Federal Child Labor Taxing measure involving its constitutionality entitled *The Atherton Mills appellant, v. Eugene T. Johnston et al.*, 124 October Term, 1920, was argued and taken under advisement by the United States Supreme Court, December 10, 1919. No decision has yet been announced.

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Fifteenth Annual Conference was held in connection with the National Conference of Social Work at New Orleans, April 15, 1920. The topic announced was "The National Child Labor Committee at Work" and at the three sessions addresses were given by members of the staff describing their actual experiences in the field. A report of the Conference was published in the August issue of *The American Child*.

While sessions were not as many as in former years it was felt that the opportunity of presenting our work before members of the National Conference more than compensated and it has been decided to hold our next annual meeting in connection with the National Conference of Social Work in Milwaukee, June, 1921.

OFFICIAL MEETINGS

The Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Corporation was held at the office of the Committee, Room 415, 105 East 22nd Street,

New York City, at four-thirty Tuesday afternoon, November 18, 1919. The following Trustees were elected for a term of five years to succeed themselves: Jane Addams, Henry Bruère, Francis G. Caffey, William E. Harmon. During the year four new names were added to the Board of Trustees: R. J. Caldwell, Charles H. Frazier, Mrs. Agnes Brown Leach and Henry W. Thurston.

Three meetings of the Board have been held during the year: November 18, 1919, December 8, 1919, and June 9, 1920.

CO-OPERATION

The Committee has continued its intimate co-operation with the Child Health Organization of America giving office and clerical help, banking its funds and issuing all vouchers for the payment of accounts. The work of the Child Health Organization has developed with remarkable rapidity and it is apparent that in the near future it will be found wise for the Organization to take over its financial records and administer its own business affairs.

This will not however, be a step in the direction of separation as during the year a closer affiliation has been made not only with the Child Health Organization but with the American Child Hygiene Association, American Red Cross, National Organization for Public Health Nursing and National Tuberculosis Association in the formation of the Council for Co-ordinating Child Health Activities. The Red Cross has generously offered to finance the work for the first year and Mr. Courtney Dinwiddie has been selected as Director of the work of the Council. One of the first activities to be undertaken will be a three or five year child health demonstration in some city of approximately 25,000 population—the demonstration to be carried on something after the manner of the Framingham (Mass.) work.

During the year the National Child Labor Committee has been called in conference with the following:

1. American Country Life Association.
2. Representatives of social welfare organizations invited by a special committee appointed by the National Conference of Social Work. This Conference met in Washington on October 1st, and after extended discussion adopted the following resolutions:

"Whereas, The need for greater efficiency, economy and better co-ordination of the work of national social agencies and associations is apparent and urgent, therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That the national social agencies composing the National Information Bureau and such others, public and private, as are willing, meet for conference periodically to report and study their activities and services with the prospect of dividing into functional groups for more intensive study, if desirable, and that the Executive Committee of the National Information Bureau be asked to draft and within four months submit to the first conference, for discussion, a simple plan of procedure for such conferences, and

"*Resolved*, That national organizations which are members of the National Information Bureau, and such others as are willing, be invited to record with the National Information Bureau the places in which they are now working, and to notify the National Information Bureau periodically of the new places entered.

"Such organizations are urged, if practicable, to describe briefly the work carried on in each place where they have an office.

"This recommendation is intended to apply to national federated associations and government agencies so far as it may be practicable."

3. The Interchurch World Movement. The compiled material on surveys of country life covering some nine hundred counties on America is doomed to destruction unless various social welfare organizations interested in country life make use of it. Dr. Brenner, Director, has invited us to furnish some clerical help for compiling material on such topics as relate directly to our work and to make them available for our own publication with the co-operation of the General Missions Board which has succeeded the Interchurch World Movement. Steps looking to the utilization of this material are being taken as the fiscal year closes.

In the direction of co-operation, mention should also be made of overtures to our office by various city financial federations inquiring whether a lump appropriation from their budget in lieu of our city membership campaigns would be acceptable. A contribution of \$1,750 has actually been made by the Cleveland Community Fund. Detroit, Rochester, Cincinnati, St. Paul, Minneapolis are among other cities contemplating a similar arrangement.

PUBLICITY

Four issues of *The American Child* were published, also ten leaflets and ten pamphlets, including revised editions and re-

prints of articles in *The American Child*. In addition, there were several publications of varied character, the most important being the volume on "Child Welfare in Kentucky," the report of an inquiry conducted by the Committee for the Kentucky Child Labor Association and the State Board of Health. The report contains 122 pages and an edition of 1,300 copies has been printed. The total number of pages in all publications was 9,178,600, an increase of 3,868,340 over 1918-19.

We have sent out 63 news stories and editorial articles. A member of the publicity staff conducted field publicity in Kentucky following the study made by the Committee and just preceding the meeting of the legislature. Besides distribution of press stories this work involved numerous interviews and conferences with editors and other citizens throughout the state. A similar campaign will be conducted in Tennessee.

In accordance with our yearly custom Child Labor Day was observed on Sunday, January 25th in Churches, and on January 24th and 26th in synagogues, schools and clubs. Special stories urging its observance were sent to 674 periodicals and 1,125 newspapers. Requests for special articles and printed material indicated that the day was observed in many communities.

Books, magazines, pamphlets, clippings on child labor and related subjects have been added to the library, and this material is available at our office for ready reference to representatives of organizations, students and others.

The material distributed during the year shows 2,625 pamphlets sent out for exhibits, lectures, etc., and 37,372 separate pamphlets sent to individuals, making a total of 39,997. These went to every state in the Union and in addition 411 publications were sent to foreign countries. A complete file of our magazine, *The American Child*, formerly *The Child Labor Bulletin*, was requested for the University of Louvain and the Argentine Embassy.

MEMBERSHIP

The following table presents a comparison of memberships with the report for the preceding year:

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	Sixteenth Year		Fifteenth Year	
Renewing Donors.....	68	\$13,302.02	71	\$14,237.21
New Donors.....	32	5,625.00	24	2,855.00
	100	\$18,927.02	95	\$17,092.21
Renewing Sustaining Members.....	545	\$14,870.50	521	\$14,474.90
New Sustaining Members.....	470	10,541.73	108	3,344.34
	1,015	\$25,412.23	629	\$17,819.24
Renewing Subscribing Members.....	237	\$2,516.50		
New Subscribing Members.....	148	1,557.00		
	385	\$4,073.50		
Renewing Contributing Members....	3,424	\$21,254.34	3,527	\$23,122.82
New Contributing Members.....	1,798	\$10,893.05	1,158	7,177.57
	5,222	\$32,147.39	4,685	\$30,300.39
Renewing Associate Members.....	4,067	\$8,677.62	3,978	\$8,438.17
New Associate Members.....	3,427	7,150.92	2,731	5,894.55
	7,494	\$15,828.54	6,709	\$14,332.72
Renewing Contributors.....	328	\$325.50	378	\$376.15
New Contributors.....	388	350.95	284	260.75
	716	\$676.45	662	\$636.90
Grand Total.....	14,932	\$97,065.13	12,780	\$80,181.46

This record shows that the increase in the number of members and contributors over last year is 2,152. The money subscribed was \$16,883.67, more than in the Fifteenth Year. 8,669 members, or 67.8% of last year's enrollment renewed their subscriptions during the Sixteenth Year, contributing \$60,946.48. This is 62.7% of the year's income. 6,263 new members and contributors enrolled during the year, contributing \$36,118.65. The lapsed members were addressed four times during the year and six special letters were sent to special small lists. Altogether ten letters, costing \$1,772.90 were mailed. Results: 1,716 renewals and new members and \$8,647.95.

In the interest of these membership increases the Membership Secretary and assistants travelled and presented the work of the Committee in various cities in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia.

The Membership Department has continued its policy of conducting local membership campaigns in various cities—a policy which must probably be maintained unless extensive arrangements can be made with city financial federations. Our exhibit material has been used and Constance D'Arcy Mackay's Pageant "Children of Sunshine and Shadow" successfully produced. Membership campaigns were held in: St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth, Minnesota; Evanston, Illinois; and Des Moines, Iowa. Receipts from these totalled, \$26,047.20. Special meetings have been held at Mount Vernon, White Plains, Scarsdale, Riverdale and Spuyten Duyvil, New York and at Rockville Centre, L. I., the pageant being presented in four of these places. The total results were, \$472.00. College campaigns were conducted at Vassar, Adelphi, Hunter, Barnard and at Packer Institute. The exhibit material was shown at Washington, D. C., Des Moines, Iowa, Colorado Springs, Colorado, and New Orleans, Louisiana, with the result of \$778.25. These amounts include some renewals as well as new members which accounts for a variation from the tabulated report on new members.

TREASURER'S REPORT

For the Year Ended September 30, 1920

Certified by Haskins & Sells, Certified Public Accountants

Debits

CASH ON DEPOSIT, OCTOBER 1, 1919..... \$13,212.21

RECEIPTS:

Subscriptions..... \$97,409.03

Sales of Publications..... 415.85

Legacy, Mrs. Margaret E. Zimmerman (completing
\$10,000.00)..... 5,000.00

Interest:

United States Victory Loan Notes.... \$135.70

Bank Balances..... 120.25

255.95

103,080.83

Total Debits..... \$116,293.04

Sixteenth Annual Report of the National Child Labor Committee 217

Total Debits..... \$116,293.04

Credits

EXPENSES:

Administrative Salaries.....	\$12,000.00
Clerical Salaries.....	21,758.40
Investigations.....	\$39,369.18
Less Collections from Local State Organizations.....	12,205.90
	<hr/> 27,163.28
Drafting and Supporting Legislation.....	3,000.00
Publicity.....	11,155.04
Exhibits.....	\$2,997.91
Less Collections from Local State Organizations.....	222.24
	<hr/> 2,775.67
Printing.....	13,771.83
Postage.....	4,588.43
Rent.....	1,920.00
Traveling.....	2,769.10
Stationery and Office Supplies.....	1,695.30
Telephone and Telegraph.....	720.29
Purchase of Literature Relating to Child Labor....	345.57
Accrued Interest and Expenses in Purchase of United States Victory Loan Notes.....	38.75
Miscellaneous.....	599.47

Total.....\$104,301.13

INVESTMENT—\$5,000.00 UNITED STATES VICTORY LOAN

NOTES.....	4,895.00
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES.....	1,106.44
ACCOUNTS PAYABLE AT BEGINNING OF THE YEAR....	381.07

Total Credits..... 110,683.64

CASH ON DEPOSIT, SEPTEMBER 30, 1920..... \$5,609.40

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES

For the Year Ended September 30, 1920

INCOME:

Subscriptions:

Collected During the Year..... \$97,409.03

Collected but Unearned at Beginning
of the Year..... 6,351.50

Total.....\$103,760.53

Less Collected but Unearned at End
of the Year..... 6,543.50

Earned During the Year..... \$97,217.03

Sales of Publications..... 415.85

Legacy, Mrs. Margaret E. Zimmerman (completing
\$10,000.00)..... 5,000.00

Interest:

United States Victory Loan Notes.. \$476.07

Bank Balances..... 120.25

596.32

Total.....\$103,229.20

EXPENSES:

Administrative Salaries..... \$12,000.00

Clerical Salaries..... 21,910.50

Investigations..... 27,386.62

Drafting and Supporting Legislation..... 3,000.00

Publicity..... 11,204.45

Exhibits..... 2,775.67

Printing..... 15,674.83

Postage..... 4,688.52

Rent..... 1,920.00

Traveling..... 2,769.10

Stationery and Office Supplies..... 1,773.61

Telephone and Telegraph..... 737.49

Purchase of Literature Relating to Child Labor.... 345.57

Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures..... 276.09

Miscellaneous..... 615.03

Total..... 107,077.48

DEFICIT FOR THE YEAR..... \$3,848.28

SURPLUS, OCTOBER 1, 1919..... 12,982.59

SURPLUS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1920..... \$9,134.31

GENERAL BALANCE SHEET

September 30, 1920

Assets

CASH ON DEPOSIT, PER EXHIBIT "C"	\$5,609.40
UNITED STATES VICTORY LOAN NOTES, PAR VALUE \$10,000.00...	9,895.00
ACCRUED INTEREST ON UNITED STATES VICTORY LOAN NOTES....	376.00
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES.....	\$2,760.93
LESS RESERVE FOR DEPRECIATION.....	577.63
	<hr/>
	2,183.30
EXHIBIT PARAPHERNALIA.....	150.00
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$18,213.70

Liabilities

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE.....	\$2,535.89
UNEARNED PORTION OF SUBSCRIPTIONS COLLECTED.....	6,543.50
SURPLUS, PER EXHIBIT "B".....	9,134.31
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$18,213.70

ADDRESSES

STATE	Mr. Lovejoy	Mr. Swift	Miss Eschen- brenner	Miss Ellis	Total
Alabama.....	4	0	0	0	4
Connecticut.....	1	0	0	0	1
District of Columbia.....	1	0	0	1	2
Florida.....	1	0	0	0	1
Georgia.....	7	0	0	0	7
Illinois.....	4	1	1	0	6
Kentucky.....	0	4	0	3	7
Louisiana.....	5	2	2	1	10
Maine.....	0	1	0	0	1
Massachusetts.....	6	0	0	0	6
Michigan.....	4	0	0	0	4
Minnesota.....	2	0	119	0	121
Missouri.....	2	0	0	0	2
New Jersey.....	3	0	0	0	3
New York.....	26	0	1	0	27
North Carolina.....	1	0	0	0	1
Ohio.....	5	0	0	0	5
Oklahoma.....	1	0	0	0	1
Pennsylvania.....	4	0	0	0	4
Rhode Island.....	1	0	0	0	1
South Carolina.....	1	0	0	0	1
Tennessee.....	2	1	0	5	8
Texas.....	16	0	0	0	16
Virginia.....	1	0	0	0	1
West Virginia.....	3	0	0	0	3
Wisconsin.....	1	0	0	0	1
Canada.....	3	0	0	0	3
Total.....	105	9	123	10	247

CONFERENCES ATTENDED

District of Columbia.....	1
Florida.....	2
Illinois.....	1
Kentucky.....	2
Louisiana.....	3
Maine.....	1
Massachusetts.....	1
New York.....	9
Pennsylvania.....	1
Tennessee.....	8
Texas.....	2
Total.....	31

TRAVEL

	Miles
Owen R. Lovejoy.....	33,777
Wiley H. Swift.....	14,005
Josephine J. Eschenbrenner.....	7,436
Raymond G. Fuller.....	12,500
Harold H. Mitchell.....	10,000
Mabel Brown Ellis.....	8,982
Gertrude Folks.....	8,500
Mrs. L. B. Bush.....	6,000
Total.....	101,200

Others on the staff have travelled approximately 24,000 miles.

The past year has been in some respects the most gratifying in the history of the Committee. While legislative achievements have not been as many or as striking as in some former years and in a few instances backward steps have been taken, the public response to our appeal based on the general protection of American children has exceeded our anticipation.

The advances in travel, printing, salaries and other costs account for the increased expenditure of funds noted in the financial report. It is hoped that with the large number of legislatures meeting in the coming year and the closer association of our organization with others interested in child protection, even more work may be accomplished without any substantial increase in the total budget.

The Secretary desires to express appreciation of the faithfulness and enthusiasm of the staff members, and of the patience and consideration given to all questions of policy by the members of the Board of Trustees. We believe the principles and standards of the Committee make a definite contribution to the development of an intelligent and efficient American citizenship and confidently solicit from our members and the public a continuance of their support in order to hasten the day when every child in America shall have a chance to learn and to grow.

Respectfully submitted,

OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
General Secretary.

ONE THOUSAND INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS SUFFERED BY MASSACHUSETTS CHILDREN*

LUCILE EAVES

Records of a thousand accidents to wage-earning children 14 and 15 years of age were copied and tabulated by students in the class in Social Inquiry of the School of Social Work of Simmons College. Although the majority of these accidents caused trivial injuries like those commonly suffered by active children while in their homes or on the playgrounds, there were 62 cases of permanent mutilations and six of the accidents were fatal. Is it possible to throw further safeguards about the children who are forced at an early age to become wage-earners, or must we conclude that factories cannot be made safe for children, and unite in urging our legislators to accept the new minimum standard which forbids the industrial employment of children whose age is less than sixteen?† Massachusetts legislators have been willing to adopt all measures short of this absolute prohibition of employment which promised protection for the children who go to work before they have reached their sixteenth birthdays.

Dangerous occupations have been specified in which it is

* These cases had been reported to the Massachusetts Industrial Accident Board in accordance with the requirements of the Workmen's Compensation Act. Mr. Edwin C. Mulready, the former Massachusetts Commissioner of Labor, had all accidents to children investigated by the factory inspectors. He permitted us to make use of their reports in order to organize information which might be used in accident-prevention activities.

† The recent conferences on *Standards of Child Welfare* held under the direction of the Federal Children's Bureau adopted certain "Minimum Standards for Children Entering Employment," among which was the following: "An age minimum of 16 for employment in any occupation, except that children between 14 and 16 may be employed in agriculture and domestic service during vacation periods."—Children's Bureau Publication No. 60, p. 433.

unlawful to use the labor of juvenile workers.* When a child applies for a work certificate, he must bring with him a statement signed by his prospective employer which gives "the character of the specific† employment" for which the child is engaged, and pledges the observance of the laws regulating the use of child labor. The statutes provide also for a medical examination which shall determine the child's physical fitness for the work proposed, but recent investigations prove that there are but few Massachusetts

* Dangerous trades forbidden for children under 16 are:

Circular or band saws, wood shapers, wood jointers, planers; picker machines, or machines used in picking wool, cotton, hair or other material; paper lace machines, leather burnishing machines; job or cylinder printing presses operated by power other than foot power; stamping machines used in sheet metal and tinware or in paper or leather manufacturing, or in washer and nut factories; metal or paper cutting machines, corner staying machines in paper box factories; corrugating rolls such as are used in corrugated paper or in roofing or washboard factories; steam boilers, dough brakes, or cracker machinery of any description; wire or iron straightening or drawing machinery, rolling mill machinery; power punches or shears, washing or grinding or mixing machinery; calender rolls in paper and rubber manufacturing or other heavy rolls driven by power; laundering machinery; dangerous electrical machinery or appliances; adjusting or assisting to adjust any hazardous belt to any machinery; oiling or cleaning hazardous machinery; near hazardous or unguarded belts, machinery or gearing in motion; on scaffolding; heavy work in the building trades; stripping, sorting, manufacturing or packing tobacco; in any tunnel or elevator; public bowling alley or pool and billiard room.

Those forbidden for all juveniles less than 18 years of age are:

Blast furnaces; hoisting machines; oiling or cleaning hazardous machinery in motion; polishing or buffing wheels; switch tending; gate tending; or track repairing; work as a brakeman, fireman, engineer, motorman or conductor upon a railroad or railway; work as a fireman or engineer upon any boat or vessel; operating motor vehicles of any description; establishments where gunpowder, nitroglycerin, dynamite or other explosive is manufactured; the manufacture of white or yellow phosphorus or phosphorus matches; elevators running faster than one hundred feet per minute.

† This word was added to the law in 1919 (Chap. 62, General Acts of 1919). State officials found this strengthening of the law necessary to its satisfactory enforcement. The need was revealed with special force in connection with the efforts to prevent children working in hazardous employments.

communities in which this examination is sufficiently thorough to insure protection from tasks unsuited to the child's physical condition.*

The failure of these precautions to accomplish their purpose is shown by statistics of the Industrial Accident Board which present data for all accidents which were sufficiently serious to prevent the completion of the day or shift in which the worker was engaged at the time of his mishap. In the fiscal year July 1, 1916 to June 30, 1917, working children under 16 years of age met with 1,416 accidents, 7 of which were fatal. In the following year there were 1,730 accidents and 5 fatalities.† The rates for deaths and permanent total disability were less for the accidents to children, but a larger proportion of their accidents resulted in permanent partial disability than was true of those reported for workers whose ages were 16 years and over.‡

VARIATIONS BY SEXES IN THE NUMBERS AND SERIOUSNESS OF INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

The boys met with accidents more frequently than the girls; they were the victims in three-fourths of the thousand cases studied. Their injuries were more serious as they suffered from over five-sixths§ of the accidents causing permanent disability and from all of those causing death. These differences between the sexes cannot be explained by the excess of boys in this age group of the wage-earning population, as the most recent occupation census of Massachusetts reported that only 58% of the workers less than 16 years of age were males.

* See the circular *Health Certificates for Working Children*, issued by the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries, June, 1920.

† Annual Reports of the Massachusetts Industrial Accident Board, 1916-1917, pp. 213-220; 1917-1918, pp. 120-121. It must be remembered that these were years when the war industries were attracting an unusual number of new minor employees.

‡ Based on the Report of the Industrial Accident Board for 1917-1918. Data are not available for calculating rates based on the numbers employed. The Massachusetts Census of 1915 reports conditions which were radically different from those of 1916-1918.

§ The exact figures are: boys, 757; girls, 243.

One Thousand Industrial Accidents Suffered by Massachusetts 225

The Massachusetts reports indicate that males of all age groups are more subject to industrial accidents than females. Over 90% of all the accidents tabulated in the reports of the Industrial Accident Board happened to males. This is 20% more than their share, as the most recent statistics of manufactures show that they constitute about 70% of the industrial workers of the state, and 72% of the total wage-earning population are males. How can we explain these great differences between the sexes in accident liabilities? Is there a general tendency to assign the more hazardous occupations to men? Are women more cautious and less disposed to take unnecessary risks?

CAUSES OF ACCIDENTS TO CHILDREN

Over half, or 579, of the thousand accidents were due directly to the wage-earning employments of the children, and the probability of meeting with many of the other injuries are much greater for the working child than for one who spends his time in school or at home. Inability to control perfectly the machinery or tools with which they worked was the chief cause of the accidents reported, as 216 of the injuries were inflicted by the machines and 110 by the hand tools with which the children were at work. Thus nearly one-third of the accidents were due to the difficulties which children experience in gaining control over the new powers given by machinery and tools. The awkwardness of children of the adolescent age, particularly of the boys, proves that they have not learned to direct perfectly the activities of their own bodies, so their inability to control fully any additional force is not surprising.

Children never should be employed in the operation of cutting and punching machines, even when only foot power is used. There were 51 cases of accidental starting of the machines or failure to withdraw hands before the knife, puncher or staple descended. The usual results were the amputation of the tips of one or more fingers or the crushing of the hand.

The following are typical examples of this class of accidents to working children:

Jacob ——— cut off the end of his left index finger when his hand slipped under the knife of a machine with which he was cutting scrap leather.

Arthur ——— was cutting cardboard when his fingers slipped under the knife. He lost the second and third fingers of his left hand.

The left index finger of Henry ——— was amputated by the stapling machine which he operated.

Lack of skill in operating a caramel cutter cost Dorothy ——— a finger.

Irving's foot slipped while he was operating a wire cutting machine. He lost the end of a finger.

Children frequently pinch their fingers in the foot-power printing presses, but these accidents are less serious as they rarely result in the permanent mutilations inflicted by cutting and punching machines.

One hundred and sixty-seven of the thousand accidents were due to the children being caught in gears, belting or shafts. Many of these mishaps can be charged to the natural irresponsibility of childhood rather than to the failure of the employer to install all possible safety devices. However, there were some instances of serious neglect, as for example two cases where clothing was caught on uncovered shafts located under work tables. It seems probable that some of the gears which seized upon fingers or clothing could have been covered, and certainly the dangerous machinery near passage-ways or drinking fountains should be enclosed; but the frequency with which the accidents to the children were charged to "playing and fooling," "carelessness" or deliberate violation of safety regulations raises questions about the possibility of making factories safe places of employment for immature and irresponsible young people. The following are examples of the grim consequences of the indulgence of childish folly while employed in modern industry:

Someone attracted B's attention while he was lifting a gear guard. The right index finger was caught and amputated to the first joint. When asked why he lifted the cover, he replied, "Just for fun."

A boy attempted to saw a piece of wood which he wished to use to stir his glue pot. His thumb was badly lacerated.

Another boy lost the second and third fingers of his right hand when he pushed them under the guard while operating foot-power shears.

After the machinery had started, Charles ——— felt of a bearing to see whether it was hot. His right hand was caught and injured.

An errand boy had his right hand forefinger crushed as a result of a foolish effort to see how near he could put his finger to a moving lathe.

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This same spirit of foolish adventure prompted another boy to uncover some gears and see how close he could put his fingers to them without being caught. He lost his left middle finger.

There were several accidents which occurred when boys gratified a childish desire to experiment with machinery operated by older, more experienced workers.

State and factory regulations did not prevent disastrous attempts to oil or clean moving machinery, and a number of accidents were due to the efforts of the children to adjust irregularities without stopping the machinery.

It is evident that these youthful, irresponsible workers cannot be protected unless they are carefully warned of the dangers and unless their more mature associates are trained to a watchful enforcement of protective regulations. Hence the need of safety committees whose activities may be stimulated by encouraging competition in the promotion of low accident rates and by the offering of rewards for suggestions which will increase safety. The Division of Industrial Safety is urging the establishment of such committees in Massachusetts factories. The inspectors reported 43 of these committees in the establishments where the 1,000 accidents to children occurred, but this item was not covered in many reports, so it seems probable that the number should be larger.

Continuous inspection of the clothing of operatives of dangerous machinery would be a part of the services of such safety committees. Loose ends of hair, dresses, aprons or shirt sleeves were often the means by which the children were drawn into the machinery. One girl was scalped and two others painfully injured by having their hair wound into the machinery, and there were cases where cuffs or tattered sleeves were caught when girls or boys were reaching over or under moving shafts or gears. Girls need close headdresses and rational short-sleeved, bloomer or over-all factory costumes, so that there will be no unnecessary risks of being caught in moving machinery.

Accidents connected with the operation of elevators and hoists caused another group of serious injuries. Elevators have a peculiar fascination for boys, as 50 of the 56 elevator accident cases reported were boys and only 6 were girls. There were a few instances where the injured boys were operating the elevators in violation of the law forbidding their employment for such services, but the majority of the accidents were due to the reckless or careless actions of

youthful passengers. It is evident that secure gates or doors should enclose all elevators to which children are admitted. The following examples are characteristic illustrations of the risks which are often taken by venturesome boys:

One boy's neck was broken when he attempted, during the excitement of the peace celebration, to board a moving elevator.

A cash boy in a department store was killed instantly by being dropped from the seventh floor where he had been carried by an elevator with which he was tampering.

Several other boys met with serious accidents while jumping on or off moving elevators.

CARE GIVEN INJURED CHILDREN

Facilities for caring for injured workers are provided quite generally in Massachusetts industrial establishments, as there were medical chests on hand for treating 775 of the 1,000 cases studied.* Special, first aid rooms were found in 118 establishments. It is probable that no serious injuries were without medical care as the inspectors reported in 819 cases that the children had been given medical treatment.

DIFFICULTIES IN ENFORCING THE LAWS PROTECTING WORKING CHILDREN

Exceptionally vigorous efforts are being made by Massachusetts officials for the promotion of the safety of working children. Yet the inspectors reported that 89 of the injured children were working without the certificates required by law and 125 were employed in occupations other than those specified on their employment certificates. Thus over two hundred, or twenty per cent of the children were employed without the legal safeguards which the state provides. The elaborate regulations† by which the Massachusetts legislators have sought to palliate the evils which must result from the employment of children who have not reached years of discretion are

* Some of the accidents occurred in establishments not subject to the law which requires these chests.

† Two circulars issued recently by the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries give complete instructions for the certification of working children.

extremely difficult to enforce. When a boy or girl enters a busy factory or workshop there is a natural tendency to fill spare time with any tasks for which help is needed, and a bright child is eager to experiment with the interesting machinery operated by fellow workers. Thorough instruction about the dangers peculiar to local industrial establishments should be given in continuation and other vocational classes. Employers disclaimed responsibility for many accidents because the children were doing work which was not required of them or were violating regulations forbidding the removal of covers to gears or the cleaning of moving machinery. It is impossible to determine whether these employers had discharged fully the duty of instructing and warning their young workers, but any parent must realize that no amount of warning will convert boys of this age into thoughtful, cautious workers. There remain two ways of protecting such children from premature mutilation: their adult fellow-workers may be trained to watchful care in preventing unnecessary risks, or the children may be kept in the safe haven of the schoolroom until more responsible years are reached.

TABLE No. 1

CAUSES OF INJURIES SUFFERED BY CHILDREN FOURTEEN AND FIFTEEN YEARS
OLD EMPLOYED IN MASSACHUSETTS INDUSTRIES, 1918-1919

CAUSE	CHILDREN WHOSE INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS WERE DUE TO SPECIFIED CAUSE			
	Total		Number of	
	Number	Per cent.	Boys	Girls
All causes.....	1000	100.0	757	243
Contact with industrial machinery.....	413	41.3	297	116
Operating power machinery peculiar to industry	119	11.9	83	36
Caught while near machinery.....	92	9.2	63	29
Injured by contact with gears.....	49	4.9	33	16
Caught in belting.....	26	2.6	22	4
Operating punching and cutting machines.....	51	5.1	40	11
Cut by saws.....	8	.8	5	3
Caught in sewing machines.....	2	.2	1	1
Unexpected starting of machinery.....	20	2.0	18	2
Accidental starting of machines.....	4	.4	4	—
Cleaning moving machinery.....	10	1.0	7	3
Operating printing presses.....	24	2.4	13	11
Emery wheels.....	8	.8	8	—
Elevators and hoists.....	56	5.6	50	6
Hand labor.....	110	11.0	89	21
Falls.....	107	10.7	77	30
Automobiles.....	20	2.0	19	1
Other vehicles.....	10	1.0	8	2
Infections of slight wounds.....	47	4.7	25	22
Strain while lifting.....	4	.4	4	—
Nails and wires.....	27	2.7	20	7
Burns.....	17	1.7	12	5
Glass.....	7	.7	5	2
Falling material.....	48	4.8	40	8
Illness.....	3	.3	3	—
Playing and fooling.....	59	5.9	51	8
Various forms of carelessness.....	28	2.8	25	3
Miscellaneous, not otherwise classified.....	44	4.4	32	12

One Thousand Industrial Accidents Suffered by Massachusetts 231

TABLE No. 2

NATURE OF THE INJURIES FROM INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS TO CHILDREN
FOURTEEN AND FIFTEEN YEARS OLD, 1918-1919

INJURY	CHILDREN WHO RECEIVED THE INJURY SPECIFIED			
	Total		Number of	
	Number	Per cent.	Boys	Girls
All injuries.....	1000	100.0	757	243
INJURIES CAUSING TEMPORARY INCAPACITY.....	924	92.4	691	233
<i>Bruises, Abrasions, Crushes and Lacerations.....</i>	307	30.7	230	77
Arms or hands.....	219	21.9	161	58
Legs or feet.....	54	5.4	46	8
Head or scalp.....	8	.8	4	4
Torso.....	26	2.6	19	7
<i>Superficial Cuts or Scratches.....</i>	399	39.9	294	105
Arms or hands.....	343	34.3	251	92
Legs or feet.....	22	2.2	17	5
Head or scalp.....	31	3.1	23	8
Torso.....	3	.3	3	—
<i>Strains, Sprains and Dislocations.....</i>	64	6.4	46	18
Arms or hands.....	40	4.0	31	9
Legs or feet.....	13	1.3	7	6
Head or scalp.....	1	.1	—	1
Torso.....	10	1.0	8	2
<i>Burns.....</i>	18	1.8	15	3
Arms or hands.....	11	1.1	9	2
Legs or feet.....	4	.4	3	1
Head or scalp.....	2	.2	2	—
Torso.....	1	.1	1	—
<i>Infections.....</i>	49	4.9	33	16
Arms or hands.....	46	4.6	30	16
Legs or feet.....	1	.1	1	—
Head or scalp.....	2	.2	2	—
<i>Fractures.....</i>	31	3.1	29	2
Arms or hands.....	22	2.2	21	1
Legs or feet.....	5	.5	5	—
Head.....	3	.3	2	1
Torso.....	1	.1	1	—
<i>Splinters.....</i>	15	1.5	10	5
Arms or hands.....	14	1.4	9	5
Legs or feet.....	1	.1	1	—

TABLE No. 2—*Continued*

INJURY	CHILDREN WHO RECEIVED THE INJURY SPECIFIED			
	Total		Number of	
	Number	Per cent.	Boys	Girls
INJURIES CAUSING TEMPORARY INCAPACITY—<i>C't'd</i>				
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	41	4.1	34	7
Arms or hands.....	13	1.3	10	3
Legs or feet.....	6	.6	6	—
Head.....	5	.5	2	3
Torso.....	2	.2	2	—
Eyes.....	14	1.4	13	1
Illness (fit).....	1	.1	1	—
PERMANENT INJURIES	62	6.2	52	10
Right arm or hand.....	5	.5	3	2
Arm (not specified).....	1	.1	1	—
One finger, right hand.....	14	1.4	10	4
Two or more fingers (not specified).....	9	.9	6	3
One finger (not specified).....	5	.5	5	—
Two or more fingers, right hand.....	4	.4	4	—
Hand (not specified).....	1	.1	1	—
One finger, left hand.....	11	1.1	11	—
Left arm or hand.....	9	.9	8	1
Two or more fingers, left hand.....	2	.2	2	—
Right eye.....	1	.1	1	—
INJURIES RESULTING IN DEATH	6	.6	6	—
NO DATA	8	.8	8	—

Don't forget Child Labor Day!—January 23, 1921 for churches; January 22 for synagogues, and January 24 for schools, colleges and clubs.

It comes at the end of National Thrift Week, and we plan to emphasize the relation of child labor to national thrift—the waste of child labor to the nation in health, education, efficiency and happiness. Pamphlets and special information for use in observing the Day will be distributed.

Will you see that it is observed in your community?

Write us for further information.

CALIFORNIA THE GOLDEN

EMMA DUKE

IMPERIAL VALLEY

There are golden opportunities in the golden state—yes, many of them, but not for little children, at least not for all of those in the great Imperial Valley. The Valley is a strange place. All over the state its wonder stories are told. Less than twenty years ago it was a waste,—the home of the cactus and the horned toad. A year and two years would sometimes pass without a drop of rainfall. Windstorms shifted mountains of sand, and people buried in the desert sands were lost forever. Then the ingenuity of man transformed the valley into a garden spot. The mighty Colorado flowed many miles east and south of the Valley, but by one of the most spectacular engineering feats of history its course was changed and today the Valley is a network of canals and irrigation ditches. The land was made as fertile as the valley of the Nile.

Then settlers poured in, hungry for wealth. People rushed in to make fortunes, and then ran away with them. But some stayed and erected homes, churches, schools, theatres, banks,—real cities dotted the valley. Tent cities, too, sprang up, and settlers threw up hastily constructed shacks and lived in them for years. The towns now contain a number of attractive homes, but many of these shacks still remain. Unattractive, flimsy dwellings among people from whom higher standards would be expected are so common, indeed, that it is not surprising the large ranches do not construct permanent homes for workers even when the operator owns the land.

LIVING CONDITIONS

The records of the Immigration and Housing Commission show that less than ten years ago ranchers would bring in hordes of laborers and not assume any responsibility in housing them, merely permitting them to sleep on the grounds of the ranch.

Families would travel with their own blankets and tie them and their other possessions to the fence posts during the day to avoid losing them in the frequent wind storms. Sanitary provisions for laborers were unheard of. Since then, the Immigration and Housing Commission has been created, and in the short period of its existence it has been able to revolutionize living conditions in labor camps. It has certain requirements concerning tents or houses, bunks or beds, screening, bathing facilities, garbage disposal, etc., and demands that pure drinking water be furnished.

Some workers, however, carry their own tents, which they set up



AN OCCUPIED DWELLING—THE HOME OF COTTON PICKERS

on the land of their employer or any empty space they see, preferably near an irrigation ditch. Tula weed or straw houses, while not common, and while generally used by Mexicans, are sometimes lived in by Americans. Stakes are driven into the ground, crossed, bamboo crosspieces put on top, and the weed laid on. These, as well as the tents, are floorless. Tent houses, however, frequently have floors. In some cases straw or weed houses are included in the accommodations furnished in certain labor camps. Frequently, when the workers build their own houses of straw, they build them with only three sides. Sometimes a one-roomed straw house with an area of fifteen or twenty feet will serve as a home for an entire family, which not only cooks but sleeps in the same room. Regular cook stoves are

sometimes installed in these straw houses, and the chimney pipe put through the straw roof. At other times a fireplace of mud is built up from the dirt floor, and the cooking done over that. Why these houses do not burn down is a mystery. A third method is to cook entirely out of doors, with or without a stove.

Tales are still told of fortunes to be made in the Valley. Cotton is king there and rich ranchers, absentee landlords and others exploit it. Labor comes in continuously from other parts of California, from Texas, Oklahoma, Arizona and New Mexico. The climate is an inducement, for people can and do live practically



A SIX-FAMILY TENT HOUSE

out of doors throughout the year. Automobiles laden with tents and families—"gasoline gypsies" as they are called, bring their contingent; people come in wagons, by train and by foot; and by far the greater number of all the groups come to pick cotton. Tents are pitched along the road, near the irrigation ditches. Drinking and wash water is dipped from the ditches, settled, and, sometimes, filtered. Inquiries as to whether or not drinking water is boiled invariably brings laughter.

In order to take care of the constantly flowing stream of travelers, some of the cities have allowed tents to be pitched in the city parks. In the park of El Centro a family of four was found, living in a 12 x 14 tent. Their automobile filled half the tent. Cots crowded almost



A TYPE OF HOUSE VERY COMMON IN THE VALLEY

all of the remainder, except a little space near the door which was filled with boxes of food. The cook stove and washtub were used outside. Drinking water was secured by the campers from city hydrants along the edge of the sidewalk. The woman who lived in the tent just referred to said that they had to walk two and a half blocks to a toilet; and in the mornings the camp dwellers may be seen carrying buckets of waste to this toilet.

Another camp dweller whose home was in Oregon, came into Imperial Valley in her Studebaker touring car, with her two boys. She said she did not like steady home life, and the children could work in the cotton fields. All of them slept in the tent, which also housed the automobile. The mother is strenuous and healthy, and works her children because she likes gypsy life. When the cotton picking season is over she said they would probably go to look for work elsewhere in the state.

THREE-YEAR-OLD COTTON PICKERS

Cotton fields are everywhere in the Valley. They are crowded with pickers and among them "children thick as bees," as one school principal said. All kinds of children pick—even those as young as three years! Five-year-old children pick steadily all day. "Why not?" one hears, "Most of them are Mexicans." Perhaps. But many white American children are among them—pure American

stock, who have gradually moved from the Carolinas, Tennessee, and other southern states into Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, Arizona, and on into the Imperial Valley. One hears much in the Valley of "Texicans"—a scornful term other pickers use in speaking of those who come from the Lone Star State. Much illiteracy it is true exists among the adult white Texas pickers, but education was uncommon among those from other states as well.

VIOLATION OF CHILD LABOR LAWS WELL KNOWN

Officials of the Immigration and Housing Commission, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Industrial Welfare Commission, the State Board of Control, and the Board of Education of California were interviewed prior to visiting the Valley. All knew of the violations of the child labor and school attendance laws, and agreed that they were more seriously violated in the Imperial Valley than elsewhere in the state. The work of all these state agencies touches the life of the child in some way, and all are alive to the problem and eager to deal with it more adequately. Deputies of the Bureau of Labor Statistics have made brief reports on child labor in the Valley. More comprehensive accounts have been rendered by the State Board of Education and the State Immigration and Housing Commission. The Commission last named estimates that between twenty-five hundred and three



FOUR YEARS OLD—PICKS FROM SUN-UP TO SUNSET

thousand children under sixteen years of age are out of school picking cotton. It bases its estimate upon the records of its own inspectors who secured the information directly from the ranches while making their camp inspections. The estimate would seem to be reliable. At least it can hardly be an overstatement of the number of children out of school, for ranchers would not be likely to report conditions as worse than they actually are.

CALIFORNIA LAWS CONCERNING CHILD LABOR AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

Are such conditions permissible? May people keep children out of school to work them? Have we no laws about it? Yes, we have very positive laws in California. The child labor law prohibits the employment of children under 16 years of age in agricultural, horticultural, or viticultural, or domestic work, as well as in other work, while the public schools are in session. This law provides that employers working children contrary to its provisions shall, upon conviction, be fined \$50 to \$200, or imprisoned 60 days, or both, for each offense. Section 8 of the law stipulates that the Bureau of Labor Statistics shall enforce the provisions of the act.

In addition, the California school law requires that every child between the ages of 8 and 16 years not otherwise specially



ALL OUT OF SCHOOL TO PICK COTTON



ISN'T HE WORTH EDUCATING?

exempted under the law, shall be required to attend school for the full time during which the public schools shall be in session.

"WARNINGS" INSTEAD OF ENFORCEMENT

It would seem, then, that children in California under the age of 16 not certified as physically or mentally defective, or not granted an age and schooling certificate, would be assured of an education by the state. Some employers, however, have found that they are not interfered with, not fined, not imprisoned, when they work children during the public school sessions. This is particularly true in agricultural sections. And the sore spot of the entire state in this respect is Imperial Valley.

Enforcement of school attendance laws lies in the hands of local trustees, but when these very trustees are often cotton ranchers, and themselves workers of little children, it is with difficulty that they can be persuaded to vote bonds for education. Will they co-operate with a local attendance officer to the extent of telephoning: "Come up to my ranch and make these children stop picking cotton and go to school?"

The State Board of Education has a half-time attendance officer, a woman who is also an agent of the Industrial Welfare Commission. The Commission has power to fix minimum wages, and maximum hours, and conditions of labor for women and minors,

and its power might possibly be invoked to protect the children of California. But this should not be necessary when Section 8 of the child labor law reads:

"The bureau of labor statistics shall enforce the provisions of this act. The commissioner, his deputies and agents, shall have all the powers and authority of sheriffs or other peace officers, to make arrests for violations of the provisions of this act, and to serve any process or notice throughout the state."



5-YEAR-OLD GIRL PICKS FROM SUN-UP TO DARK

The issue is squarely before the Commissioner of Labor. In 1919, when an inspector was making investigations into conditions in the Valley, local school people said they "pleaded with the inspector to enforce the law." But he merely continued to warn the employers; and his visit was said to have created less than a ripple on the child labor situation. Without action by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, it is almost a hopeless proposition to get the children into school.

Citizens in the various school districts of the Valley say that rich ranchers and others allow children to stay out of school to work because they know they will remain unmolested by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and that gentle "warnings" will be substituted for enforcement of the law. The present child labor law has been in effect since July, 1919. But even under the old law such child labor as now exists in the Imperial Valley was illegal.

A seesaw condition exists in the Valley, for if the child labor laws were enforced the school attendance laws could be enforced, and if the school attendance laws were enforced the child labor laws could be enforced. But the enforcement of the child labor laws is of first importance. More difficulties stand in the way of enforcing school attendance laws, as the responsibility does not lie upon the state, or even upon the county as a whole, but on local school districts.

Imperial County covers a couple of thousand square miles, and has only one attendance officer, at a small salary. This officer is neither provided with a conveyance for getting about to do her work, nor allowed one penny for traveling expenses. She goes to certain centers at her own expense, and informs teachers, parents, school children and employers concerning the child labor and school attendance laws. She has brought some cases into court. But when parents come into the justice's office and represent that they are just keeping the child out of school for a little while, to do a little picking, and refer to their own poverty, the judge, their neighbor and friend perhaps, is not generally disposed to do more than find them guilty and suspend sentence. In other words, it seldom costs anything to violate the school attendance laws in the community.

Then again, when it comes to fighting influential employers, local rural authorities are apt to be timid. In January, 1920, an attendance officer arrested the manager of a ranch which happened to be owned by an important newspaper. He had violated the child labor law. There was no question as to his guilt. The justice before whom the case was heard in February had known nothing of child labor laws until this case was brought before him. The justice of the peace himself, outside of his court duties, was an employee of a citizen of the Valley, and his employer was indignant "that Mr. X., the nicest man around here," should be arrested. He said: "Why of course Mr. X. did not break any laws. It is ridiculous." The justice, however, in spite of this indignation of his own employer, was forced by the overwhelming evidence to find the man guilty. Sentence was then suspended.

Several of the towns in the Valley have their own attendance officers who work within the limits of their own school district. In these urban or semi-urban areas, wholesale violation of the school

attendance laws generally does not exist. But the attendance officer in one of these places said that while he would not arrest the white ranchers for working children he would "nip a Hindoo" whenever he could.

Another attendance officer in one of the Valley towns said, "The complaint I make is that other districts do not support us. We are the only school district which is strict. We battle to enforce the law, other school districts don't, and workers here go away and work their children in other localities. If the Commissioner of Labor Statistics would only enforce the child labor law uniformly, the school authorities could handle the children." This officer also spoke of the futility of suspending sentence when people were "caught red-handed". "The only way these people know you mean business is to take their money for a fine, or put them in the lockup."

Another school principal said, "I am absolutely sure that employers know they are evading the state law. I have talked to them and told them so, and they say, 'Well, we have to have people to pick the cotton.' I think the state should get after such employers, and trace the matter right down. These employers are like children, just boys grown up, and will keep on breaking the law until somebody catches them. They say it will ruin their business if children do not work. I suppose they mean by that they will have to raise the wages of adults."

One teacher thinks that if the authorities would take just one case to court in her school district "this would fix things. There are lots of children picking cotton instead of going to school. The children say: 'We are not going to school; we don't have to.' And, as a matter of fact, they don't. Nobody makes them. When children are in the field picking cotton they don't need any kind of clothes, and when one tries to get them into school their excuse is they have no clothes. One family which lived in a tent moved its tent on to the boundary line of two school districts thinking they could thus evade the law."

One school trustee, in conversation concerning the enforcement of the school attendance laws, said "We don't want to enforce those laws. We don't want to bring a lot of dirty, lousy little Mexicans into our schools." Some schools in the Imperial Valley, however, have put in shower baths! This is no doubt very much better Americanization work than shutting out a group of children who are

growing up in the community, some of whom will later on vote on the school facilities of the children of Americans.

Another teacher said that some children who attended school begin to pick cotton *before* daylight. "They come to school at nine and then go back into the fields the minute school closes, to toil until sundown or until they can no longer see, and then they expect me to cram education into them."

One teacher called attention to the fact that her school was practically in the midst of a cotton field, and said: "While we are having lessons, we can hear children talking and singing outside



THEIR MOTHER SAYS, "TEACHERS DON'T KNOW NOTHIN'," SO SHE
DOES NOT SEND HER BOYS TO SCHOOL

as they pick cotton." Later on she said that there was no child labor in that district, and that all the children came to school. When asked about the children "in the cotton field outside", she said: "Oh, but those were just Mexicans." It was found that children in her own school also picked during the cotton season, and in order that they could be worked to better advantage by the cotton owners, she had secured permission from the school authorities to change the school session and have one session from eight to one thirty instead of two sessions between nine and three o'clock. She said: "In that way the children can pick all afternoon till dark. They have all been brought up to work, but I talk to them about going to bed early."

DIFFICULTIES IN ENFORCING THE LAW

A difficulty in the way of the enforcement of the school laws is the migratory character of the families. Many of them are in the county only from October to March, and are apt to move from one school district to another as they change jobs. "We have been thinking of providing portable school houses" said a principal. "For example, one ranch has about fifteen miles of cotton, and shifts its camps from place to place. The school house could go along too. It would be in the center of population, as it were, even if the center shifted. The county superintendent is ready to go ahead and back this kind of project."

The constantly increasing growth of the Valley is another element that adds to the complexity of its school problems. A school trustee said: "When this building was put up in 1916, we were censured for erecting a building which was more than we would need for ten years. But although we are now only four years old, we are crowded, and ready to build six additional rooms. There is also to be additional building in the heart of the district where the negroes and Mexicans live, and they ought to attend this school. The Mexicans are the last people on earth to ask for charity—they will starve before they will ask for food—but they work their children."

All school people are not alive to the importance of educational work among parents, and one principal told a father that he could not grant him formal permission to work his children, but if he



AGES 8, 7 AND 5—ALL PICK COTTON REGULARLY—NO SCHOOLING

did not mind running the risk of fine and imprisonment, he could take the responsibility himself. The principal did not report this case to the attendance officer, or take any action to get the children to school, and the father was willing to assume the risk, and found he could safely do so.

Although the majority of the pickers are Mexicans, the majority of the owners and operators of cotton ranches are white Americans. Some negroes, however, are owners or lessees, and Hindus also take leases, although they do not own the cotton lands. The Hindus and negroes employ not only Mexican children and negroes, but American white children. Some of the whites who work their children in cotton fields owned and operated by negroes, explained that they kept them out of school to pick cotton so that they might not sit next to negro children in the school-room. The negroes of the Valley seem more anxious to send their children to school than the American whites.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE PARENTS

The sentiments of the parents of children kept out of school to pick cotton vary considerably. One man whose children were working with him in the fields said: "Please, lady, don't send them to school; let them pick a while longer. I ain't got my new auto



TEACHER SAYS BRIGHTEST BOY IN SCHOOL. HE WANTS TO ATTEND SCHOOL, BUT HIS FATHER DOESN'T WANT TO WORK

paid for yet." He had recently sold his Ford, and was now buying a Cadillac. This was one of the "gasoline-gypsy" families.

Another man, working in the same field with his children, said his earnings alone were not sufficient for the support of his family, and added, "If the working people would only stand together it wouldn't be no need to work children so as to live." This man was a Texan of "pure American stock" who could neither read nor write.

"Hope's you gets 'em out of the cotton field, lady," said one picker, "If they'd only had them laws when I was a kid I'd know sumpin today."

"No," said the white American mother of a couple of Carolinian lads who can each pick a hundred and fifty pounds a day, "They ain't never been to school, nor me nor their pappy nor their grand dads and grand moms. We's always been pickers,"—and she spat her tobacco over the field in an expert fashion.

Other parents expressed such sentiments as these: "I didn't get any education and I got along, and I can do as I please with my children. We came here just because we could pick cotton, and we've been pickin' it and nobody caught us till now."

The county attendance officer found several Texan families working their children in the cotton fields. She told them they must send their children to school. They sent a delegation to tell her, "These children *must* work in the fields." They had a meeting, hired a lawyer from Texas, and asked him if there wasn't some way they could get around the law and work their children. He told them he would like to find some way of getting around the law, and arrange that they could work their children, but that in California they could not do so without danger of being fined or imprisoned. They said, "Very well, we will go back to Texas." Nineteen families went back, fearing the seldomly invoked law. One of the men had claimed to be a preacher, and the attendance officer pointed out to him the inconsistency between his preaching and violating the law. He immediately stopped working his children, and said, "It is a sacrifice, because I am not paid enough to support my family, but I am obeying the law."

Parents who deliberately and cruelly work their children to indulge their own indolence are rare. One white father, however, was brought into court recently, who had been warned time and



AGE 5—A REGULAR FULL TIME WORKER

again by the teacher to send his children to school. His reply had been "I haven't got 'em in school and what's more I'm not goin' to. If an officer can make me send 'em, I'll have to send 'em, but if he can't make me, I won't." In the court it developed that the man spent his time in pool rooms and sometimes passed bad checks. The judge imposed a fine of \$15. The man's children were most attractive and intelligent, and he had a long record of exploiting them. They and their mother were employed by a negro ranchman. The father had seldom worked up to the time his children were stopped working and sent to school.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE COTTON RANCHERS

One man with large cotton holdings is conspicuous as a speaker on the subject of Americanization and patriotism,—and also as a violator of child labor laws. He was asked if he knew that children are not allowed to work in the cotton fields when school is in session, and he said that he did. He was then asked what he considered the best way to enforce the child labor laws, and replied that employers should be arrested and fined. When it was stated that he might have to pay a great many fines, he said, "No," that he had "quit employing children." He was reminded that he had been working them the preceding week. He replied that the boundaries of the school district had been changed, that the school buses had not come for a few days, and so, he added, "I thought I might as well

work them." He claimed he had stopped working them regularly a month previous, and added, "I do not believe in letting them work. The law is against it, but these people do not want their children to go to school if they can get work out of them." When asked if he employed anyone to look after the welfare of the people in his labor camp, he replied, "I do not know of any one coming into Imperial Valley to look after the welfare of people. All come to get a little profit." Asked if he had ever thought of hiring a teacher to look after the needs of the children living on his own land, he replied, "It might be better, but I don't want to hire a teacher, the county should do it—and it would not be fair to come here and enforce the law on me and let other people work children." It will be noted he had previously said that he had stopped working children the month before.

Another cotton rancher said: "I would be a fool to obey the child labor laws and pay the wages I should have to pay for adult help when all the adjoining ranches work children. I'd be at a disadvantage; I could not compete with them." This man said further that it was not to the advantage of the rancher to have the children go to school because "Our labor troubles are with the educated ones. The educated man gets a following and comes and dictates terms." In spite of this opinion, he added that if the other ranchers would "stick together" in an agreement not to work children, he would not work them.



ANOTHER SECTION OF CAMP FOR COTTON PICKERS

The statement of one rancher—"We get around the law by hiring the parents, and they work the children, we don't"—explains the method of many. But as a matter of fact they don't "get around it." The law states that they are liable for employing children or suffering or permitting them to be employed "directly or indirectly through the instrumentality of one or more contractors or other third persons, or any parent or guardian of a minor."

A subtle bit of propaganda is conveyed in the inquiry, "Why enforce the child labor laws when school facilities are inadequate?" and the statement, "If they are not at school they might as well be at work." Ranchers express the fear that unless the child is picking cotton in the field he will be idle, but principals and school teachers have found that school facilities can easily be adapted, that out-of-door classes can be used when schools are full, and that when the necessity for larger school buildings has been demonstrated, larger buildings are usually available the next year.

The supposed scarcity of labor is another argument for the employment of children. In the past, even when official estimates of unemployed men were large, it used to be given out that "labor is scarce." But labor agents of the Valley who were interviewed during the 1919-1920 cotton picking season claimed that labor was not at all scarce then, and that they could not place all the available pickers. At the time ranchers also admitted they had more help than they needed and turned people away every day. Some stated that skilled farm hands were scarce, but not cotton pickers.

Ranchers protest, just as cotton mill owners of the South used to, that "if we won't let the children work the families will go elsewhere." But when the federal law forced children out of the southern mills this protest was proven unfounded. And it is shown to be unfounded in California when interests which do not use child labor, such as general ranches and construction camps, are filled with families whose wives and children do not work.

WORKING CONDITIONS

Cotton picking in itself is not hard work. The slightest pulling of the cotton separates it from the stalk, and children do not have to bend over. It is very hot, however, in Imperial Valley; the sun

beats down with great intensity, and there is considerable glare. The cotton pickers usually have a long loose strap of material at the opening of their bag. This is slipped over the child's head, and he straddles the big bag. The opening is about at his waist, and he simply reaches out, picks the cotton, and puts it in the bag, which drags behind him. One little girl said: "I cannot carry any more than seventeen pounds." An older boy, who described himself as "ambitious" said, "I sometimes pick till I have over a hundred pounds. I pick as long as I can pull the bag, and until it gets so heavy I can't walk straight." Another boy said: "Us kids most always drag from forty to fifty pounds of cotton before we take it to be weighed. Three of us pick. I'm twelve years old and my bag is twelve feet long. I can drag nearly a hundred pounds. My sister is ten years old, and her bag is eight feet long. My little brother is seven, and his bag is five feet long."

The children themselves, when questioned, said they would rather go to school than pick cotton. One twelve-year-old boy said: "Yes, I'd rather be in school. I haven't been this year. Sometimes we go in winter when there isn't anything else to do."

Ranchers, of course, wish to get their cotton picked as cheaply as possible, and to round up their labor forces with little trouble. Big ranches generally maintain their own labor camps. Some pickers, however, carry their own tents, and pitch them anywhere, and get work on any ranch. One rancher said: "The most we are paying for picking this year is \$2.25 a hundred pounds. We may have to pay \$2.50 or \$2.75 before we get through. The longer the work lasts, the less they can pick, that is, it takes them longer to pick one hundred pounds later in the season than in the beginning, and there is more work to do than in the first picking. On the first picking we have men average as much as 150 pounds a day. Some of the little Mexican boys are as strong and active as a man and can pick as much."

EARNINGS OF THE COTTON PICKERS

Children are not paid a lower piece-rate than adults, but the piece-rate paid to adults is no better than a child's wage. Strong, able-bodied men are seldom seen picking cotton. Labor agents

admit that men cannot make enough by cotton picking to support their families. In the Valley one hears from townspeople that "pickers make ten dollars a day, working the whole family." With that qualification, the statement is ambiguous. One Mexican in the Imperial Valley was the father of 33 children—"about 13 or 14 living," he said. If they all worked at cotton-picking, they would doubtless together make over ten dollars a day.

Nor can one judge cotton pickers' probable earnings by the rate per pound. The first picking is paid for at from \$1.50 to \$1.75 and sometimes \$2.00 per hundred pounds. Later pickings require more labor and time to secure a given amount, and the same man, woman or child may pick fewer pounds, and earn less at \$3.00 a hundred pounds than he could make at the first picking at half the rate. One "weighboss" stated that young boys of from 10 to 16 could sometimes pick more than adults. He pointed out a boy of 12, who, he said, had picked as much as one hundred and eighty-six pounds in one day at the rate of two cents a pound. Hours, he said, were from "sun-up to dark." He took out of his pockets a few wage accounts, which showed the following:

Father and two children aged 12 and 8, \$97.67 in two weeks, or an average of \$16.27 per person per week.

Father, mother and four children, \$121.68 in two weeks, or an average of \$10.14 per person per week.

Father, mother and two children, \$126.91 in two weeks, or an average of \$15.86 per person per week.

HOURS

The hours at this work are very taxing, for cotton is picked until dark. Sometimes the mother stops a little in advance of that time to go home to cook the night meal. The families usually go to bed just as soon as this is finished. They are tired, and must be ready for work at sun-up. This type of living does not suggest a free childhood, full of the opportunity for health and growth that a rich nation should feel is due to its children.

It has been suggested that the school vacations be so arranged as not to conflict with ranch or farm work, and hence release a number of children for the ranchers or farmers. But even if it were desirable to subordinate schooling to cotton picking, it does not appear practicable in Imperial County. In June, July and August

the heat is intense, and during these months there is a great exodus of population from the Valley on the part of the people who can afford to get away, particularly women and children. It would not be practicable to send the children over the heated, dusty roads to school. But even if the children could be sent to the schools, teachers would not be available, because scarcely any of them will spend a summer in the Valley.

SCHOOL FACILITIES

Although the laws state that children must attend school, one cannot ignore actual conditions, and hence the charges of inadequate school facilities must be considered. Visits were therefore made to some of the schools which the county attendance officer said were handicapped for lack of facilities, and the following points were ascertained.

School No. 1: 1 room, 1 teacher, 47 pupils, seven grades. Seats outdoors under a shelter, where children do part of their studying. There are plenty of seats in the room, but the teacher considers it desirable to have some of the time spent outdoors.

2-roomed teacherage attached.

Drinking water dipped from ditch, settled and filtered. Two tin basins, buckets of settled water, and 3 cakes of soap scattered on a table outside the building, constitute the lavatory conveniences. No towels. Yard toilets about a hundred feet from the school.

Some children walk three miles to school. No bus facilities for these children. The teacher said, "This is probably the best location for this school from the standpoint of center of population, but it is very bare and ugly here."

Seven miles away is a ranch owned and operated by a negro minister. As provided by the school attendance law he has been granted permission to educate his children at home. He and his wife are both well-educated. Distance is one of the obstacles to sending the children to school, and the other is the race prejudice to which they are subjected.

School No. 2: 1 room, 1 teacher, 8 grades, 47 seats, 42 children enrolled, 30 present day of visit. School has light and air on two sides. Attractive stucco building. No teacherage. Drinking water dipped from ditch, settled and filtered.

No attempt to make the place attractive. Ten children have left during the year but the teacher does not know why; thinks they have moved away.

School No. 3: 1 room, bare and unattractive, 4 grades, 38 desks, and 4 little extra chairs. 9 children in attendance.

This school has no maps or globe. The teacher states, "the children memorize geographical information." This school has two blackened pieces of cardboard which, the teacher says, are so poor she cannot do good blackboard work on them. Children drink ditch water, settled and filtered.

School No. 4: 1 room, 1 teacher, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 8th grades, 46 seats, 32 enrolled, 23 present on day of visit.

The children use ditch water which is settled and filtered. In this section sometimes the ditches run dry, and the teacher says she tries to persuade the children to go without water rather than drink stale water.

Teacherage is provided on a cotton ranch nearby. The teacher does all her own cooking, cleaning and washing. She has high ideals concerning rural teaching as an important and useful field of work. She says the children in her school, although not of the poorest class, have absolutely no beauty or joy in their home lives. Some of them live in tents or temporary shacks with their families, who are working furiously to get rich and get away. She has pictures of pretty good grade on the school walls, and tries to brine the children and their families together in the evenings for little entertainments, and to do various kinds of hand work.

School No. 7: 4 school rooms in building, 1 not used. In addition, a number of seats stacked up in the hall.

In one room, 1st and 2d grades: 43 seats, 9 of which have never been unfolded; average attendance in January, 1920, was 31; 3d, 4th and 6th grades—11 children, 24 seats; 5th, 7th and 8th grades—24 enrolled, 18 in attendance, 30 seats.

All children live within two miles of the school. Drinking water is piped into the building, and individual paper envelope cups are furnished the children.

The teacher of the 5th, 7th and 8th grade room is designated principal. He says that he pays no more attention to absence than to enter "left" if a child has been absent five days. He said, "No, I never telephoned to any family to ask why children were

absent, and never reported any absence to the attendance officer, but I have told the president of the school board when children were dropped." This principal was confident that all children who had left had gone to other schools. Asked why he felt so confident, he said: "They did not dare to stay out of school, the school board looks after that," although he admitted that if the school board of his own district did it he did not know how or when; he had assumed that the children did not dare stay out.

School No. 8: A fine building of four rooms, with a large auditorium. Drinking water is piped into the building, and modern plumbing.

The prejudice against negroes is very great in this district and the Board of Trustees pays for the transportation of negro children to a school in the negro quarter of the nearby incorporated town. One of the negro families moved out of this section because such handicaps were placed upon the school attendance of negro children.

Schools in the incorporated towns are most attractive buildings. In these towns sometimes one or two old buildings may remain, but the general tendency is towards beauty in building.

In the above summary it appears that the schools visited do not bear out the sweeping charge of wholly inadequate facilities. There is some lack of school space, and a teacher shortage, but on the whole there will be enough room for children to be educated if they can be put into the schools,—now at least they do not tax the capacity of all the Valley Schools.

NEED FOR PLAYGROUNDS

The schools, whether in the country or in the town, are invariably surrounded by large, open spaces. There is much hot sun and but few trees, little shade and practically no rain in Imperial Valley, but an interest in beautiful gardens or landscapes has not yet become widespread; all attention and energy is being put into crops that pay money. The school yards are, in most cases unattractive, sometimes quite meagre, and no other playgrounds are available for the children. There are no means of recreation other than moving pictures. It is not surprising, therefore, when recreational facilities have been neglected, that the people of the

Valley ask, what will children do out of school if they are not allowed to pick cotton. One of the most important constructive pieces of work that can be done for the children of Imperial Valley will be to provide them with healthful means of recreation.

Beginnings in recreational work have been made by the schools in most of the towns, however, and in two of them shower baths and play equipment are of the finest type. But even such progressive schools have not devoted adequate attention to shade trees and beauty.

SUMMARY—SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

To sum up the situation, the facts that stand out from the survey of conditions in Imperial Valley are briefly these:

A general sentiment exists that if the child labor laws were enforced the most serious obstacle to the enforcement of the school attendance laws would be removed. Propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, the enforcement of child labor laws and of school attendance laws is possible, even with the present school facilities, which in certain sections of the Valley it is true are inadequate. The existing school facilities and equipment need never be made adequate if the child labor law is not enforced.

Claims of labor shortage and of excessive labor costs should not be accepted at their face value. But even the existence of a limited shortage of labor is not sufficient grounds for working children, some as young as five years, from dawn to dark, as at present.

The nomadic character of the families adds to the difficulties of enforcing the school attendance laws, but with enforcement of the child labor law a group of idle children would be a nuisance in the labor camp, and it would be to the interest of employers to advise workers of the school laws and the locality of schools, and also the school authorities whenever children were living on his place. The school authorities may be trusted to see to it that buses or other equipment will bring such children to school. The migration of families does mean a constant readjustment of curriculum, but this is inevitable in the country schools, and the teachers are trained for this type of work and are able to meet the situation.

Throughout many counties in California school attendance problems have been lessened by the use of motor buses, which transport children living at a distance. These buses are extensively used in Imperial Valley. The solution of the school problem seems to lie largely in the consolidated and union schools, the extension of the system of buses, and the use in some instances of portable schools. The boundaries of school districts have not been regarded as unchangeable. When a building in one district tends to become crowded and buildings in another district are less crowded, the County Superintendent has sometimes arranged to change the boundaries. Mothers frequently do not like to have their young children go to school on the school bus, which is usually driven by one of the larger boys or girls. The adjustment is then sometimes made by consolidating the children in the upper grades in one of the districts and letting those in the lower grades remain in their own district. The consolidated or union schools and the school buses do valiant service in Imperial Valley, and progress in these two lines can be readily made as more children are put into school.

Some of the persons concerned with the enforcement of laws promoting the welfare of the children in the state say, with much truth, that no single move can suddenly be put through to make conditions perfect and bring about a one hundred per cent school attendance and a complete enforcement of the child labor law. These things have to come more slowly, by a process of evolution. Evolutionary processes, however, in matters of this sort do not come without effort; with a "let alone" theory these matters will not right themselves of their own accord; and the most fundamental step in securing to children their educational rights and their right to a happy childhood is to prevent employers from working children in violation of the state laws. No "education" or warning of employers on these matters has, up to this time, been effective. The child labor situation in the agricultural areas of California, especially in the Imperial Valley, has admittedly grown worse, and will continue to grow worse, unless the child labor law is enforced. The law is clear. The violations are open and undenied.

TENEMENT HOMEWORK IN NEW YORK CITY*

MARY G. SCHONBERG

"Sure, we take this work home for the children to do after school and in the evening. It keeps them off the streets where they are always getting into all kinds of trouble, and it brings in a few cents, which we can use now, with everything costing so much." So spoke the mother of a family of five, all of school age, three of whom were working on snap fasteners. They were snapping the fasteners into cards, three dozen to a card. For snapping into place a great gross of these,—that is, 12 gross, or 1,728 fasteners,—they received the sum of 15 cents. As a preliminary to the card work, the good fasteners were separated from the imperfect ones, for which work no payment was made.

For years people have heard similar stories of tenement homework and homeworkers and have exclaimed that "something must be done about it." Even the manufacturer of artificial flowers, whose business is considerably dependent on homework, or the manufacturer of men's clothing or embroidered linens, who, for years, has used the homeworker in his business, has agreed that something ought to be done about it, but—"Don't introduce any legislation abolishing homework, because we will fight it tooth and nail! Aside from the fact that our business will be seriously affected, you will be depriving hundreds of workers of the means of honorable self-support, and will be causing undue hardship in many families." This last argument has always been used by opponents of any welfare legislation.

Compared to the issues involved in great world problems, perhaps the problem of tenement-house labor in New York State sinks into insignificance. But the students of this subject who have analyzed it from every angle, not only in New York State, but in

* An intensive study of tenement homework in New York City, from which these conclusions are drawn, was made by Mrs. Schonberg under the auspices of the Child Welfare Committee of the Women's City Club in 1919.

other industrial states in the Union, and in European countries as well, where, before the war, the situation was really menacing, insist that no problem is insignificant or unimportant, which involves these evils:

1. Child labor.
2. Economic exploitation.
3. Unsanitary and unhealthful conditions of labor, affecting the welfare of the worker as well as the consumer.
4. Unfair competition between home worker and factory worker, and between home workers in the same trade.
5. Total inadequacy of the law and the inspection force to properly safeguard the workers and the community.

The homes of 500 families in which homework was being done, were visited for the purposes of this study. These families lived in different parts of the city and were found engaged in working on the following articles, arranged in four groups: those worn by men, those by women, those by children, and the fourth miscellaneous:

For Men: Slippers, shirts, neckwear, pants, vests, coats, overcoats, hat bows on sweat bands, and pajamas.

For Women: Corset covers, stockings, spats, waists, smocks, dresses, aprons, neckwear, silk vests, crochet buttons, swiss embroidery, tassels, flowers, feathers, dress trimmings, gloves, snap fasteners, hat pins, hats, powder puffs and veils.

For Children: Infants' petticoats, dresses, coats, pillow slips, carriage covers, children's dresses, boys' jackets, knitted caps, and toy watches.

Miscellaneous and Household Articles: Table cloths, tags, lamp shades, night lights, flannel bags, paper bells and garlands, novelty paper caps, umbrellas, cushions, and gold and silver embroidery on uniforms.

Space does not here permit the setting forth of the details of the survey, but certain authentic data may be briefly recorded:

1. Of the 500 families studied, 93% were Italians and 7% other nationalities.
2. 52% of the workers worked less than 6 hours a day, and 48% worked more than 6 hours a day, and many of them 9 and 10 hours a day.
3. 82% of the workers earned less than 20 cents an hour, 17% earned between 20 and 50 cents an hour, and only 1%

earned more than 50 cents an hour. This 1% was composed of contractors whose exploitation of home workers is particularly vicious.

4. 47% of the workers earned \$5.00 or less a week, 42% earned between \$5.00 and \$10.00 weekly, and about 11% earned more than \$10.00 a week.

When, in connection with these figures, it is remembered that the home workers live in congested districts and in crowded "living" quarters (425 or 85% lived in four rooms or less) and that the families are usually large (82% had four or more members in the family), the gravity of the problem is apparent.

It must be remembered, too, that the great majority of home workers are mothers of families, who sandwich in their homework between their home and family duties, or, what is nearer the truth, sandwich in their family duties between times, when they drop their homework. A few of the results, therefore, are, and must, of necessity be, the neglect of the children, certainly as regards their physical well-being, uncleanness in the home, and the nervous and physical exhaustion of the mother.

When the profits and losses are figured up, the losses are all on the side of the workers, and the gains on the side of their employers, who have been in the past, and are now, the first to protest against any radical treatment of the problem. Very recently the writer interviewed eight of the largest employers of homeworkers, and their answers were almost identical.

But for the purposes of this article, we are particularly interested in this problem as it concerns the child, not only as a worker, but as a member of a family where homework is carried on.

Everyone knows that in the homes of the poor, childhood is attended by mental, moral and physical neglect, and the absence of much that makes for happiness. In the homes of the out-workers, the little children are further penalized by being compelled to turn hours of freedom, which should be devoted to healthful recreation and study, to hours of work, and little fingers and little minds are forced at tasks which tire eyes and backs and fingers, and deaden hearts and minds. While a little child might for a change enjoy slipping petals on flowers, sewing buttons on pants, making and packing night lights, snapping fasteners into place, stringing tags or pasting backs on paper bells or garlands, the steady application

of the little fingers and the little minds turns the play into work, and the momentary pleasure into an odious task.

Figures regarding the number of child home workers are nearly always inaccurate, because they fail to convey to the mind of the reader the fact that they were only obtained incidental to a general investigation of the problem, and are, therefore, a considerable underestimate of the number actually employed. An accurate count could only be obtained by an investigation conducted during after-school and evening hours.

Always the children are part of the situation, even if they are not actually at work, "finishing, repairing, altering, or manufacturing articles." They are used to carry goods between the home and the factory, and it is a very common sight to see them, both boys and girls, carrying large bundles of clothing, either pants or coats, or heavy boxes of feathers or flowers, before or after school hours.

After the children have delivered the finished work to the factory or have brought the new work home, there is still much to do. There are dishes to wash and floors to sweep, clothes to wash, the meal to cook, the little babies to take care of and other numerous domestic duties which even grown-ups find irksome and tedious. Of course, the children do all these things very imperfectly. The investigator can report numbers of cases where rooms were swept with windows closed, with the dust and dirt flying in all directions over the clothing lying on the floor, or over flowers or other homework lying scattered on tables or chairs.

Of course, homework affects the physical health of the child and weakens his power of resistance.* The mental health is affected as well. The records show that many children engaged regularly in homework attend school irregularly, are dull when they do attend, and frequently fail in their term's work. As far as the law pertaining to child labor is concerned, it is completely nullified where child homeworkers are concerned because there can be no supervision of their hours of labor or their night work, and certainly the cleanliness and sanitation of the ordinary home in which this

* In 1910, in a comparative study between two groups of families, one non-homeworking and one homeworking, it was established that there was a considerably larger number of deaths of children in the second group than in the first.

work is done is far inferior to that of any fairly supervised factory.

What other conclusion can we come to, than that the story of the child in the tenements is one long tale of neglect, undernourishment and overwork, and that every argument directed against child labor in the factory applies even more strongly to child labor in the home, because of the peculiarly adverse conditions under which these children work.

Of two important aspects of the problem, the competition between the factory and the home workers, and the inadequacy of the law and of the inspection force, this article cannot treat, because there is too much to be said. Regarding the second point, however, we ask you to consider these questions:

1. Is a license for tenement work a guarantee that the manufacturing or finishing is being done under clean and sanitary conditions, and that the home is free from contagious and infectious disease?
2. Is an inspection of a licensed tenement house once or twice a year sufficient to safeguard the health of the worker and the consumer?
3. Can twelve or fifteen, or even twenty-five inspectors, make adequate inspection of sixteen thousand licensed houses during a year?
4. Would any staff ever be really large enough for adequate and efficient inspection in a great city?

In view of all the facts obtained by our serious study of the subject, we have come to the conclusion that in order to acquaint the public with a situation with which they are vitally concerned, both as workers and consumers, a long campaign of education and publicity is necessary, to the end that such legislation will be enacted as will abolish altogether this iniquitous and now unnecessary phase of industry.

PLAY AND WORK IN CHILDHOOD

RAYMOND G. FULLER

People sometimes say that child idleness is as bad as child labor, or worse, while others reverse the statement. It is a futile argument. Child idleness and child labor are both bad. But it is poor logic that assumes child idleness to be the alternative to child labor, or child labor to be the alternative to child idleness. For child labor there are several substitutes:—schooling is one, play and especially supervised play is another, and children's work is a third.

There exists a rather common belief or notion that child labor is better for children than play. In the expression of this opinion the use of the term "child labor" may be avoided, but the opinion is not thereby affected. Play is often regarded as practically identical with idleness. It is regarded as a waste of time. The real waste of time is in not playing—and in going to work too soon.

Childhood is properly play-time, not work-time. By no means is a workless childhood implied, but the work of children should be children's work in amount and kind—and not child labor. Nor is a playless adulthood implied either as a fact or as a desideratum. Grown-ups play and ought to play. In a recent psychological essay Professor Patrick so defines play as to include practically all the activities of children and a large share of those of adults, such, for instance, as baseball, football, tennis, golf, polo, billiards and countless other games and sports; diversions such as travelling, hunting, fishing, yachting, motoring, flying, dancing, vacation outings, games, races, spectacles, fairs, amusements, and expositions; the theatre, opera, moving pictures, lectures and entertainments; the enjoyment of music, painting, poetry, and other arts; the daily paper, the magazine, the short story, and the novel. A difference is sometimes noted between the play of children and the recreation of adults; but adults play in response to purely and distinctly playful impulses, and children in school or at work have need and

desire for that recreation which is diversional, relaxational, re-creative.

The child labor problem and the recreational problem are closely related to each other and both are important phases of the general problem of child welfare. The evil in child labor may be gauged according to several different methods of approach. We may adopt the physiological approach and regard child labor as principally a health problem. We may adopt the psychological approach and think of child labor as primarily a problem in human personality. We may adopt the sociological approach and think of it chiefly in terms of social welfare and group progress. In each case we may concentrate attention either on what child labor does to some children or on what society ought to do for all children—on the harm actually inflicted, or on opportunities denied. There is a growing tendency to emphasize the denial of opportunities. The child labor problem and the recreational problem both rest on the same conception of childhood—childhood as playtime—and this conception is shared fully by the physiologist, the psychologist and the sociologist, whose agreement on this point is not at all surprising when it is remembered that the child is a unit physical and psychical, within himself, and is, moreover, the fundamental unit of society.

The child's right to childhood means the right to childhood as play-time. It is not a right that comes to him by virtue solely of the values arising from play—the values to individual and society—but is a right by virtue of inheritance. The child's right to childhood as play-time is written in biological laws that cannot be repealed. The penalties for violation of these laws are sure and certain, and are visited upon the children, though the responsibility is not theirs, but that of parents and society. Play is a childhood necessity.

Play is natural, as natural as human nature itself. Its naturalness is due to its instinctiveness. The play impulse is innate, inborn, not acquired. William James refers it to a definite, specific play instinct. MacDougall denies that any of the many varieties of playful activity may be ascribed to an instinct of play, but says, "Nevertheless play must be reckoned among the native tendencies of the mind of high social value." Thorndike regards the activities of play as depending on a complex or combination of instincts or instinctive tendencies, all functioning more or less together,

and speaks in this connection of manipulation, facial expression, vocalization, multiform physical activity, multiform mental activity, the hunting instinct, the fighting instinct, and so on. Then he mentions "the special tendencies to hunt for hunting's sake in ways notably different from the 'real' hunt, to fight for fighting's sake in ways notably different from the 'real' fight; to fondle and pet in ways notably different from the 'real' mothering." These he speaks of as "possible instincts of play proper." The fine points of the psychological definition of play need not detain us here. There may not be a separate, irreducible play instinct, but play is instinctive, for all that, and in a sense no less true because it avoids technicalities on which the psychologists themselves are not agreed.

Play is rooted and grounded in instinct; it has an instinctive basis. We may go farther and say that while play may involve the operation of many instincts that originate also activities that are not play, nevertheless manipulation is not play, running is not play, throwing is not play, hiding is not play, fighting is not play, response to the constructive instinct is not play, nor is any combination of these activities play, without an additional element. The original source of this additional element we may call playfulness, or the play instinct, or the play impulse, or the play tendency, or the play disposition, what we will. It is only necessary to acknowledge that there is something in play that is play and nothing else, something that cannot go by any other name, and that play comes from innate playfulness for which no other instinct, or impulse, or tendency, or disposition can fully account, either by itself or in combination.

Play is from within, by congenial hereditary impulsion, but the play impulse that comes from within has to be awakened from without. Its appearance—though where it begins and mere multiform activity leaves off it is difficult to say—requires a stimulus from environment. To become full-fledged it demands a playmate—"Oh, Skin-nay! C'mon over!" Mowgli's playmates were the animals of the forest. Kinship made them play, play made them kin. Play is essentially a social instinct, in origin and manifestation. To be developed and strengthened the play instinct or tendency requires exercise, expression, and this implies opportunity in the shape of time. Actual play in its many forms and

varieties is the product of the constant inter-action between heredity and environment. Instinct, tradition, imitation of the occupations of adults, and a myriad other factors determine the forms of play, which vary with the different age-periods of childhood, with the sexes, with race and locality. In the prepubescent period play is largely individualistic in character, in early adolescence predominantly socialistic—this is the gang period of childhood. Only recently have girls begun to play and enjoy co-operative games. Team games in certain countries are almost unknown. Play thus expresses both heredity and environment; its forms are influenced by both. It is also self-expressive. It is self-developing. To the child it is experience at its richest, life at its fullest. It is the medium in which he can best grow and develop, not only physically but mentally and morally. Nature, instead of telling the child to grow and develop and instructing him in ways and means, endowed him with the play impulse. That the child shall play is important; but how he shall play then becomes equally important. Says Joseph Lee: "If you want to know what a child is, study his play; if you want to affect what he shall be, direct the form of play"—and if you want to affect what he shall not be, guard the conditions of play. This last is a negative ideal, but not negligible.

Play is natural not only because it originates in original human nature, but because it conforms at every moment of the child's life to the genetics of his growth and development. It reflects the neuro-muscular co-ordinations established at the time and establishes those that are ready to be formed. It reflects also the various instinctive tendencies (or many of them) as they ripen—and helps to ripen and strengthen them. In short, it obeys the self-finding and self-developing push within the child. It also respects the limitations of the child as regards these neuro-muscular co-ordinations and psychic motives. In free, spontaneous play no movement is made or action performed ahead of its natural and normal time—there is no unreadiness of body or of mind for that movement or that action. Free, spontaneous play is never false to nature, but always according to nature. It fosters no prematurities or precocities of physical or psychical development. Its activities, being timely, are without that defective motivation so favorable to cumulative fatigue, which in turn is favorable to deformation of

the body and to the dread diseases of personality—the various neuroses and psychoses.

Play is according to nature, then, not only as a manifestation of the play impulse, but as an expression of possessed motives and capacities and a furtherer of all the processes of growth and development. The naturalness of play gives it interest. According to Hall, interest and play are one and inseparable as body and soul. Play is never monotonous. When play loses interest it ceases to be play, and becomes work; when work loses interest it becomes drudgery. Interesting work is, to that extent, play. It is largely the interest inherent in play that makes it developmental, hygienic and educative.

Gulick traces the play interest to the phylon. "The racially old is seized by the individual with ease and joy." The motions and motives of play are racially old—they go back beyond the Aryans, they are old as humanity itself, and some are older. Says Curtis: "The motions represented in play are very ancient, the remnants of old racial activities. The nervous paths are ready formed, and consequently skill is acquired more easily and the individual is able to do more muscular work with less effort in play than he is in any other activity." Play never practices what is phyletically new.

The ancient race renews its youth in the individual, and this is play. The young are young and the old are made young. Groos avers that children are young because they play and not vice versa, and Hall adds that "men grow old because they stop playing, and not conversely, for play is, at bottom, growth, and at the top of the intellectual scale it is the eternal type of research from sheer love of truth." Naturalness, interest, spontaneity, zest, growth, self-expression, aspiration, youth—this is play and the soul of play.

Muscles, neuro-muscular co-ordinations and paths of nervous discharge that are racially old are the first, generally speaking, to develop in the individual. Childhood is the time, pre-eminently, of the fundamental muscles—those of the arms, legs, trunk—rather than the smaller, accessory muscles; the time of the co-ordinations involved in running, throwing, striking, rather than those involved in the finely adjusted movements of the fingers, for instance, these being associated with a later stage of racial history and with the higher thought processes in the individual. Over-

emphasis of the accessory muscles at the expense of the fundamental results in excessive nervous strain and fatigue. In play the fundamental muscles receive the lion's share of exercise, which is well for the child, especially since it frequently happens that in school there is premature and excessive training of the finer muscle centers and, through the detailed analysis and exact definitions so often required of young children, a violation of the natural order of brain development. The child is thus saved from nervous disaster.

Play represents the normal motor life. Away back in racial antiquity, it was a necessity of survival to run with speed, to dodge, to throw with accuracy, to strike with a club. These abilities were of prime importance to individuals and the race. Individuals who did not possess them were eliminated. The boys who liked to run, who had an instinctive desire to run, were best fitted to cope with the environment as they grew up. The love of running, dodging, throwing, striking, survives in the child of today. In that far-off time the muscular and nervous systems were perfected, and certain definite motor tendencies and co-ordinations established, that are still essential to the perfecting of the organism.

We come now to a point of extreme significance to our present inquiry into the relative merits of play and work in childhood, and because it has been so well stated by Prof. Patrick we employ his words: "There is a striking similarity between the plays of children and the sports of men on the one hand and the pursuits of primitive man on the other. This similarity is due to the fact that those mental powers upon which advancing civilization depends, especially voluntary and sustained attention, concentration, analysis, and abstraction, are undeveloped in the child and subject to rapid fatigue in the adult. Hence the child's activities and the play activities of the adult tend always to take the form of old racial pursuits." A few pages farther on he expands this idea by saying: "Those forms of mental response which are developed late in the history of the race, and late in the life of the child, that tense and strenuous activity upon which modern progress depends, the power to hold ourselves by sustained attention and sustained effort down to hard and uninteresting tasks for the sake of some ultimate end, the concentration of the mental forces upon problems of science, philosophy and invention, and the inhibition of old and un-

desirable responses,—all these bring quick and extreme fatigue, and demand rest for the corresponding parts of the brain. In sleep these higher mental processes enjoy almost complete suspension. But the exercise of these powers during the long hours of our waking day would result in speedy collapse. It is clear therefore that our daily activity must be made up quite largely of responses of the simpler type, which shall give exercise to our muscles and sense organs and invoke older and more elemental forms of mentality, and at the same time allow the higher ones to rest. Such is relaxation in all its forms, and of such consists almost wholly the life of the child. For the brain tracts associated with the above mentioned forms of mental activity are undeveloped in the child, as they are in early man, so that we may say with considerable truth not that the child *ought not* to work, but that he *can not* work."

Certainly a true work interest seldom appears before early adolescence. The child does not know what work is—even as a child laborer he does not know. His psychology is inadequate. Of course, we shall find a host of young newsboys who are having, as they suppose, the time of their lives, on the streets, but on careful analysis we shall find among them more of a perverted play interest than of a true work interest. A few may be working out of a sense of filial devotion and a few with the motive of thrift, but in the majority of cases a large part of the newsboy's small earnings is not going to his parents or into the bank, but is being spent for candy, movies and various other forms of self-indulgence and self-display. Moreover, work that is performed from filial or thrifty motives does not yield a valid and finally helpful conception of work as work. The idea of child labor as a training school for adult work is erroneous for many reasons. Work that in 99 cases out of a hundred never gets the child anywhere, work that child laborers find so disagreeable, or difficult, that they change their jobs, on the average, six, eight, or ten times a year, is poorly calculated to bring about a right *conception* of work or a right *attitude* toward work. It is only children's work, and not child labor, that can teach respect for work—a virtue that should of course be inculcated in all children.

Every instinctive tendency is manifested in play and there perfected for future use. At its various stages it is based upon the fundamental instinct feelings. We have noted that in the pre-

pubescent period play is individualistic, and in early adolescence socialistic. This is in response to definite instinctive tendencies. It may be said that the play interest depends in large part upon the expression and satisfaction of such instincts underlying play as:—the parental instinct, constructiveness, the dramatic instinct, curiosity, pugnacity, self-assertion, gregariousness, acquisitiveness, emulation, imitation. These are all manifested and developed in play, and give play much of its characteristic pleasurable-ness. These also are involved in pleasurable work. The pleasurable-ness of play is in the playing, without thought of remuneration or reward. The pleasurable-ness of work may be in the working, if work is sufficiently in accord with the racial inheritance of motor tendencies and capacities and instinctive motivations, and then it is play. Other work tends towards a large nervous expenditure for a small muscular result and in general toward fatigue and its attendant evils and dangers. Play, it is true, may lead to utter exhaustion, but it is accompanied throughout by interest and ended with satisfaction; it is cathartic, sanifying; and recuperation is quicker and surer. It is not apt to lead to cumulative fatigue. The effects of excessive play are easier slept off than the effects of excessive work.

Summing up the preceding discussion of play and work for children from the standpoint of racial heredity, we may say that:

1. Play has intrinsic value as an agency conducing to normal growth and development. Work possesses no such developmental value in itself.
2. Play follows the genetics of physical and psychical development, and work does not, unless carefully chosen and supervised, and even then there is danger of mistake.
3. Play fosters no physical and physiological prematurities or nervous and mental precocities. Work often does. So does school.
4. Play never practices what is phyletically new. Work often does, and is therefore inimical to development and health, both physical and psychical.
5. Play causes no over-specialization in the use of any muscle or group of muscles. Work often does. In play, one kind of activity is continued only as long as the activity is agreeable, many parts of the body are exercised in a variety

of ways, and usually no one part for very long without change. In work the case is likely to be otherwise.

6. In play the parts having the most utilizable energy are freely active. In work the least available energy is often used. In play the fundamental muscles get their proper amount of activity. In work the accessory muscles are frequently over-emphasized at the expense of the fundamental and for too long a time—such work sows the seeds of chorea and produces neurasthenic symptoms in great variety.

7. No activity in play is performed with defective psychic motivation, while many activities in work are defectively motivated. This sums up the foregoing points. With play as play the child is *en rapport*; with work on the plane of adult psychology he has no common bond.

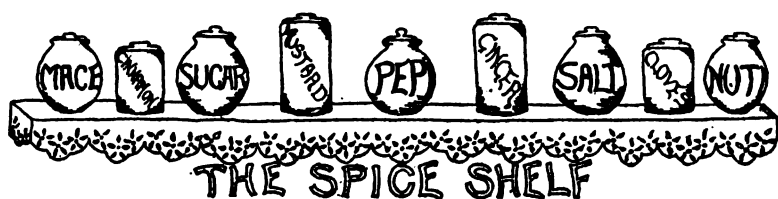
8. Play is childhood's heritage and the one means by which it can attain its full heritage of symmetry, normality and health of body and mind.

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Will you see that it is observed in your community?

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TOO MUCH STATISTICS

The head of an Oriental town, a Mohammedan, being asked by the Government to reply to certain questions relating to his city, sent in the following paper:

Question—What is the death-rate per thousand in your city?

Answer—In my city it is the will of Allah that all must die; some died old, some young.

Question—What is the annual number of births?

Answer—We don't know, only God can say.

Question—Are the supplies of drinking water sufficient and of good quality?

Answer—From the remotest period no one has ever died of thirst.

Question—What is the general hygienic condition of your city?

Answer—Since Allah sent us Mohammed, his prophet, to purge the world with fire and sword, there has been great improvement. And now, my lamb of the West, cease your questioning, which can do no good either to you or anyone else. Man should not bother himself about matters which concern God only.—*The Lancet*.

WHY TEACHERS' HAIR TURNS GRAY

The following gems were discovered in examination papers of the Methodist Girls' school at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia:

When the form of a verb is changed it is called congregation.

The prime meridian is called the eternal date line.

Gibraltar is the keynote of the Mediterranean.

The masculine of spinster is bore.—*Colorado School Journal*.

The test on the examination slip read: "Write an example of the indicative, of the subjunctive, of the potential and of the exclamatory mode."

The student wrote: "I am trying to pass an examination. If I answer twenty questions I shall pass. If I answer twelve I may pass. God help me!"—*School and Home*.

SPECIMENS OF "TOPSY-TURVY PRONUNCIATION"

"A colored brother was responsible for this: 'Dr. Spinks said John died from dishere final come an' get us'—meaning spinal meningitis."

"A young lady working on army personnel records asked: 'What is this auto-intoxication that so many of the army chauffeurs seem to have?'"

"A neighbor told us of his intention to plant alfalfa, adding that he should 'osculate' the soil."

"She always used a tallow candle and put it out with a 'distinguisher.'"

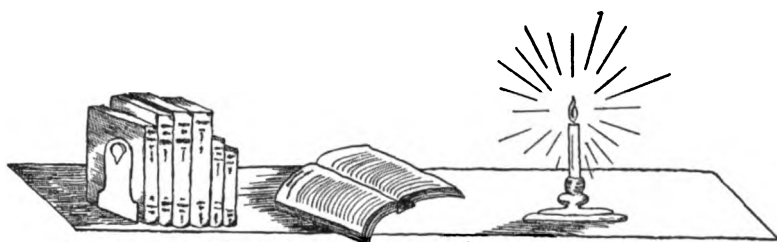
"The neighbor had been getting better, but had a 'relax.'"

"Our French professor was also an officer of the choral union. Wishing the tenors and basses to go downstairs to rehearse by themselves, he announced that 'the gentlemen would please go *bel-ow*.'"

"A colored woman told me her brother had suffered so dreadfully from a broken bone that 'they had to give him an epidemic injunction every night.'"

"A newspaper report of an accident during the performance of a child's play said: 'The child was assimilating (simulating) sleep when her dress caught fire.'"

"A colored porter on the Pullman said, 'That there road runs paralyzed with ours for sixty miles.'"—*The Outlook*.



BOOK SHELF

THE CURRICULUM. Kenneth Richmond. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., \$2.25.

This book is full of suggestion for those who feel dissatisfied with the present education, but who, unlike extremists in educational theory, still consider that the function of the school includes conscious acquisition of knowledge and development of the power of thought as well as encouragement of "spontaneous reactions." The prospect of children "developing into thoughtful beings depends very largely upon the opportunity that is given them to think out, while they are young, the idea that knowledge is a unity and not a miscellany." This is the foundation of Mr. Richmond's suggested curriculum—one which differs from that of today not so much in content matter as in organization and method of presentation. "There should be an effective correspondence between the different subjects and methods pursued—not only a correlation of subject matter in detail, but an organized unity of plan which produces one course of development rather than several divergent courses." The essential features of such courses for the elementary, the secondary, and the continuation school are outlined and, a delightful surprise to readers of recent educational books, Mr. Richmond's suggestions are perfectly adapted to our large public schools as well as to experimental or specially equipped schools. The introduction of such a course does not preclude a total reorganization of our schools; on the contrary it may hasten it. But its immediate value is self-evident and attainable. The one great difficulty of the synthetic course is, as Mr. Richmond recognizes, that of securing "synthetic teachers." But with the introduction of this method they will develop, for such a course will vitalize the work of the teachers as well as that of the children.

G. H. F.

EDUCATION AND THE GENERAL WELFARE. Frank K. Sechrist. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Mr. Sechrist's book is in the nature of an elementary textbook on school law, hygiene and management for the use of those actively engaged in school work. It attempts a detailed study of the entire problem of public school education—its philosophy, the responsibility of the state and federal govern-

ment, the provisions of existing laws, the child welfare movement, compulsory attendance, the school plant, the curriculum, the health and the psychology of the child. It is too comprehensive in its scope to be effective, and leaves an impression of carefully selected but not wholly assimilated material. Some questions are handled in such detail that their relationship to the general theme is lost—such as the modern school building, the daily program, etc. On the other hand the discussion of school laws in some instances is so general as to be almost misleading. In the treatment of child labor and compulsory school attendance the general trend of the laws throughout the country is summarized, but on the whole a too optimistic impression is left through failure to take into account the wide variation in the laws of different states, the many ways in which they are evaded and, frequently, the total lack of any effort at enforcement. The book is, however, a valuable plea for state conservation of childhood through the public school as its agent—not only by making it necessary and economically possible for the child to attend school, but by providing for him a type of education that will meet his individual needs, will develop his capacities, mental and physical, and will direct his emotions.

G. H. F.

HEY-RUB-A-DUB-DUB. Theodore Dreiser. New York: Boni and Liveright.

"A book of the mystery and terror and wonder of life," the sub-title calls it, but the text of the volume seems to be "If I were to preach any doctrine to the world, it would be a love of change, or at least lack of fear of it." Mr. Dreiser is passionately against all sheep-like conventionality, against all canned sentiment, against the superficiality that accepts a thing simply because it has always been so. The book is diffuse, and it is not constructive, in the sense that he offers no panaceas, but it is certainly a lively thought-awakener, guaranteed to make a number of complacent people very angry,—if they trouble to read it. It is not recommended as a mental sedative.

H. D. F.

RECREATION. Viscount Grey of Falloden. K. G. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, \$1.25.

Here is a delightful essay of the personal kind, treating of favorite books, of games and sports, and of a very interesting acquaintance with Theodore Roosevelt. In one of his paragraphs on books he writes: "I have had too little time for reading, but that my advice may not be entirely academic I will recommend you, at any rate, one good modern novel. Its name is 'The Bent Twig,' the authoress is Dorothy Canfield, and I can tell you nothing except that she is an American, but the book seems to me one of the best pieces of work in novel writing that has happened to come under my observation recently."

ARMY MENTAL TESTS. Compiled and edited by Clarence S. Yoakum and Robert M. Yerkes. New York: Henry Holt and Company, \$1.50.

This little book is a book of information, describing the methods and results of psychological examining in the Army, with suggestions as to the possible uses of similar methods in education and industry.

THE COMMUNITY CENTER. L. J. Hanifan. New York: Silver, Burdett and Company.

The State Supervisor of Rural Schools, West Virginia, contributes this volume to the Teacher Training Series. It is one that should prove very suggestive and helpful to a teacher in trying to make her school a real community institution and to relate school work to community life.

THE RURAL COMMUNITY, ANCIENT AND MODERN. Newell Leroy Sims, Ph.D. New York: Charles Scribners Sons.

Prof. Sims, of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, has prepared a volume of selected readings covering over 900 octavo pages. The community is treated historically, analytically, and indeed in every way in which it has been treated in the now voluminous literature of country life. The selections are admirably done, and altogether the volume is an invaluable source-book on its subject. Reports of many modern surveys, with charts and maps, are included.

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The American Child

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF GENERAL CHILD WELFARE

FEBRUARY, 1921



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IN THIS NUMBER

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Child Labor and Rural Tenancy

Children's Code Commissions at Work

How Existing Laws Affect Children in Agriculture

Notes from Some Recent Child Welfare Reports

The Child in the Cotton Country

The Work Needs of Children

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MADELINE McDOWELL BRECKENRIDGE: Citizen

Mrs. Breckinridge held a unique place among the active, most valued friends of the National Child Labor Committee and her loss is to us a real one. There has never been a time in the sixteen years of our work when we have gone to Kentucky with a suggestion for Kentucky's children that Mrs. Breckinridge has not welcomed us with all the grace and the understanding of her rare personality. She was one of the creators in Kentucky of a spirit of friendliness, of eagerness to serve, and of desire for the very best things in life which is not easily forgotten. Her chief interest was, of course, for many years the woman suffrage issue, yet she was never too busy to think of the needs and rights of childhood, and as vice-president and member of the executive committee of the Kentucky Child Labor Committee lent the force of her influence to a group who were seriously working on the problem of protection and development for all of Kentucky's children. In her own home, Lexington, she worked for and secured playgrounds and parks, a model school, a juvenile court, public health work, scientific charities,—all the definite expressions of a wide social viewpoint. As I look back upon her work and what she meant to her city, to her state, and to all of us who were interested in social betterment, it occurs to me that if every city and town had in it at least one citizen of the breadth of vision and

practical enthusiasm of Mrs. Breckinridge, to do for that locality what she did for Lexington and for Kentucky, the work of such groups as the National Child Labor Committee would be so helped and inspired that we would find ourselves rapidly attaining our objectives and actually giving to the children of America those things which we wish for them. Mrs. Breckinridge's life is for all of us a striking lesson in practical citizenship.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Paul R. Harvey". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "P" and a long, sweeping tail.

NEWS FROM THE CHILD WELFARE FIELD

The Schools and Unemployment

The unemployment situation and the increase in children's applications for work permits in the first eight months of 1920 have led very naturally to Stay-in-School drives in 1920-21. Two of the most interesting of these, while not called by that name, are being carried on with great success in Detroit and Minneapolis. Arthur Lederle, Supervisor of Attendance, in Detroit, gives as his slogan, "Save the jobs for the parents. Keep the children in school." In the fall of 1920 he pointed out to the Mayor and Public Welfare Commission that over 1,000 children under 16 were out of school with work permits while adult unemployment was increasing every day. He suggested that if the city could aid the families of these children to enable them to stop work and return to school, there would be just so many more jobs open to adults. This suggestion brought about a general discussion of the situation and resulted in a program of cooperation between the school authorities and the Public Welfare Commission to prevent children from leaving school unless absolutely necessary. At present all applications for work permits are carefully investigated by the social service department of the Public Welfare Commission. The Board of Education has made a ruling, also, that no permit shall be granted to a child in whose family an adult is unemployed. The result of these two measures is that the number of permits granted this year is much below that of last year. In December, 1920, only 34 permits were issued as against 126 in December, 1919. In January, 1921, only 12 permits were issued as against 167 in January, 1920. It is true that there were not so many applications this year as last, but the fact that 100 permits were refused this January as against 28 refused last January is important.

In Minneapolis the emphasis has been on part-time work for

children. The school authorities received a large number of calls for after-school work in the fall of 1920 and realized that the provision of suitable part-time work would do a great deal to hold many children in school. Therefore the fourteen home visitors of the city school system devoted several days to canvassing employers for openings. About 500 firms were visited and in spite of business depression many jobs were found. In January, N. H. Hegel, vocational adviser, of the Board of Education, wrote that Minneapolis was feeling the widespread industrial depression keenly and that the immediate result so far as children 14 to 16 were concerned, was to return these children to school since the law requires all such children to be either in school or at work. Special vocational work is being given in order to care for these children. "The groups of boys between 16 and 21, who have passed the errand-boy stage are not trained for anything else, are perhaps our most difficult problem," writes Mr. Hegel. "Since factories are closed and plenty of grown men are available for all jobs these boys are out of work in large numbers. We are advising those who are here from small towns and farms to return home until business picks up, and we are inducing just as many as possible to return to school. The Board of Education has opened a special trade school in one of the Minneapolis Steel Machinery buildings. Here boys who are unemployed may go for short trade courses. The regular high schools are accommodating themselves to the situation by taking in boys and girls who have been out of school and giving them whatever training they want . . . The free employment agencies of Minneapolis have recently formed an organization to pool information about employment and to cooperate in handling the situation. All the agencies are assisting us in our effort to return to school juveniles who are out of work." Part-time jobs are still coming in from the employers visited in the fall, and through them and the work permit system, the school board is keeping its hands on the children.

Federal Enforcement and Kansas

In December, newspapers announced that because of certain illegal certificates issued by a Kansas City judge, Kansas had been removed from the list of states accredited by the federal authorities

in the issuance of work permits. Investigation proved that this was not true, however, Kansas never having been actually removed from the accredited list. But the whole situation, especially the fact that federal authority was called upon to put a stop to illegalities within the state, makes the case a very interesting one. According to the State Department of Labor and Industry, the judge in question was issuing certificates illegally to children under 14 years of age. The state factory inspector cancelled the certificates but the judge insisted that they were legal and ordered the children holding them to return to work. Thereupon the state factory inspector reported the matter to the Child Labor Tax Division of the Bureau of Internal Revenue who immediately recommended that the matter be settled locally if possible through the state Attorney-General, so as to avoid federal action. The Kansas Commissioner of Labor then appealed to the Attorney-General who took the matter up with the judge. In due time the judge announced that having studied the statutes carefully he was convinced that it was the intention of the legislature to prohibit work by children under 14 and therefore "I shall from this day henceforth issue no permits to children under 14 years of age for any purpose so long as such a law remains the law of Kansas." The judge also stated that he hoped the legislature would remove the clause, "judge of the juvenile court" from the statute and put the issuance of work permits entirely in the hands of the Superintendent of Schools. A new statute including this provision is one of the proposals of the Kansas Children's Code Commission this year.

New Jersey's Child Welfare Week

New Jersey will celebrate "Child Welfare Week," May 8-15, 1921. Governor Edwards has made this announcement at the request of the New Jersey Council of Child Welfare, organized this fall with the slogan, "Make New Jersey the Children's State." The field secretary of the Council reports that the definite plans for Child Welfare Week will be left to the various communities, in which the Council is attempting to bring together various groups and agencies, together with municipal departments and private institutions, to coordinate their work for children and to formulate

programs that will intensify their work. The Council also aims to act as a clearing-house for information and service to agencies or individuals interested in child welfare, through five committees (child hygiene, public education, good citizenship, child labor, and law and law enforcement) made up of representatives of state organizations and leading specialists along the various lines. Unfortunately the Council has been having difficulties in raising funds for its work, but it is to be hoped that New Jersey citizens will rise to the occasion and make possible, financially, this practical attempt to coordinate child welfare activities in the state.

Child Welfare Study in West Virginia

Members of the field staff of the National Child Labor Committee, working under the direction of Dr. Edward N. Clopper, are engaged in making a study of child welfare in West Virginia. This is the seventh in the Committee's series of studies on a statewide basis. The study in West Virginia is more distinctly rural than any of the others. Nearly eighty-five per cent of the population under twenty years of age live in districts classified as rural. The economic activities of the state are predominantly concerned with agriculture, horticulture, timber-production, mining, oil and gas development, and manufacturing. Rural life, for a large number of people, is very greatly modified by oil and gas developments and mining and manufacturing enterprises.

Data in reference to the chief social and economic factors affecting or determining the lives of 700 rural families have already been gathered and these are now being tabulated. With this material as a basis for more specialized study, the investigators are proceeding to further study child labor on the farm, rural child dependency, rural school attendance, the personnel and procedure of rural courts dealing with children, and rural recreation. A special study is also being made of the application of child welfare laws to rural children. It is expected that the field work involved in the West Virginia study will be completed in May.

The Federal Children's Bureau, last autumn, studied child life in the coal-mining counties of Raleigh and Fayette, West Virginia. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene recently completed a study of feeble-mindedness in the state.

Coming Child Labor Conference

The Sixteenth National Conference on Child Labor will be held, under the auspices of the National Child Labor Committee, at Milwaukee in June, in conjunction with the Forty-eighth Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work. The exact date of the Child Labor Conference will be announced later.

The meeting of the Conference of Social Work will be held June 22 to June 29, inclusive. A large number of allied organizations will hold meetings in Milwaukee either immediately prior to or during the week of the Social Work Conference meeting. Among these allied organizations are: Public Health Nurses' Association, the Jewish Conference of Social Welfare, the Canadian Conference of Public Welfare, National Board of the Y. W. C. A., the National Association for Community Organization, Interstate Conference on Illegitimacy, National Probation Association, National Conference on Education of Backward, Truant and Delinquent Children, National Children's Home Society, National Travelers' Aid Society.

Plans for Child Health Demonstration

The National Child Health Council has announced plans for a child health demonstration in some one community of the United States. The object will be to assist the community in working out a well-rounded program for the health of its mothers and children. The National Child Health Council consists of representatives of six national organizations which are either wholly or partly engaged in health work for children. The object is to coordinate the child health work of member organizations with that of public departments and private organizations generally which are engaged in national work for the health of babies and children. Health the Council conceives to be the vigorous and happy enjoyment of all of the physical powers in a way that will contribute most to the sound development of the citizenship of the country.

One of the ultimate goals of the Council's efforts will be the development of a comprehensive and well balanced child health program on a national scale. Therefore members of the Council feel that it is especially appropriate that a demonstration of what such

a program can be should be carried out in some community with the cooperation of all who are joining in the national movement. A test of the soundness and effectiveness of this demonstration will be the permanency of the results in the life of the community. For that reason the attitude of the citizens and officials toward it will be one determining factor in the selection of the community. None will be considered which do not cordially wish to have this demonstration. Announcement will be made within the next few weeks of the plans of the Council as to the selection of the community and of the conditions which are considered desirable in order that the demonstration may be of most service to the country.

The member organizations of the Council and their representatives are as follows:

American Child Hygiene Association	National Child Labor Committee
Philip Van Ingen, M.D.	Homer Folks
Richard A. Bolt, M.D.	Owen R. Lovejoy
American Red Cross	National Organization for Public Health Nursing
Livingston Farrand, M.D.	Edna L. Foley
Ervin A. Peterson, M.D.	Florence M. Patterson
Child Health Organization of America	National Tuberculosis Association
L. Emmett Holt, M.D.	William H. Baldwin
Sally Lucas Jean	Charles J. Hatfield, M.D.

Contributions Exempt from Income Tax

That part of your income which you give to the children of America through the National Child Labor Committee is not subject to either the federal or the New York State income tax. This statement is based on official opinions which we have obtained. If your income tax is too heavy cut it down by contributing more of your money to the Committee! Lest this suggestion appear designed to take away from the revenues of state and nation we bid you bear in mind that the work we are doing together for the children yields large material and spiritual dividends to both state and nation. America can not lose by what money you devote to the cause of child labor reform.

Health Needs of Working Children

On February 15 there was held in New York, under the chairmanship of Dr. Lee K. Frankel, vice-president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and under the auspices of the United States Public Health Service and the American Social Hygiene Association, an "Informal Conference for the Eastern States" on "The Health Needs of the Boy and Girl in Industry." For the purposes of the conference the following definition, appearing on the typewritten program, was used: "By 'the boy and girl in industry' is meant the large group of young people, especially those under the age of 25, who have left school and are engaged in gainful employment." Dr. H. H. Mitchell, of the staff of the National Child Labor Committee, has prepared some brief notes regarding the conference, and these follow:

This meeting represents a venture into the yet unexplored field of the health needs of boys and girls in industry. It is rather surprising to discover that such a large group of our population has heretofore been generally overlooked in health work. School-leaving statistics indicate that about one-fourth of the children leave school before they are 15 years of age, one-half leave before they are 15½, and three-fourths leave before they are 16 years, and yet the high school and college boys and girls have been the ones to receive the health attention rather than the larger groups. Health workers have given special attention to other age groups such as infancy, the school child, and the adult in industry. Dr. B. C. Gruenberg of the U. S. Public Health Service, who stated the purposes of the conference, emphasized that visual education such as has been used during the last three years among industrial workers for the prevention of venereal disease has been confined for the younger groups to the relatively small number of high school and college boys and girls. He stated that he considered that young people were much more responsive to educational work than the adults, and yet in the industries they are neglected both from the educational and health side.

This Conference was largely directed at the problem of venereal disease, and yet it should be considered that the methods of venereal disease prevention in general will be effective for other health activities. Mr. Clancy D. Connel, former secretary for boys in industry, New York State Committee, Y. M. C. A., answered the question,

"Is it true that the health needs of the boy in industry are different from those of the boy in school, and is it true that the working boy is in greater danger of venereal disease infection than the school boy, and is it also true that the working boy is subject to infection at an earlier age than the boy in school?" Mr. Connel's answer was, "Yes, by all means." The first reason is that the home life from which the boys come is different. He cited from a study of 1,300 boys in factories in Rochester "that 26 per cent had either father or mother dead." He emphasized that the boy who helps support his family is apt to feel a certain license and he has a certain liberty in so far as the use of his leisure hours are concerned. He said 70 per cent of the boys in industry at the age of 16 and 17 was not an unusual percentage to have come from foreign countries or have foreign-born parents in Jamestown, Elmira, Rochester and Niagara Falls. He said that a large number of boys from the age of 15 leave their homes in small towns and the open country and go to the cities, and these boys have no home life. They live in boarding houses and cheap hotels. "The boy in industry is unlike the boy in high school because high school days are idealistic." Dr. Rachelle S. Yarros of the Illinois State Board of Health made a similar plea for the health needs peculiar to the girl in industry. It was agreed that the principles governing the health work for this group are not different from those applying to similar groups of children in school, but that their environment does present peculiar hazards that demand special attention.

Both Dr. Thomas Darlington, Medical Director of the U. S. Iron and Steel Institute, and Mr. J. P. Munroe, Vice-chairman of Federal Board for Vocational Education, in speaking upon the topic, "Why should the employer assume responsibility for protecting the young people in his employ from dangers of infection by venereal disease, and why should he afford opportunities for such protection when other agencies are carrying on venereal disease control work among boys and girls?" agreed that employers were more and more realizing that one of the biggest wastes in industry is in human material because of ill health, and that it pays to use modern public health methods. Mr. Munroe stated that such measures should originate within the industry itself by stimulating the workers so that employer and employee may go hand in hand with mutual benefit.

Mr. E. C. Davidson, secretary of the International Association of Machinists, who spoke for the unions, emphasized that the workers should have the truth about venereal disease, and he showed how the unions were already cooperating with the U. S. Public Health Service in carrying out their educational activities. Several employer representatives of large industries gave illustrations of what they had been doing in their plants, and emphasized such points as the importance of proper organization, gaining the confidence of the employees, proper occupational placement, community health work, and yearly physical examinations. A number of speakers brought out the point that this health problem is a general one and represents a civic responsibility on the part of the employer, the employee, the community and the nation toward a very large proportion of our youth. Such a viewpoint is essential, although the efforts of the employer, organized labor, and the public and private health agencies will be a great help in working out a satisfactory solution. It seems to us that the really significant consideration of such a meeting, and such discussions is the recognition of this unexplored field of the public health movement,—*i.e.*, the health needs of the boy and girl in industry.

Dr. Wm. F. Snow, General Director of the American Social Hygiene Association, in summing up the main points of the Conference, remarked: "I do not believe that we have to have many more meetings such as this to prove the importance of this thing. We have our data. We now have to see what we can do in the various communities." Would that this appreciation of the special needs of children in industry were true of other public health groups. It may be true that the persons present at this Conference appreciate the importance of the problem from the standpoint of venereal disease. We may have sufficient data to prove that venereal-disease preventive measures must be inaugurated for our younger industrial workers, but we have a larger health problem with regard to this age period, that of: (1) protection from the peculiar health hazards both of industry itself and of unhygienic living; and (2) of providing health service and proper health education. As yet our health officials have not really begun to grapple with the problem. Possibly school health authorities will soon take it up with the medical examiners for work permits, and develop a practical administrative plan for such health service through the continuation

schools. We are advised that such pioneer work is already under way in Milwaukee.

Post Graduate Course in Child Hygiene

Recently a Post Graduate Course in Child Hygiene opened at the State Normal School at Trenton, N. J. The Course has been arranged at the suggestion of the New Jersey State Department of Health in cooperation with the State Normal School. Training is given in fundamentals of child care, in applied hygiene, in social case work, and in the many other phases of public health work with which child hygiene nurses come in contact, in their direct relation to child hygiene work. The comprehensiveness of the Course has been made possible by the active cooperation of all divisions of the Health Department and of the faculty of the Trenton Normal School, as well as of specialists in certain fields. That the benefits accruing from the Course will be far reaching is assured by a registration of 56 Child Hygiene nurses, who have their fields of operation in every section of the state, and who will thus be able to bring to their work a heightened interest and a broader knowledge and understanding of their immediate problems. This is the first time, according to the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, that Child Hygiene nurses employed by a State Department of Health have been given an opportunity of this nature.

Child Labor in Imperial Valley

Through the cooperation of friends of children, wide publicity has been given in California to the report by Miss Emma Duke on child labor conditions in that State published in the November number of the *AMERICAN CHILD*. Already there are evidences of a good effect on public opinion. Once more the value of the service rendered by investigation and publicity has been demonstrated. Child labor reform depends very largely on information.

For the most part the press comment regarding Miss Duke's report has been intelligent. However, there have been one or two noteworthy exceptions. There seems to be a hypersensitiveness in some minds that responds inevitably to expositions of the child

labor evil with totally irrational misinterpretations of the statements made. Miss Duke's careful presentation of carefully observed and verified facts suffered in some newspapers that atrocious garbling and misquotation with which the National Child Labor Committee has had long experience. The treatment accorded the report in some quarters illustrates also the difficulty of getting people to believe that there can be child labor in agriculture. The idyllic conception of country life still stands in the way of general appreciation of the fact that the great child labor problem of today is the problem of rural child labor. When this Committee, a long time back, was telling the people of America about child labor in factories, we were met with denial on the part of employers and skepticism on the part of a considerable portion of the general public. But at last we were vindicated by the force of informed opinion, and we have seen in the recent advertisements of some of those very employers who bitterly opposed us in the beginning the proud announcement, "We do not employ child labor." We are now telling the story about child labor as it flourishes under somewhat different conditions—child labor in agriculture, especially in forms of agriculture that have become highly industrialized—and we are confronted by the same denial and the same skepticism. But in due time the charges will be proved before the bar of public opinion and appropriate remedial and preventive measures will be taken.

To illustrate the misquotation and misinterpretation to which a report like that on "California the Golden," is subjected by those who don't want to believe it or don't want others to believe it, let us cite a long two column editorial in the *El Centro Progress*, a newspaper published in the Imperial Valley and fearful that this article constitutes a libel on the Valley. This editorial quotes the article as saying that "Children three years old are made to pick cotton," and that "children five years old are compelled to pick all day." Nowhere does the original say that "children three years old are *made* to pick cotton" nor that "children five years old are *compelled* to pick all day." The statements as they appear in the original article are "All kinds of children pick—even those as young as three years," and "Five year old children pick steadily all day." These absolutely correct statements do not imply a majority of workers at these ages. They simply call attention to the fact that

in this work done by family groups, children as young as three can be and are utilized. Obviously, children of these ages could constitute but a small proportion of the total number of workers. They do, however, constitute a bad phase of the child-labor situation. The *El Centro Progress* takes exception to the statements that "school attendance and child labor laws are violated more in Imperial Valley than in any other part of the state" and that "between 2,500 and 3,000 children are out of school picking cotton." These statements in the article are based upon statements of officials of the state government of California, whose business it has been to ascertain the facts. While the article was in proof, Miss Duke telegraphed to one of the state offices and asked it to confirm previously given permission to use the statement concerning the number of children which is on file in the official records of the state and received telegraphic confirmation in reply. The article as it appeared in the *American Child* even explains the basis by which the state arrived at this estimate of 2,500 or more children. The *Progress* says: "Deduct the children of Mexican contract laborers—thicker than bees in a hive—and the number would not be any greater than in other sections of the state." This is very doubtful. But why deduct the Mexican children, anyway? Isn't a child in this enlightened country entitled to an education and to a happy childhood, free from toil, even though his parents may be laborers, and Mexicans at that? The fact that conditions may be worse in the country from which they come is not a valid excuse for denying a foreign-born child his right to an education so that employers or parents may profit from his labor.

California has a child labor law which should be enforced but is very inadequately enforced in the Imperial Valley and other rural parts of the state—for reasons given in detail in the article by Miss Duke. Shortage of schools is not the whole of the explanation; children are not attending even where there are schools—many of them are working. We understand that a bill is pending in the legislature appropriating \$15,000 for the enforcement of the child labor law in rural districts. We learn also that more attendance officers may be provided by another act of the legislature. Interesting, too, are the plans of the State Board of Education for the employment of "travelling teachers," to follow the migratory families in their seasonal occupations and take charge of their

children. But the final solution of California's rural child labor problem, or that of America's rural child labor problem, is not fully represented by such measures as these. Let us press forward, thinking as courageously as we act.

BREVITIES

The report of the National Child Labor Committee on "Child Welfare in Tennessee" is being published by the Tennessee Child Welfare Commission.

The National Child Labor Committee joined with various other organizations in promoting the Citizens' Conference on Education (for the states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania) held in New York City January 28 and 29 at the call of Dr. P. P. Claxton, U. S. Commissioner of Education.

An interesting and valuable "Handbook of Constructive Child Labor Reform in Massachusetts" has just been issued by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee, 6 Beacon Street, Boston. The booklet contains not only a wealth of facts about child labor but many practical illustrations of ways and means of dealing with the problem. Its usefulness should not be limited to Massachusetts.

Miss Gertrude H. Folks, Specialist in Schools, National Child Labor Committee, conducted courses at the Tennessee School Attendance Officers' Conference held in Nashville January 13 to 18, inclusive, under the auspices of the State Department of Education, the Peabody College for Teachers, the Southern Division of the American Red Cross, and the National Child Labor Committee.

George A. Hall, secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee, organized and directed a recent campaign whereby the boys and girls in the New York City public schools, through distribution of literature and the voices of a special corps of speakers, received the gospel of Stay-in-School. Various organizations cooperated.

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A Journal of Constructive Democracy

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Many readers of the AMERICAN CHILD have written or spoken to the editors expressing their appreciation of the articles and stories which Professor John F. Smith is contributing to this magazine. We are glad to say that there is more to come in future issues. No one in America writes more interestingly or understandingly than Professor Smith of rural life in the Southern Highlands. He is a member of the faculty of Berea College Academy, heading the Department of Social Sciences.

CHILD LABOR AND RURAL TENANCY

CHARLES E. GIBBONS

As the 1920 Census figures are being announced from time to time, the alarmists are busy, just as they were a decade ago, agitating a "back to the farm" movement, for the figures are showing a continuance of the tendency which was well marked in 1910, namely, the urban population is increasing while the rural population is correspondingly decreasing. They fear the farms are being depopulated so rapidly that the national food supply is endangered. They are clamoring for some plan whereby city dwellers will be enabled to go out to farms. This sounds well but they have failed to recognize that migration of people from country to city is following a fundamental economic law. People will continue to do as they have done throughout all the ages—go where they can do the best. Economically the situation looks worse for the country than it really is. It is true there are fewer people on the farms than formerly, but there is need for fewer even in proportion to the increase in the national population. This is because of the tremendous increase in the use of power-driven machinery, a greater diversification of crops, and a more intelligent use of fertilizer. One man with a tractor can plow as much in a day as three men with teams can. Hence we find there is no decrease in the number of cultivated acres, or in the yield per acre.

Better methods of farming have had a direct beneficial effect upon landowners throughout the entire country, although their influence is least felt in the so-called "cash crop" sections. Tenants in general grain-farming and diversified-crop regions have received considerable help from better methods of farming, but those living in one-crop sections have received practically no benefits from them at all. Improvement in social factors, such as education, health, recreation, child labor and sanitary conditions of farm life, have not generally kept pace with the improvement in methods of farming, although, as a rule, the better the husbandry, the better the social

life of the people. The purpose of this article is to discuss rural child labor with special reference to the effect that tenancy in the "cash-crop" regions has upon it.

So far very little consideration has been given to rural child labor, yet nearly three-fourths of all working children from 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, work either on the home farm or as "farm laborers working out." Of the total number of farm laborers on the home farm and working out, from 10 to 15 years of age, 83.0 per cent are found in thirteen states. These same states have 49.8 per cent of all the farms in the United States. Forty-nine and four-tenths per cent of the farms in these states are operated by tenants whose number is two-thirds the total number in the United States. These same thirteen states in 1919 had 85 per cent of the tobacco and 99 per cent of the cotton acreage of the United States. Cotton and tobacco are the leading cash crops raised in this country.

There are no provisions in state or national laws giving protection or supervision to agricultural child laborers.* Moreover in every state in the Union, farm work either does not come within the purview of the law, or else is made a legal excuse for children to stay out of school.

In order to understand why conditions are thus it is necessary to study briefly farm psychology. The farmer is and always has been an individualist. As compared with the city dweller he lives far from his neighbors. He works alone out in the field completely cut off from any social intercourse with his neighbors. Consequently he does not fully appreciate the value of co-operation and team work. He still retains most of the independence he enjoyed in pioneer times so far as the care of his children is concerned. He determines whether they shall or shall not go to school; whether they shall or shall not work and, if they work, he lays down the conditions and hours of work. He does not see that child labor may seriously interfere with both the physical and mental development of his children; but on the other hand, for them not to work is a positive evil, as he sees it. The parent himself has known nothing but work, his parents before him had always worked, so why shouldn't his children work? For his children to take time

* See, in this number "Notes on Child Labor and Compulsory Attendance Laws as They Affect the Employment of Children in Agriculture."

off from work to play is a waste of time—worse than idleness—and many parents, even at the present time, feel it is better for the children to work than go to school; consequently there has been no demand on the part of farm people for any protective legislation for child laborers. On the other hand there has been a definite opposition to any attempt to regulate the hours and conditions of agricultural child laborers, and so thoroughly has the legislator been impressed with this apparently inherent right of farm parents that he will not seriously consider even the simplest regulatory measures.

Undoubtedly in pioneer days when the struggle to make both ends meet on the farm was intense, there was justification in the demand of both owner and tenant parents that every member of the family, however small, should contribute as much as possible towards his "board and keep"; but with the great increase in prosperity of farmers, this argument has lost most of its weight, if indeed it has any at all now. In a study recently made by the National Child Labor Committee in Tennessee, 186 owner families were found to have an average net income from the land, of \$1,293.00 and 177 tenant families an average net income of \$446.00. From this evidence it is clear that owner parents have no excuse whatever for keeping their children home from school to work, in order to make a living. In the absence of knowledge of what a living return ought to be for families living on farms, it is difficult to say whether tenant parents must actually have the labor of their children, or not, in order to make a living. If they must actually have their labor—and the evidence strongly points to their needing it—then it is a sad commentary on the industry that parents engaged in it must force their children to assist with the work, in order to make a living. Surely no American institution has the right to exist when it keeps in economic slavery any part of the people necessary for its maintenance.

The status of tenants in the diversified-crop sections of the South is little if any more than that of day laborers. They are given only a small amount of land to cultivate—just enough to hold them—and the remainder of the time they must work on the owners' land as laborers. The wage of from 75 cents to \$1.50 is so small that they are unable to live on it, consequently many of them are leaving these communities and going either to the "cash-crop" sections or to industrial centers. The writer found one community

that had seven empty tenant houses, and the landowners were complaining bitterly about the shortage of labor. Where diversified farming is carried on there aren't nearly so many kinds of work that children can do. The tenants in one-crop communities had an average net income from the land of \$489.00 as against \$345.00 for those living in diversified crop communities. No doubt a part of this difference in income is derived from a greater use of child labor.

It is in the one-crop sections that not only the greatest number of child laborers, but also the worst forms of child labor, are found. Here the tenancy system is operated largely on the so-called cropper basis. The tenant furnishes the labor and usually half the fertilizer, the money for which is often advanced by the land owner. The landlord furnishes the land, work stock, implements, seed and half the fertilizer. Each receives half the crop. In addition the landlord gives the tenant a house, such as it is, firewood, and a garden. The number of hands a tenant has, as a rule, determines the number of acres he may have in cotton or tobacco. Since his labor supply is derived from his own family, the number of acres he cultivates depends upon the number of children he has. In one-crop sections tenants farm little except the one crop. They buy their vegetables rather than raise them. In many communities the owners are raising the diversified crops, and leaving the cash crops for their tenants to raise.

Owners as a rule do not provide modern, power-driven machinery for their tenants. Most of the plowing for and cultivating of cotton and tobacco is done with single plows and one-horse cultivators. This makes the work go slowly, hence a great amount of labor is needed. Cotton is planted, hoed, weeded, and picked and tobacco is planted, hoed, weeded, suckered, wormed, topped, gathered, and prepared for curing and market—all by hand. Children from six years of age and up can be and are used in every one of these operations. The fact that there are so many kinds of work that children can do is too often conclusive proof to the parents that their children ought to work, school or no school, recreation or no recreation. They never have any suspicion that the health of their children may be seriously affected by their labor.

The kinds of work the children are called upon to do in the one-crop sections is not training them to be any better farmers than

their parents. It is mere drudgery and wholly uneducational. It doesn't teach them thrift and economy, for the parents as a rule get all the returns from their labor; in fact, their labor is simply a "board and keep" proposition. Out of 112 tenant parents in Tennessee only 18 reported their children owning anything, such as a pig, calf, acre of corn, cotton, etc., and receiving the profits therefrom. There is nothing in this drudgery that creates interest in the farm. Many of them leave without even having the chance to experience the better side of farm life. Long hours of monotonous, uninteresting, never-ending work in the cotton field or tobacco patch is driving many boys and girls to industrial centers. Some who stay on the farm without either interest or training become the derelicts of the countryside. Success has not crowned their lives largely because of the complacent feeling that "anybody can be a farmer."

The growing season for both cotton and tobacco is long. It is frequently said that it takes 13 months to make a tobacco crop. Often the last of the cotton is not picked until long after the holiday season; consequently, the attendance of children at school is seriously interfered with. In the same study previously referred to, 95 owner parents said they sent their children to school regularly and 23 said they did not; while 35 tenant parents said they sent their children to school regularly, and 65 said they did not. This is a challenge when 19.5 per cent of owner parents and 62.6 per cent of tenant parents frankly say they do not send their children to school regularly. The ratio of attendance to non-attendance among owners in one-crop communities was 47 to 18, and in diversified crop communities it was 48 to 5. Among tenants in one-crop communities the ratio was 23 to 46 and in diversified crop communities it was 12 to 13. That is to say 27.7 per cent of owner families and 66.6 per cent of tenant families in one-crop communities, and 9.4 per cent of owner families and 52.0 per cent. of tenant families in diversified crop communities do not send their children to school regularly.

Following are the reasons given by parents: owners, work, 14; sickness, 12; and weather and distance, 2. Tenants, work, 36; sickness, 15; weather and distance, 4; and indifference, 8. Numerically work is the greatest cause both owner and tenant parents give. Among those families whose children are irregular in attend-

ance at school in one-crop communities, work was the excuse of owners in 61.0 per cent and of tenants in 70.0 per cent of the cases, and among the families in diversified-crop communities work was the excuse of owners in 60.0 per cent and of tenants 30.8 per cent of the cases. Tenancy wherever found interferes with school attendance and where there is an excessive amount of it, as in the one-crop areas, it undoubtedly influences owner parents in *not sending their children to school*.

In the one-crop sections there is a great amount of moving among the tenants. In the Tennessee study the writer found the owners had owned their land an average of 164.0 months, while the tenants had lived in the same place an average of only 28.8 months. There is practically no difference in the average number of months owners had owned their land in one-crop and in diversified-crop communities, but the period of occupancy for the tenants in the former was 24.6 months as against 40.3 months in the latter. In one community in the one-crop section the average for the tenants was as low as six months.

So much moving has a bad influence on school attendance. Moving time is usually about the first of the year. Frequently, the parents, when they are late in the fall in getting their crop out, do not start their children to school, knowing they will move about Christmas time; then after they have moved, they argue it won't be long before school closes and spring work opens up, so it is of no use to start them at all. Many children were found who had been out of school for a whole year at a time.

Shifting tenantry creates an attitude of indifference on the part of both owner and tenant parents towards the development of schools. Owner parents who are financially able—and many of them are—send their children to town to school. This tends to educate the children away from the farm, while their parents lose interest in the local school and oppose the raising of the tax levy for its maintenance. Hence the management of the schools tends to fall into the hands of less competent people. The writer found in Tennessee a well-marked tendency in certain localities for the schools to be patronized by tenant children only. This is unfortunate, for, if tenancy is to be maintained as it should be,—as a normal stepping stone to ownership,—then the democratizing effect of all children attending the same school should not be lost.

In order that there may be a community of interest between owners and tenants every opportunity should be used for the one fully to appreciate and understand the importance of the other. At the present time, in much of the one-crop area, this is not the case. On the contrary, each has a feeling of distrust toward the other. The landlord is usually looking for another tenant, and the tenant for another farm. Tenants' greatest sin is ignorance, landlords' is indifference. The one is not wholly to blame for the weakness of the other, but because of the generally higher educational level, and better financial conditions, land owners have a greater responsibility in bettering the status of tenants.

The evidence strongly points to tenancy being maintained as it is in the one-crop areas, simply because it is a paying proposition to landowners. Since tenancy is necessary to the maintenance of the present system, landowners ought not to be permitted to "draw their mantles about themselves" and say, "We will shoulder just as little responsibility as we dare, with reference to the education of tenants' children." At the same time they are not unwilling to make capital out of the labor of little children and where the question of increasing the tax levy for schools is raised, their voices are heard in no uncertain tones. Our much talked-of system of "free education for every child" leaves much to be desired. Whether rural child labor which does interfere with school attendance is the result of ignorance, indifference, poverty, or in some cases greedy commercialism, or all of them, it matters not. Children should be given their inherent rights, regardless of the cost or on whom it falls. Certainly education, and the opportunity to get it, is one of them.

There is one important difference between agricultural child labor and industrial child labor. In the country the bulk of children work at home and under the supervision of their own parents whereas in industry they work away from home and under the supervision of strangers. In establishing minimum standards for industrial workers, employers, who for the most part had no personal interest in the children they employed, were required to submit to certain restrictions with reference to the employment of children; but to establish the same standards for agricultural child laborers would mean that farmers would have to give up the freedom from all restraint which they now enjoy and have always enjoyed with

reference to the employment of children on the farm. Keeping in mind the individualism of farm parents, it is doubtful whether much would be gained in an attempt at direct legislation. The indirect method,—real compulsory education with adequate machinery for enforcement,—holds out greater hopes. For the present the emphasis will have to be school attendance rather than regulation of work conditions. The law should require that no child under 14 years of age be permitted to stay away from school at all on account of work. Children 14 to 16 years of age might be permitted to remain away from school for a certain number of days during the session provided they get a work permit granted by the county superintendent of schools, under the same conditions that govern the issuance of permits to children who work in industry. Children under 16 years should not be permitted to work for anyone except their parents, during the time when school is in session.

It is recognized that the above suggestion will not wholly eliminate the evils of child labor on the farms, especially in the one-crop areas. Tenancy primarily is an economic condition and its wrongs will have to be righted by economic measures; but the most effective method of attacking the evils which have grown out of it and become deep-rooted is in giving every tenant child an education. Tenancy itself is not an evil. It is a necessary institution but the social injustices that have grown out of it must be righted if the nation is to have a happy and contented rural citizenry.

RECENT CHILD WELFARE REPORTS

HELEN DWIGHT FISHER

The Philadelphia and Delaware newspapers not long ago published startling stories as to "small children" bound out to farmers in lower Delaware. A study of the report on which these stories were based shows that after all the facts are not so lurid as they appeared, although it is true enough that Delaware's old apprenticeship law still holds good and there are children bound out under it. But their number is not great, and the survey on which the newspaper stories were based was made for the express purpose of discovering what conditions actually surround children placed-out in Delaware and what steps the state must take to improve them. The repeal of the old apprenticeship law is one of the first recommendations and since the child welfare division of the State Reconstruction Commission urges the same thing, it is probable that the legislature will consider that law this year.

Previous reports, from the federal Children's Bureau and others, had shown that a number of children were placed-out in Delaware by agencies from outside the state, that many of these children were mental defectives, and that proper investigation did not always attend their placing-out. In the present report 294 children placed-out by 11 different agencies were studied. The agencies varied widely, of course, in their methods of placing-out, but in many cases there was neither sufficient investigation of the child's own family before he was removed from it, nor careful enough study of the family in which he was placed-out. There was almost no supervision of the children after placing-out. Twenty-three per cent of the children were said to be mentally defective or subnormal, and many of them were retarded in school. No complete retardation figures are given, but it is stated in the report that school attendance is very irregular among these children, chiefly because they are placed-out on the understanding that they are to help in farmwork. Of 112 children, 7 to 13 years of age, 34 attended school

less than 101 days, although the law requires children under 14 to attend the full term of 180 days. Among the children 14 to 16 years of age, attendance was less regular; of 91 such children, 79 attended school less than 101 days, the law requiring them to attend at least 100 days. There is practically no provision for recreation for these children. Altogether the situation shows extreme carelessness on the part of most of the agencies who placed the children out, and makes it clear that Delaware must at once take the steps recommended by the State Children's Bureau and Reconstruction Commission.

The annual report (1920) of the Alabama Child Welfare Commission shows that the number of child labor permits issued has been greatly reduced since the establishment of the commission. But in a special study of child workers in certain counties, including Jefferson, Montgomery and Mobile, it was found that 30 per cent of the children had completed *no grade in school*, 1 per cent had finished the first grade, 1 per cent the second, 3 per cent the fourth, and 25 per cent the fifth. After September, 1921, it will be impossible for a child to receive a work-permit until he has completed the fourth grade, but even this is, of course, too low an educational requirement.

The report contains, also, a few interesting though isolated figures as to streetworkers which go to prove certain old, old arguments. Whereas 79 per cent of the children at work in other trades said that they were employed to help support widowed or deserted mothers, only 34 per cent of the newsboys, in Mobile, at least, contributed to their family incomes. In Mobile, also, 21 per cent of the newsboys failed to make their grades in school and 75 per cent were graded poor in both conduct and scholarship. In Anniston less than 50 per cent of the newsboys were promoted at the end of the school year.

Interesting data as to the instability of child workers are given in both "Training for Store Service," by Lucile Eaves of the Boston Women's Educational and Industrial Union, and "Industrial Instability of Child Workers," by Robert Morse Woodbury, No. 5 in the Children's Bureau's Industrial Series. Miss Eaves points out that while there was an increase in the number of children entering factories between 1913 and 1918, there was a decrease in the number of children receiving certificates for store-work. In 1913, 36

per cent of the children receiving permits went into stores while in 1918 only 15 per cent of them did so. "At the same time the number of children who entered factories increased from 47 to 66 per cent." Only 50 out of about 1,000 illiterates 18 to 21 years old who were certificated at the Boston office went into stores, and only 9 per cent of the 1,000 children between 14 and 21 in stores had failed to reach the eighth grade. That is, stores have few openings for children with very limited education. As to the shifting of young workers from job to job, Miss Eaves says: "Apparently all the shifting had been confined to 26 per cent or about one-fourth of the young persons of the sample group (19 to 21 years of age). The number of positions which they held varied, as three-fifths had received only 2 certificates, one-fifth 3, and the other fifth from 4 to 14. Those whose certificates indicated more than one employer for each year comprised but 4.7 per cent of the entire group. . . . The verified application schedules . . . showed that the boys averaged 2.37 and the girls 1.37 positions before entering the firms where they were last known to be employed."

The Children's Bureau's study of employment certificate records in Connecticut was of 14 to 16-year-old children only, but shows a similar variation in the amount of shifting of girls and boys. Boys also showed a higher unemployment rate than girls, "10.1 as contrasted with 7.9 in the first month, 5.9 as compared with 4 in the sixth, and 2.4 as compared with 2 in the twenty-third month." Over one-third of the children left their first place of employment before the end of three months and nearly one-sixth left in the first month. Forty-three per cent of the children held two or three positions in the 21 to 24 months studied, and 20 per cent of them held from 4 to 7 positions. There were 7,147 children whose working histories were analyzed, and 74.7 per cent of them or 5,342 went first into manufacturing or mechanical industries, 17.3 per cent into trade and 2.1 per cent into transportation. Here as in the Boston study it was found that boys go to work slightly earlier than girls.

NOTES ON CHILDREN'S CODE COMMISSIONS NOW AT WORK*

In the following list all the states are included in which there is any group (state, semi-official or otherwise) working on the codification or revision of child welfare laws. In many cases they are not strictly code commissions, but are included because their work is along that general line.

Colorado.—A committee of eight county judges was appointed by the Governor to report this year on necessary revisions of child welfare laws. Judge Ben Lindsey, of Denver, who is chairman of the committee, states that a law to regulate the work in beet-fields is included in their program. Newspaper reports indicate that the recommendations are numerous and constructive.

Connecticut.—The children's code commission, Henry P. Fairchild, executive secretary, Hartford, has made its report to the Governor, and the proposed code has been introduced in the Senate by Professor Bakewell of Yale University.

Delaware.—The child welfare division of the State Reconstruction Commission (Mrs. Ina J. Perkins, Wilmington, director of child welfare) has issued its report, "The Chance of a Delaware Child," a very interesting, illustrated account of the commission's child welfare work and recommendations. One of the legislative proposals provides for a permanent Commission to take over and develop the child welfare activities of the Reconstruction Commission. The need of child health work is especially emphasized.

District of Columbia.—A code commission is at work, Frank F. Nesbit, secretary, Washington.

Georgia.—In preparation for a children's code commission, or for the revision of Georgia's child welfare laws, the state council of social agencies has empowered a committee to select the personnel of a proposed "Committee on Children's Legislation." Mr. Burr Blackburn, of the State Board of Public Welfare, Atlanta, can give information.

Illinois.—The state child welfare committee (Mrs. Ira Couch Wood of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, Chicago, chairman) has reported on legislation proposed this year, but the full report is not yet published. According to the newspapers, the recommendations call for a division of child welfare and for a children's code.

* Compiled February 1, 1921.

Indiana.—The child welfare commission filed its report with Governor Goodrich on December 23rd. Recommendations, according to the newspapers, included the creation of a juvenile commission for the state, the revision of the compulsory school attendance law, and the enactment of "a drastic child labor law."

Iowa.—The general code commission, appointed in 1919 to edit and codify the laws "of a general nature" and to report desirable changes, has included among its recommendations a number of measures affecting children. The compulsory education law is up for revision, extending the school term for all children between 7 and 16 years of age to 32 weeks a year, and a bill relating to charitable, correctional and penal institutions has been prepared, creating a state board of control for such institutions.

Kansas.—The children's code commission (Dr. Florence Brown Sherbon, State House, Topeka, secretary) has published its report on proposed child welfare legislation, but makes special note of the fact that the proposals are tentative, subject to change if the commission receives further light on them, and that the report is only partial, issued for the purpose of obtaining suggestions and criticism. A child research bureau is proposed with administrative offices at the University of Kansas. Compulsory school attendance is to be required of all children between 7 and 18, except that children 14 or over who have completed the 8th grade may work, under the provisions of the child labor law, provided they attend a part-time school. The child labor law is to be revised, especially in respect to the issuance of work permits.

Kentucky.—The children's code commission (Mr. Elwood Street, Louisville Welfare League, secretary) is at work, but since there is no session of the legislature this year is making no report.

Michigan.—The state child welfare commission (Fred M. Butzel, Union Trust Building, Detroit, secretary) created by act of the legislature of 1917, is a permanent one, making a report at least thirty days prior to the assembling of each successive legislature. The commission has no appropriation, but is nevertheless supervising a great deal of work being done by various groups within the state. A study of Detroit children's institutions has been made recently by Gertrude Folks, of the National Child Labor Committee, for this commission and a local group in Detroit. The National Child Labor Committee also made a comprehensive study of conditions in Michigan for this commission in 1918.

Minnesota.—The committee on social legislation (Frank J. Bruno, 700 Temple Court, Minneapolis, chairman) has made some recommendations to the present legislature, including a statewide regulation of street trading by minors.

Missouri.—The children's code commission (Mrs. H. M. Robertson, secretary, St. Joseph) is still at work and proposes for enactment this year certain measures that were not passed by the legislature at its last session.

Nebraska.—Children's code commission (C. E. Prevey, Lincoln, secretary) has published a comprehensive summary of recommendations to this year's legislature.

New Mexico.—The state child welfare service (Mrs. Max Nordhaus, Albuquerque, chairman) has been working on a legislative program to provide an adequate children's code for the state.

New York.—The children's code commission, created by act of legislature, 1920, is at work, but has not yet made any legislative recommendations.

Ohio.—The Ohio child welfare council (Miss Lucia Johnson, 1010 Hartman Bldg., Columbus, secretary) has a number of committees at work on various problems of child welfare. The committee on school code has made a series of recommendations which include the control of school attendance of all children between the ages of 6 and 18; provision for working certificates for all children between 16 and 18 who have passed the 7th grade and are physically fit; part-time schools in all districts where there are 12 or more children out on certificate, etc.

Oklahoma.—The children's code commission, created by law in 1919, was instructed to make its report not later than July 1, 1920, to the governor who was empowered to transmit it to the present session of the legislature.

Oregon.—As a result of the report of the children's code commission in 1915 and 1917 two child welfare bodies are now functioning in Oregon. The first is a permanent supervisory child welfare commission, and the second, a child welfare revision committee appointed in 1919 for two years to codify, classify and index Oregon's child welfare laws.

South Carolina.—The child welfare commission, appointed by the governor in 1919 (Walter B. Wilbur, chairman, Juvenile Protective Association, Charleston), is now carrying on a mental survey of the state, as a part of its work of studying child welfare conditions preparatory to the formulating of a code. The present study is under the supervision of Dr. V. V. Anderson of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene.

Tennessee.—The state child welfare commission (C. C. Menzler, Secretary, Tennessee Industrial School, Nashville) is publishing the report of the National Child Labor Committee's study of the state in 1920, preparatory to making recommendations to the legislature.

Texas.—The child welfare commission, appointed by the governor in 1919 (Mrs. E. A. Watters, Chairman, Fort Worth), has a membership of 50 and is designed to be a "clearing-house of all child welfare problems."

NOTES ON COMPILATION OF CHILD LABOR AND COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE LAWS AS THEY AFFECT THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN IN AGRICULTURE

Canneries are not considered in the following tables, for the exemption of this industry in many states is nullified by the federal child labor law. The tables are statements of the *laws*, not of *practices*. Whether they are enforced is not indicated.

Table A classifies the states into (1) those which do not mention agriculture in the law; (2) those which specifically exempt agriculture from the operation of the law or modify it in its application to agricultural pursuits; (3) those states in which agriculture is included on an equal basis with other industries. The provisions found in many states forbidding the employment of children in any gainful occupation *during school hours* is not considered in Table A; nor the provisions regulating hours of work. These are presented separately in Tables C and D.

In Table A-1 are given states which do not mention agriculture in the child labor laws and in which the only control of child labor in agriculture is through the enforcement of the compulsory education law. The provisions of the compulsory education law and the loop-holes which would make possible the employment of children in agriculture are also given.

In Table A-2 are included the states which *do* mention agriculture, removing it from the list of industries to which the child labor law is applicable or modifying the provisions of the law in relation to agriculture.

In Table A-3 is shown the one lone state which apparently does forbid child labor in agriculture. (The appearance, however, is untrustworthy.)

In Table B are included the 25 states which contain in either their child labor or their compulsory attendance laws a clause forbidding the employment of children in any gainful occupation dur-

ing school hours, or in a few cases during the school term. The minimum term prescribed by law in these states is also given.

In Table C is shown the limitation of hours of work of children engaged in agriculture in all states. These fall in three classes: (1) those regulating hours of work in any gainful occupation, and supposedly including agriculture; (2) those specifically exempting agriculture from restriction of hours, and (3) those not mentioning agriculture in the list of occupations in which the hours of work are regulated. Fourteen states specifically exempt agriculture from any restrictions as to hours; twenty-three others do not mention it in the occupations for which hours are regulated; only 11 limit the hours.

TABLE A-1

STATES NOT MENTIONING AGRICULTURE IN CHILD LABOR LAW, AND REGULATION THEREFORE DEPENDING ENTIRELY UPON TERMS OF COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE LAW

Provisions of Compulsory Attendance Laws

State	Ages	Time	Min. Term	Exemptions that Might Permit Agricultural Work
Arizona	8-16; 14 if employed	Entire session	8 mos.	None
Connecticut . . .	7-16; 14 if employed	Entire session	9 mos.	None
Florida	7-16; unless 8th grade com- pleted	Entire session	4 mos.	Poverty; "unusual cause" acceptable to attendance officer of district
Georgia	8-14; unless 7th grade com- pleted	Six months	6 mos.	Board of Education is "authorized to take into consideration the seasons for agricultural labor and the need for such labor in exercising their discretion as to the time for which children in farming districts shall be excused"

TABLE A-1—*Continued*

State	Ages	Time	Min. Term	Exemptions that Might Permit Agricultural Work
Idaho.....	8-16; 15, if 8th grade completed	Entire session	7 mos.	15 years and poverty. Board of Trustees may reduce term of attendance for children in 6th, 7th, 8th grades to 7 mos. at request of parents
Illinois.....	7-16; 14, if employed	Entire session	7 mos.	None
Iowa.....	7-16; 14, if employed	24 weeks (consecutive)	6 mos.	Excused "for sufficient reason" by court of records or judge thereof
Kansas.....	8-15; 14, if employed and literate	Entire session 8 consecutive weeks	7 mos.	None
Kentucky....	7-16; 14, if employed	Entire session	6 mos.	None
Maine.....	7-15	Full term	7½ mos.	"Necessary absences" excused by Superintendent
Maryland.... (Baltimore)	8-16; 14, if employed	Full term	9 mos.	"Necessary absence"
Maryland.... (counties)	7-13 13-14	Full term 100 days unless employed		"Necessary absence"
Massachusetts	7-16; 14, if 6th grade completed and employed	Full term	8 mos.	None

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TABLE A-1—*Continued*

State	Ages	Time	Min. Term	Exemptions that Might Permit Agricultural Work
Michigan.....	7-16; 14, if 6th grade completed and employed	Full term	5 mos.	None
Minnesota....	8-16; unless 8th grade completed	Full term	5 mos.	From April to Nov. 1 children 14 and over to work in or about home of parent or guardian, except in first and second class cities
Mississippi.... (Law of 1920)	7-14	80 days	4 mos.	(1) Counties may exempt themselves from Act by vote. (2) Teacher may excuse temporary absence "in extreme case of emergency or domestic necessity"
Montana.....	8-14; 16, if unemployed	Full term	4 mos.	None
Nebraska.....	7-16; 14, if employed	Rural—12 weeks; Cities—full term	7 mos.	None
New Hampshire.....	8-16; 14, if 8th grade completed	Full term	9 mos.	14, if Supt. thinks welfare of child would best be served by withdrawal
New Mexico..	6-16; 14, if employed	Full term	7 mos.	None
North Dakota.	8-15; unless 8th grade completed	Entire session	7 mos.	When labor of child is necessary to support of family

TABLE A-1—*Concluded*

State	Ages	Time	Min. Term	Exemptions that Might Permit Agricultural Work
Ohio.....	8-15 boys 8-16 girls	Full term	7 mos.	None
Oklahoma....	8-18; 16, if employed	2/3 term	3 mos.	No restriction, because such an attendance law impossible of enforcement
Oregon.....	7-16; 18, if unemployed	Full session	8 mos.	None
South Carolina	8-14; 16, unless employed	4 months, unless school board increases time	3 mos.	Over 12 with widowed mother or crippled father
South Dakota.	8-16; unless 8th grade completed	Full term	6 mos.	District board may require only 16 consecutive weeks of attendance for children who have completed 6th grade to continue till they are 16 or complete 8th grade
Utah.....	8-16	20 weeks (10 consecutive)	5 mos.	Children whose services necessary to support mother or or invalid father
Tennessee....	7-17; unless 8th grade completed	Full session	None	None
Vermont.....	8-16	Entire session	8½ mos.	(1) Excused for 10 consecutive days in case of emergency (2) 15, and completed 6th grade if services needed
Virginia.....	8-12	16 weeks	5 mos.	If able to read and write
Wyoming.....	7-14	Entire session	3 mos.	District Board may excuse "persons to whom it might work a hardship"

TABLE A-2

STATES MODIFYING PROVISIONS OF CHILD LABOR LAWS AS
APPLIED TO AGRICULTURE

(Excluding Regulation of Hours of Work—See Separate Report)

State	Nature of Exemption	Net Result
Alabama.....	Agriculture exempted from prohibition of children under 14 working in any gainful occupation	No restriction whatever outside of school hours for any age
California.....	Exempts from child labor law provisions employment of minors at agricultural, horticultural or viticultural labor during time public schools are <i>not</i> in session or during other than school hours	No restriction outside of school hours for any age
Colorado.....	Exempts employment of children in any fruit orchard, garden, field or farm, but children under 14 working for other than parents must receive permit from Supt. of Schools	No restriction in or out of school hours; this exemption apparently applies to prohibition of employment of children under 14 in gainful occupations during school hours
Delaware.....	Exempts farm work from prohibited employment under 14	No restriction whatever for any age
Indiana.....	Exempts agriculture from prohibition of any gainful occupation under 14	No restriction for any age, outside of school hours
Louisiana.....	Exempts agricultural pursuits from occupations prohibited under 14	No restriction for any age
Missouri.....	Exempts agriculture from prohibition of any gainful occupation under 14	No restriction for any age
Nevada.....	Exempts agriculture from prohibition of employment for boys under 14 and girls under 16	No restriction outside of school hours
New Jersey.....	Exempt agricultural pursuits from industries forbidden to children under 14	No restriction
New York.....	Permits boys 12 to gather produce 6 hours a day outside of school hours Permits children whose parents are engaged in farming to work for parents outside of school hours	No restriction outside of school hours

TABLE A-2—*Continued*

State	Nature of Exemption	Net Result
North Carolina.	Ruling of State Child Welfare Commission exempts farming from child labor law. State Board of Education may prescribe rules under which teachers, principals and superintendents may excuse non-attendance due to immediate demands of farm in certain seasons of year	No restriction
Pennsylvania...	Exempts "children employed on the farm" from 14 year prohibition	No restriction outside of school hours
Rhode Island...	Exempts agriculture from occupations prohibited under 14	No restriction
Texas.....	Exempts agriculture from occupations prohibited under 15	No restriction
Washington....	Exempts farm work from prohibition of work for males under 14 and females under 16 without permit	No restriction. Supt. can give permit even for school hours
West Virginia...	Exempts agriculture from prohibition of any gainful occupation under 14	No restriction outside of school hours
Wisconsin.....	Exempts agriculture from prohibition of any gainful occupation under 14	No restriction

TABLE A-3

STATES INCLUDING AGRICULTURE IN CHILD LABOR LAW RESTRICTIONS

(Other than Table B)

State	Provisions
Arkansas*.....	Under 14, any remunerative occupation prohibited

* The State Commissioner of Labor, in reply to a question, says: "The Arkansas child labor law does not apply to domestic and farm labor." The language of the statute does not indicate any such exception; nevertheless the exception seems to be generally understood.

TABLE B

STATES DEFINITELY FORBIDDING EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN
IN ANY GAINFUL OCCUPATION DURING SCHOOL HOURS

State	Age under which prohibited	Minimum term	Comment
Alabama.....	14	100 days	
Arizona.....	14	8 months	
California.....	14	6 "	
Connecticut....	14	9 "	
Idaho.....	14	7 "	
Illinois.....	14	7 "	Not only during school hours, but "any portion of any month" when schools are in session
Indiana.....	14	6 "	
Kansas.....	14	7 "	
Kentucky.....	14	6 "	"During any part of the term during which" public schools are open
Maine.....	15	7½ "	
Maryland.....	14	9 "	Unless child has completed requirements of compulsory attendance law
Massachusetts..	14	8 "	
Minnesota.....	14	5 "	"During any part of term during which" public schools are open
Montana.....	14	4 "	
Nebraska.....	14	7 "	
Nevada.....	14	6 "	
New York.....	14	9 "	"Any part of term the public school is in session." <i>Except</i> boys over 12, 6 hours a day, in gathering produce, outside of school hours. <i>Except</i> children of persons engaged in agriculture, outside of school hours
North Dakota...	14	7 "	
Ohio.....	15	7 "	
Oregon.....	16	8 "	Unless 8th grade completed
Pennsylvania...	14	7 "	"During term of compulsory attendance and hours public schools are in session."
South Carolina..	14	3 "	Unless compulsory attendance require- ment completed
South Dakota...	15	6 "	
Tennessee.....	14	None	
Washington.....	15	6 months	Unless permitted by Supt. of Schools
West Virginia..	14	6 "	

TABLE C
REGULATION OF HOURS CHILDREN MAY BE EMPLOYED IN
AGRICULTURE

State	Hours	Comment
Alabama	No restriction, any age	Definite exemption from 8 hour day, 48 hour week
Arizona	No restriction, any age	Definite exemption from 8 hour day, 48 hour week
Arkansas*	8 hour day, 48 hour week, under 16 years	All remunerative occupations
California	Under 16—8 hour day, 48 hour week	Any gainful occupation
	16-18—No restriction	Definite exemption
Colorado	8 hour day, 48 hour week, under 16	Any gainful occupation
Connecticut	No restriction	
Delaware	No restriction, any age	Definite exemption from 10 hour day, 54 hour week
Florida	No restriction	
Georgia	No restriction	
Idaho	9 hour day, 54 hour week, under 16	Any gainful occupation
Illinois	8 hour day, 6 day week under 14	Any occupation
	8 hour day, 48 hour week, under 16	Any gainful occupation
Indiana	No restriction, any age	Definite exemption from 8 hour day, 48 hour week for children under 16; an even 9 hour day, 54 hour week for children under 16 whose parents consent
Iowa	No restriction	
Kansas	No restriction	
Kentucky	No restriction	
Louisiana	No restriction	Definite exemption from 10 hour day, 60 hour week
Maine	No restriction	
Maryland	No restriction	
Massachusetts	No restriction	
Michigan	No restriction	
Minnesota	8 hour day, 48 hour week, under 16	Any gainful occupation

* See Table A-3.

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TABLE C—*Continued*

State	Hours	Comment
Mississippi	No restriction	
Missouri	8 hour day, 48 hour week, under 16	Any gainful occupation
Montana	No restriction	
Nebraska	8 hour day, 48 hour week, under 16—beet fields	No regulation for other agricultural work
Nevada	No restriction	Definite exemption from 8 hour day, 48 hour week
New Hampshire	No restriction	Definite exemption from 11 hour day, 58 hour week
New Jersey	No restriction	Definite exemption from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M. prohibitory clause
New Mexico	No restriction	
New York	6 hour day, boys over 12, gathering produce out- side of school hours	No restriction for other work
North Carolina	No restriction	
North Dakota	8 hour day, 48 hour week	Any gainful occupation
Ohio	No restriction	
Oklahoma	No restriction	Definite exemption from 8 hour day, 48 hour week
Oregon	8 hour day, under 16, any occupation	
Pennsylvania	9 hour day, 51 hour week, under 16	Any occupation
Rhode Island	No restriction	Definite exemption from 10 hour day, 54 hour week
South Carolina	No restriction	
South Dakota	No restriction	Definite exemption from 10 hour day
Tennessee	No restriction	
Texas	No restriction	Definite exemption from 10 hour day, 54 hour week
Utah	No restriction	Definite exemption from 8 hour day, 48 hour week
Vermont	No restriction	
Virginia	No restriction	
Washington	No restriction	
West Virginia	No restriction	
Wisconsin	No restriction	Definite exemption from 8 hour day, 48 hour week
Wyoming	No restriction	Definite exemption from 9 hour day, 56 hour week

OUTLINE OF HEALTH PROVISIONS FOR STATE LAWS RELATING TO CHILDREN

A report to Children's Code Commissions and others interested in child welfare and health legislation, by the Advisory Committee to the National Child Health Council on Health Provisions for Laws Relating to Children.*

FOREWORD

Inasmuch as health is of paramount importance to child life and as it has often received minor consideration in State Children's Codes, the Committee on Health Provisions for Laws Relating to Children wishes to emphasize the need for adequate treatment of this subject by all states. The following are points which should be borne in mind:

I—Prenatal Care

A—State Children's Code Commissions should recommend the removal of all legislative restrictions which prevent proper and complete measures for prenatal and maternity care and the granting of positive legislative authority for undertaking and promoting such measures. (Note: Examples of legislative restrictions that should be removed are such limitations as to tax rates or levies as make it impossible to provide adequate appropriations for the care of the health of mothers and children. Also in some states local authorities are not permitted to undertake certain important measures unless these are specifically authorized by statute. Such general legislative

*The committee consists of the following members: Chairman, Courtenay Dinwiddie, Executive Secretary, National Child Health Council, Washington, D. C.; Secretary, James A. Tobey, Assistant Director, Department of Health Service, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.; Richard A. Bolt, M.D., General Director, American Child Hygiene Association, Baltimore, Md.; E. Dana Caulkins, Manager, National Physical Education Service, Washington, D. C.; Taliaferro Clark, M.D., Medical Officer in Charge of Field, Investigations in Child Hygiene U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.; Edward N. Clopper, Field Director, National Child Labor Committee, New York, N. Y.; Anna E. Rude, M.D., Director, Division of hygiene, Children's Bureau, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Washington, D. C.; Willard S. Small, Ph.D., Specialist in School Hygiene, Bureau of Education, Dept. of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

restrictions which prevent necessary health measures are apt to be overlooked in drafting health and welfare legislation.) Facilities for the education of expectant mothers, for the establishment of prenatal health centers and clinics, for the protection of expectant mothers in industry, and for the health supervision of mothers, should be definitely authorized by law.

II—Care at Birth

A—Midwives

State laws should require that all midwives be licensed by the State Health Department for the purpose of permitting only those who are properly qualified, to practise midwifery, and that adequate provision be made for proper supervision by state or local health authorities of all such midwives, to see that they observe all regulations, subject to revocation of their licenses. Educational training for obstetrical attendants and midwives should be authorized only where the facilities for training are adequate and there is proper educational and health supervision.

B—Control of *Ophthalmia Neonatorum* ("Babies Sore Eyes")

Every State Health Department should be specifically authorized by law to require the immediate reporting of all inflammatory conditions of the eyes of the new born, to require treatment of the eyes of the new born at birth, and to furnish the prophylactic for this purpose, for the prevention of blindness. (Note: Experience has shown that the law should describe this disease rather than simply refer to it by its technical name.)

C—Vital Statistics

The law should require the prompt reporting of births by the professional attendant to local registrars of vital statistics not later than three (3) days after birth. Registrars should be under the health department. Legislation requiring the reporting of still births is important.

D—Supervision of Maternity Homes

All institutions in which mothers are given care during or near confinement should be licensed, subject to the periodic inspection and approval of health authorities.

III—Infant and Pre-School Care

A—Legislative restrictions should be removed and definite legislative authority granted so that adequate facilities for protecting and promoting the health of infants from birth to the beginning of school age can be provided by state and local authorities. (Note: The type of legislation necessary for this purpose, with reference to babies, pre-school children and mothers, is indicated under Paragraph 1-A, which deals with the prenatal period.)

B—Control of Milk and Milk Products

There should be legislation requiring the general pasteurization of uncertified milk, the supervision of such pasteurization, and such other regulation and supervision of the production, handling and preservation of milk and milk products as will insure a safe supply.

IV—Care of Children in School

A—Health Education

There should be legislation providing for the instruction and training of all children of school age, for the purpose of developing health habits through supervised physical activities, free play, and practical instruction in hygiene, including personal hygiene, nutrition and sanitation.

Adequate provision should be made for the promotion of health education by the states in cooperation with local communities.

Provision should be made for the instruction and training of all teachers in the fundamental principles of health education.

(Note: Such legislation should allow scope for the development of initiative, spontaneity and responsibility on the part of the child. Rigid and uniform courses of physical drill or of hygienic instruction should not be prescribed but rather there should be the normal stimulation of the child's physical development and the interweaving of health education into all the many subjects of which it naturally forms a part.)

B—Physical Examinations and Health Supervision

There should be state legislation making it possible for counties, municipalities and townships to provide facilities for periodic physical examinations and for promoting the health of school children.

The appropriate state authorities should be authorized to promote the development of such facilities. (Note: The type of legislation necessary for this purpose is indicated under Paragraph 1-A.)

It should be required that the health supervision of school children be closely correlated with the health supervision of babies and pre-school children.

C—Health Classes for Special Groups

Legislation should authorize facilities for the training and instruction of special groups which by reason of disabilities are unable to receive adequate education and health supervision in the regular classes.

D—Sanitation of School Houses and Their Environment

School buildings, school grounds and accessories should be regularly inspected and supervised as to sanitary conditions, subject to the regulations and jurisdiction of the health authorities.

V—Children in Industry

A—Physical Supervision and Health Education

As long as a child is of school age he should receive health education and supervision. (Note: Experience shows that the continuation school offers an effective medium of health education and supervision.) Physical examinations should be given when he leaves school to go to work, at each change of occupation, and periodically thereafter while he is of school age.

VI—General

A—Administration

In each state there should be a bureau of child hygiene. The administration of all legislative provisions affecting the health of children, except those which properly pertain to other state agencies, should be vested in this bureau. The work of such other agencies and that of the bureau of child hygiene should be properly coordinated.

B—Control of Institutions and Agencies

All public and private institutions, agencies, courts, and boarding homes caring for dependent, defective or delinquent children should be required by law to have adequate health supervision over their work and wards, subject to the regulations of the health authorities.

All measures dealing with the appropriation and expenditure of funds for material relief in connection with child or maternity care should specifically make provision for adequate care of the health.

WHAT IS CHILD LABOR?

EDWARD N. CLOPPER

Mention child labor and nine persons out of ten will instantly conjure up the picture of a little, pale-cheeked, flat-chested, stooped-shouldered ten-year-old girl in a southern cotton mill. It must be a cotton mill and it must be a southern mill; nothing else will satisfy our conception of child labor, and yet such conditions in cotton mills, South, North, East or West, are no longer found. How steadfast we are in our devotion to old ideas in the face of new developments! We not only revere the past, we cherish it, and are loath to give it up. I do not mean that all southern mill owners are convinced of the folly of premature child labor; there are a few no doubt who would welcome back the old days of exploitation and who justify their attitude on the ground that, because of the difference in climate, children mature in the South at an earlier age than in the North. This has always reminded me of the lobster fisherman on the Maine Coast; a state law of Maine prohibits the taking of lobsters measuring less than ten inches in length, but down in Massachusetts they may be taken if only eight inches in length. I have been told that fishermen on the Maine Coast sell their legal catch in Maine, and then sail down to Boston Harbor with the eight- and nine-inch lobsters where they find a ready market. When asked how they reconcile their consciences to such a proceeding, they cock a canny eye at one, smile whimsically, and say: "Well, you know the young mature so much earlier in the South than they do in the North."

After all there is, comparatively, but little child labor in the mills and factories of this country. There is, comparatively, but little in the stores. Decade after decade the United States government tells us in its reports of the census that the great majority of the child laborers of this country are on the farms, and decade after decade we glance at the figures and think no more about them. Instead, we turn unflinching to the symbol we have set up in

our minds—this fetish of the haggard child in the southern cotton mills. Our pet symbols soothe our lazy minds when we are threatened by consideration of anything profound. The *dolce far niente* of thought is as insidious and pleasing as—well, as opium.

The census figures on occupations for 1910 were published four and a half years after they were gathered and while they were then of considerable historical interest, their value as representing actual conditions was but slight, for conditions are not so obliging as to stay unchanged for four and a half years while clerks are compiling the data. On the face of the returns it was shown that in April, 1910, about seventy-two per cent. of all the child laborers in this country were in agriculture—a kind of work to which no labor laws apply and concerning whose effects upon the health of children nothing is known. Long ago we standardised our ideas of farm life as wholly delectable and hence we assume that because these children are in the great outdoors their condition is necessarily fortunate. We are told that hundreds of thousands of these young farm laborers were working for persons other than their parents. Were they being exploited? Have the hundreds of thousands who since 1910 have labored in this way, also been the victims of mistreatment? We don't know.

We do know that child labor on farms interferes seriously with schooling. The National Child Labor Committee's studies have shown that it causes as much absence from rural schools as illness, bad weather, bad roads, distance from home to school, and indifference all combined—and sometimes even exceeds the absences caused by all these other factors. The enforcement of compulsory attendance laws in rural school districts is notoriously poor throughout the land. No one section of the country can justly point the finger of scorn at any other section because of its sin in this respect, for one's sin is as great as another's. No law restricts or regulates farm work by children; the only laws that relate to the subject in any way are the compulsory school attendance acts, and they apply only in school hours, and are but little respected.

We do not know when we shall have the census report on occupations for 1920, but when it is published, we shall not be able to compare the figures relating to child labor with those for 1910 so far as activities on farms are concerned, because the census of 1910 was taken in April—when farm operations were getting under way

—whereas that of 1920 was taken in January—when they were practically everywhere at a standstill. Wherefore we may expect a great decrease in the number of child farm laborers reported. This is, of course, unfortunate, because the figures will not represent conditions in agriculture and we shall be more at sea than ever regarding this uncharted Sargossa of rural child labor.

We all talk glibly of child labor and yet I dare say that none of us has a clear idea of what it is. The standardised image of the southern cotton mill spinner paralyses our thought. What is child labor? If we go into a factory and see a boy at work, we say to the manufacturer that we are surprised to find him an employer of child labor. "Why!" he exclaims, "that is not child labor. That boy is learning something useful. He is being trained and disciplined and is preparing himself to meet the responsibilities of life in the years to come. Moreover, his earnings are needed at home and he has the satisfaction of contributing to the support of his family."

If we go to a store and see a girl at work, we say to the merchant that we are surprised to find him an employer of child labor; and he says: "Why, that is not child labor. That girl is learning something useful. She is being trained and will take her place later on as a more responsible member of our force. Moreover, her family is poor and needs her earnings."

We see a ten-year-old boy selling newspapers on the street, and we go to the newspaper office and protest to the proprietor, saying that street trading is a bad form of child labor. And the proprietor says: "Why, that work is not undesirable, it's the best kind of training. That child is being schooled in the ways of business competition. His wits are being sharpened. He will be a better man because of his experience. And moreover, his earnings are needed at home."

Go to the farmer, speak to him about his own child or the child he has hired, who is working in his field, and the same reply is made. You and I are no different in this respect; we go to the orphan asylum and take the poor little girl away with us "to give her a good home" where she will wash the dishes and do the housework, and in other ways satisfy our demand for cheap labor—we are just as culpable as other child labor employers, as the manufacturer, the merchant, the newspaper proprietor, and the farmer, and

we justify just as lustily the particular kind of exploitation which serves our own selfish interests.

You will observe that the manufacturer, the merchant, the newspaper proprietor, the farmer, and we ourselves, all agree as to what child labor is *not*. We all insist that child labor is not training for usefulness, nor healthful discipline, nor character building, nor in any way developmental. We all agree that child labor is something that does not offer the advantages that children should have; and out of this general agreement as to what child labor is not, we may frame a definition of what it is. So I venture to define it as the employment of a child under eighteen years of age at any task, with or without pay, under direction or independently of others, which deprives him of his proper measure of schooling, training, recreation, and healthy development.

But here it must not be thought that all work by children should be prohibited—some work is proper and, indeed, is essential to full development. Whatever a child does is part of his education—it may be good education or bad education, but in any case it is likely to have a lasting effect and should be adapted to his needs and best interests. Raymond G. Fuller holds that child work is one thing and child labor is another; that the one is desirable, and the other undesirable. If we think of *child work* as connoting occupations which under suitable restrictions are advantageous to children, and of *child labor* as connoting those which are disadvantageous, we can draw a fairly sharp line between the two. Perhaps it would be clearer if we say that child work is educative while child labor is exploitative. By exploitative I mean, of course, serving the interests of the employer at the expense of the child. Work has both good and bad features. So has schooling. Neither is wholly advantageous. The child will be helped most when his work and his schooling are so adjusted that he will enjoy the good of each and suffer least from its evils. Work alone cannot adequately educate the child; neither can school. It is only through a union of their good features *in education* that the full development of the child can be assured. I emphasize the phrase *in education*, for this is the crux of the matter; the possible needs of industry have no place in such a program. When work kills the revivifying spirit of creative effort, when the joy of achievement is taken away, when the task is reduced to a mere mechanical repetition of a weary-

ing process, it becomes labor of the worst kind. When we dull the sensibilities of a child and strike down his hands as he reaches out for better things, we commit a far greater crime than when we are unmindful of his physical wellbeing. Education and training must feed the spiritual flame—not snuff it out. It flickers in every child, burning low in some and rising high in others, but whether bright or feeble its passing would be a calamity. All of us hold the complete welfare of the child as an ideal—an ideal toward which we struggle and strive; conditions will change, of course, and through all the hurly-burly of the conflicting interests involved, we must try to fix our thoughts uncompromisingly upon this supreme desideratum. We cannot accomplish much ourselves, but we can add a little, according to our ideas, to the sum total of human happiness. Our achievement may be slight but it is none the less worth while. Du Maurier, no doubt, had this in mind when he said that everything, everywhere, seems to be an ever-deepening, ever-broadening stream that makes with inconceivable velocity for its own proper level where perfection is—and ever gets nearer and nearer, and never finds it and, fortunately, never will.

PINKIE: THE LITTLE COTTON-PICKER*

JOHN F. SMITH

I

Pinkie's father was always behind. That means he was always in debt to his landlord. He belonged to that very large class of one-mule tenant croppers who are forced early every spring to sign papers that mortgage away their crops long before they even break ground to plant them. They must have bacon, bread, coffee, clothing, and mule-feed; they want tobacco, ribbons, chewing gum, and other indulgences, but before the landlord will sell to them or "stand for them" at the country stores they must sign the papers, though it takes the bread from their babies' mouths, keeps the winter shoes from their little feet, and deprives them of their only cows that supply their babies with milk.

The landlord sees to it that the papers are signed either with name or crossmark, and he furthermore sees to it, as a rule, that the amount he "stood for" comes out of the crop before any of it can go for shoes, dresses, ribbons, or anything else for the personal use of the cropper. Such is the tenant system for the very poor throughout the Southland, and it applies to white and negro alike. It guarantees the rent to the landlord and it insures poverty and discouragement to the renter. The latter really signs away his freedom. He binds himself out for a season for bread and clothes for himself and his family. And if by chance the bread-winner is taken away by malaria, typhoid, tuberculosis, or some other killing disease the widow in her extreme is often reduced to the plow and must sign away her prospects just as her husband did before her.

The pernicious effects of this system are often seen in another direction. It affords an opportunity for much high-handed hypocrisy on the part of the land-owners. The landlord or his agent

*This is the first part of the third article by Prof. Smith in his series, "How the Other Half Lives in the Open Country."

weighs or measures the crop, appraises its quality and value, and buys it himself. He often "runs" the neighborhood store where the tenant trades, and sets the price the tenants must pay. Thus is he exposed to a twofold temptation: to employ short weight or shallow measure, and to inflate prices. There's many an entry made in daybooks and ledgers that only the "experienced" landlord can explain to the hard-pressed renter.

Old Steve was a landlord who always got his pay. Pinkie's father after wandering from farm to farm for fifteen years had taken a shack and rented a crop on Old Steve's place. He was perhaps no worse off here than he would have been elsewhere, for go where he might and work as hard as he would he was almost certain to come out behind at the end of the year. He had "pinched" and denied himself and suffered so many reverses that he had little heart to try to lay by anything for the future.

"Work and save as I may," he declared to a neighbor one day, "'pears lak I never can git nothin' laid up. 'Bout the time I'm a-gittin' things in good shape Winnie" [his wife] "gits sick, or one of the children has a spell, or the crap falls short, or sumpum. An' I can't work lak I used to; 'pears lak I hain't got the strenk I once had."

Winnie, Pinkie's mother, was a good soul and would have been strong and attractive if she had had a chance. The one thing that enslaved her and sapped all her strength was babies. Sixteen years had she been married, and ten babies had been born, nine of them still living. One of them had been "put away" in an old graveyard "down on Flynt," but Winnie had never forgotten those big black eyes and that fair round face.

"'Ever' time one of my babies is about to be borned 'pears lak I can see them two big black eyes jest a-lookin' an' a-laughin' at me from some whur—bless his little heart."

Winnie had no time for anything else besides the babies and the housework. Being numbered with the very poor she could not afford servants. Only so much of her housework was done as she herself with the help of her small children could do. The condition of her health made strenuous work impossible, for she had rarely recovered from bringing one baby into the world before she discovered that she had to make plans to take care of another one. The strain was proving more than even her once strong body could

endure and she was breaking under it—breaking at thirty-one, with nine little mouths to feed, the eldest being scarcely old enough to be entrusted with the care of the household.

She had never had proper care either before or after the birth of her babies. There was never a physical examination, not even a consultation with a doctor. Only one birth had been attended by a doctor—that was when Old Marg, the midwife, had broken her wrist and couldn't come. It was work, work, work among hungry and fretting little ones up to the very day of confinement, and when the new baby was ushered into the home there was no nurse to care for it and the other children. The mother even in her weakened condition had to do it all. Meals had to be prepared and the house had to be kept in order—and there was no one else to do it. Many a day she was up and going when she ought to have been in bed. David, the father, brought the water and made the fires in the stove for a few days after the newcomer arrived, and Old Angeline, the negro neighbor woman, would run in every day or two "to see dat new baby an fin' how it's gittin' 'long." She always made it a point to do a bit of washing and sweeping before she went away.

"Mis' Winnie, I des cain't stay way fum a baby. Looks lak I ain't got a bit o' sense 'bout a baby. Soon as I heah 'bout one I des wants to go an' see it."

But the old woman always managed to beg for something before she went away. It might be an old dress, a hat, a young pullet, or a "settin' of aigs," or a "mess of greens"—and she usually got it, for she did make herself useful when she "run in."

Pinkie was number four in point of chronology, one brother, one sister, and the pair of big black eyes having preceded her. Her coming was attended by Old Marg, who arrived in the nick of time as she always did, with scissors, camphor, and mutton "taller." There were no extra night-dresses for the mother,—just an old calico wrapper and a pair of sheets.

How do the poor often suffer for want of the commonest things of life! Those who have never been in the homes of the lowly can have little idea of the privations that exist there. No time of life reveals this poverty and want more than at the birth of a child. The father at no time makes provision for a sick room or for extra clothing for the sick bed. The clothing worn by day is also worn

at night. "Nighties" and pajamas and sleeping "supers" are in thousands of homes unknown. Only the country doctor and the visiting nurses—when there are any—and a few others know of these conditions that exist so widely among the poor and lowly.

The simple unskilled attentions of the midwife who plies her art according to traditions rather than according to modern medical advice is often the only force that intervenes between the mother and death. Oftentimes this frail bulwark doesn't suffice, and death wins in the lottery. Or if the simple, homely devices cheat him of his prey, for he always hovers close on such occasions to snatch a life away, the child often comes into the world maimed and leaves the mother an invalid for life. What tragedies are enacted at times in the stilly hours of night behind cabin doors while the prosperous world is happily asleep! At such times only the voices of the night, the groans of a suffering mother, and the cries of a newborn babe disturb the stillness. It is only a little sphere which is thus disturbed. Cries and groans do not carry far among the habitations of work-a-day men. But who knows how patiently and tenderly they are listened to by a loving Being whose presence is everywhere at all times even in the humblest homes where the lowly cottagers dwell?

But there was no accident at Pinkie's birth. Everything went well—as well as things could go with a poor mother who never knew the soothing effects of an anaesthetic during her descent into the uncertainty of childbirth. Three or four neighbor women had come to give help and advice, but Old Marg took command and assigned them to their proper places. She seemed meek enough about her own home, but when a new life was to be welcomed she took command and those who failed to carry out her orders were promptly given to understand that they were not wanted.

David sat in the lean-to abashed and nodding. The children had been sent to spend the night with a neighbor. He was suddenly aroused by Old Marg, who burst into the room holding a bandaged bundle in her hands and exclaiming,

"Hah, hah, hah-h-h, David! jes' look here an' see yore little new darter! She's as purty as a pink an' as peart as a cricket. She'll be the best lookin' gal you got. Jes' look at her; I b'lieve she knows you already. 'Pon my honor I b'lieve she does. Fetch the scales, David, an' le's see how much she weighs."

David felt much relieved when he stepped out to the smoke-house shed to get the steelyards (commonly called "stilyerds" by the cotton pickers). When he returned with the scales with a sort of half grin on his face, Old Marg was supporting the newcomer with a "hippin'" tied up at the four corners. When the upper hook was put over a piece of rope fastened to the joist and the precious burden was attached, Old Marg threw her head far back in order to see the beam through her steel-rimmed spectacles.

"Well, dog-my-cats, David, if she don't draw pime-blank, leb'm pounds. Look, Sissie, see thar—the P stands at leb'm pounds to a T."

Sissie looked, but if it had stood at a ton it would have been all the same to her. She could no more read the figures on the scale-beam than she could translate an inscription in ancient Arabic. And besides, her eyes were so badly crossed that everything in the dim light of the chimneyless lamp was in a sort of blur. Nevertheless she corroborated Old Marg's testimony that "the P stood at leb'm pounds persactly," though poor David with two good eyes experienced in weighing cotton on those same scales could not for the life of him make out more than seven and a half pounds. But David had learned to be discreet at times, so when the "hippin'" was unhooked he took the scales back to the shed and allowed Old Marg's statement to go abroad unchallenged.

Old Angeline dropped in next morning "to sweep de flo' an' see dat new baby." At the first peep she exclaimed, "Lawsy, Mis' Winnie, dat's de purtiest chile ever I see in all my life"—a compliment she paid all the babies she saw. Then she added with a chuckle, "But Mis' Winnie, reckon whur she gits it all?"

Old Angeline was not satisfied till she had the baby in her hands and "jigged" it on her knees. "W'y, good lan', Mis' Winnie, dis chile don' feel lak it weigh no lebbum pounds. My little Jase weigh nine, an' dis chile's lots littler den what he wuz." She had not learned how to be tactful. She usually said what she thought, and she frequently thought pretty accurately. She had the right to be considered an authority on the weight of babies for she had given birth to no fewer than seventeen pickaninnies—"eight of um ready for de grave when dey wuz borned, pore little things."

David went about his duties next morning as usual. It was in late autumn and he had many cares about the house and the

fields. He loved the new baby—and accepted her arrival as he would accept a thunder storm or a day of bright sunshine. He belonged to that very large army of fathers who consider it a religious duty to rear large families. They take the injunction, “Be fruitful and multiply,” to mean just what it says in English and to be applicable to themselves. The health of their wives and the welfare of their children are not always considered—hence the attitude, and the large number of children found in so many very poor homes.

The years passed and the children grew and increased in number. David spent the time in moving, and chopping cotton, and sledding—in the winter supply of wood, in doing the thousand and one things that the one-mule cropper finds to do, until Pinkie was “goin’ on leb’m.” It was at this time that the family moved to Old Steve’s place. Mabel was nearly fifteen, was large for her age, and was a most beautiful girl.

“Dadblast if that ain’t a mighty purty gal you got, Dave,” remarked Old Steve one day, and David, Mabel, and Winnie all felt flattered by the attention. “She’ll be a fine lady one of these days before you know it, an’ you’ll have a hard time keepin’ her in the coop.”

As he rode his fine black saddler away he said to himself, “I’ll keep Dave on the place so I can keep a weather-eye on that gal. She’s a reg’lar little sun-pecarch.”

It should be said here that Old Steve belonged to that class of landlords,—a comparatively small group, be it known—who have large tracts containing many farms and who prefer renters with pretty daughters. He was by no means a saint, and for a good many years had taken an especial interest in the young women folks around him. Various tales were afloat about some of his antics, and these rumors were founded on facts. More than one tenant had left the place before crops were gathered because the angry father essayed to complain too vigorously about the landlord’s attentions to his daughter. Such complaints Old Steve would not tolerate for a moment. He was master of himself and his conduct, “drove bull-yearlin’s with a snake-whup, looked at a purty gal onct in a while, took liquor when he felt like it an’ voted the straight Democratic ticket.” What he did was nobody’s “dummed business.” Whenever a renter presumed to assert his

own rights he was promptly told to "git out," and he usually moved at the first warning.

Old Monk Dan'l lived not far away, and though he was "jest a bit quair," was "not all the durned fool he was cracked up to be." He had a lame knee purchased years before by letting a hatchet slip while cutting bean-sticks, and always walked with a limp—Old Angeline called it a "hitch-up in his git-a-long." Monk said to a neighbor as they exchanged sobs across the field fence one day, "Jepp, bust-my-hide if sumpum ortn't to be done about Old Steve an' his foolery. W'y, Jepp, the woods-colts air a-gittin' as thick around his place as rabbits in a clover patch. It's jist gittin' orful, I tell you, an' it's a-gittin' so's a man's gal ain't safe in five miles of Ole Steve an' his boy, 'specially if she's purty."

"Monk," said Jepp, deliberately weighing each word, "I hain't never said nothin' to nobody but Tildy, but I'm sorter oneasy 'bout my oldest gal, Rissie, who's been a-staying' at Ole Steve's for nigh on a year. 'Pears lak she don't take to her pap an' mammy lak she use' to. I don't like the looks of some things. But Monk, by crimeinies, if anything goes wrong with my gal thur's goin' to be hell-an'-damnation to pay, now I tell you. I hain't beholden to Ole Steve, nur to his boy nuther, an' if anything goes wrong with Rissie they'd better both lay mighty danged low."

II

It was not long after this that an incident happened that shocked the whole neighborhood. Rissie came home in disgrace. She talked frankly to her father and mother and told of attentions, houndings, bribes, threatenings, love-makings and promises that led up to the tragedy in her life. Young Steve was to blame for her condition. Jepp said little but prepared to have a settlement with the young man at the first opportunity.

Young Steve's arrogance was well known. He had often boasted of his relations with pretty girls whose fathers had moved away. Jepp determined to "take him down a few notches."

The two met out in the woods one day when Young Steve was on horseback with a big bull-whip in his hand looking for stray cattle. Old Monk Dan'l was out squirrel-shooting at the time and was sitting behind some bushes near the place waiting for a

squirrel to "turn" on a big poplar tree. He gave the following report of the encounter:

"Jepp wuz walkin' 'long with an axe on his shoulder lookin' for a board tree. Young Steve come ridin' round a curve on his arn gray, an' I guess mebbe would a-passed right by if Jepp hadn't a-stopt 'im. But Jepp got right in the road in front of 'im an' said, 'I hear ye been a-foolin' 'roun' my gal, Rissie. I want to know what about it.'

"An' young Steve he up an' sez, 'W'y, what the hell is it to you who I fool 'round?'"

"But that didn't faze Jepp a bit. So he sez to 'im, 'Well, hit's a right smart to me this time; it's my gal, an' I reckon you'd jist better come across an' explain yoreself.'

"Jist about that time young Steve waved his whup an' as quick as lightnin' he fetched it a jerk an' wrapt the cracker right 'round Jepp's face. Ain't it a wonder he didn't knock his eyes out? I seed sumpum flash right quick-like in Jepp's hand, an' thur wuz two shots from a pistol. I couldn't see whut it wuz Jepp had, it wuz all done so almighty quick, but when I heered the shots I knowed well an' good what had happened.

"Young Steve's horse whirled an' splunged 'round, but the bridle ketched on a lim', an' young Steve fell right smack out'n the saddle like a shot squir'l off'n a lim' an' died with almost never a kick. Jepp unketched the bridle an' got the horse biddible. Then he throwed the reins over the horn of the saddle an' started the arn-gray tow'ds home. Then he 'gun a-talkin' to young Steve, but I 'lowed he wuz dead, plum stiff, dead, 'fore that time. I heered 'im say,

"'Damned stinkin' dawg! You brought it all on yoreself. You ruined my gal, but I guess you'll never ruin anuther'n'. An' now I got yore old daddy to settle with.'

"I jist couldn't keep still no longer. So I crawled right out from whur I wuz a-settin' behin' the bushes—I'd forgot all about the squir'l—an' as I done that I seed another flash in Jepp's hand. But I said right quick-like so's to let 'im know who I wuz, 'Lord-a-mercy, Jepp, what on airth hev ye gone an' done?'"

"An' Jepp he sez, sezsee, 'Here it is. Come an' see for yoreself. I told you t'other day what I'd do if they done anything to my gal, an' now it's settled—partly. They may hang me for it,

but bust-my-hide, Monk, somebody's got to put a stop to this kind o' thing, an' I've started in to do it. I've seed woods-colts around this here place till I'm done sick an' tard of it. An' when my gal come home like she is I couldn't stan' no more of it. It's got so a pore man cain't protect his family with the law, so I've started out to protect my gals an' other folkses' 'round here without a jury.'

"An' then I sez to 'im, 'what air ye goin' to do with the body?'

"An' he sez, jist as cool as a cowcumber, 'I'm a-goin' to set right down here till Old Steve comes 'long a-lookin' for 'im, an' than I'm a-goin' to make him take his medicine.'

"'Well, lord-a-me, Jepp,' sez I, 'don't go 'long an' kill another man.' Ah' he sez, 'Monk, I ain't a-sayin' what I'm a-goin' a-do tell he comes.' Then he looked at me, quair-like an' sez, 'Now Monk, you got a fam'ly to take keer of. Don't you guess you'd better not be seen about here when he comes; he mought have somebody 'long with 'im.'

"Well, I hadn't thought about that, an' I hadn't thought what people might think an' say if they'd a-come an' found me there with a rifle-gun. Durned ef it didn't like to ontie my brogans. My heart got so dingbanged flippy-floppy that I jist couldn't git away hardly. But I picked up old long icy" (his gun) "an' I heeled it from there, now I tell you. I put as shore as you're borned."

But Old Monk didn't "put" very far. For a long time he would not tell what happened next—it was too good a joke on him. But the truth finally leaked out of him, for he couldn't keep such important news very long. He was so curious to see what would happen that he went around a little knoll, hid his rifle under the side of a log and climbed a tree so he could look on unseen. It was thus he witnessed the following scene:—

Old Steve did come following the horse-tracks looking for his son. When he approached the spot where the body lay Jepp stepped out from behind some bushes, covered the old man with his pistol and made him dismount. After talking to him for a short time he made him kneel. Then with the bull-whip which had stung his face so brutally he administered a thrashing that would never be forgotten. That ceremony over, Old Monk heard these words.

"Now dadburn you, you keep yore lip about what's happened here today or I'll fix you like yore boy there. An' don't never let

me hear of you foolin' with a man's wife or daughters agin. You've . . ."

But at that instant the limb on which Old Monk was standing broke and he fell catching and slipping to the ground, making a deal of noise. He at once seized his hat, left his rifle where he had hidden it and didn't stop running till he got home. He reported that a bear had chased him out of the woods and "come mighty nigh gittin' 'im"—and his wife, Drusie, believed him.

Old Steve reported that a horse had thrown his son and killed him. He himself complained for some days of "rumatiz." Jepp disappeared from the neighborhood and was never seen there again.

At length the whole truth came out, and it was this which so stirred the neighborhood. Old Monk told it bit by bit with knowing wink and nod and intimations of more terrible things to come. He finally told it all sitting by David's fireside, and Pinkie and the other children heard all the horrible details. Thus pictures were painted on their memories which they would carry to their graves.

Tens of thousands of children have such pictures painted in all their horrible colors on their tender minds,—pictures which they recount by day and dream about by night until they think in terms of stabbings, killings, shootings, and death struggles. Fathers and mothers often tell tales of these tragedies instead of telling Bible stories and fairy stories to their little ones. Many a father who never heard of Andersen, or Grimm, or Uncle Remus, has a stock of murder stories with which he entertains the family. Hatreds are engendered, prejudices are aroused, and passions are cultivated that often express themselves later in other terrible deeds.

What an opportunity there is for the teachers in our schools from the kindergarten to the university to teach great stories and the art of telling them, the biographies of great men and women, short humorous stories, and poems that appeal to the heart! We need in all our educational institutions, in normal schools in particular, the kind of English that will enable those who teach country children to crowd out the evil stories by substituting the good. The art of story-telling is for much of humanity a lost art, and too many of our institutions are doing too little to revive it. We may always expect to have murderers and perverters of youth and men and women of low ideals among us so long as our children hear so much about "scraps," "squabbles," "rippits," "spats," "rum-

pusés," "killings," and other crimes against common law and happy childhood. And they will continue to hear of these things around the fireside until the minds of our youth are filled with stories that will crowd out the objectionable kind. The best place to reform the world is in the school room.

Pinkie's mind was all a-whirl with conflicting ideas. There were some things which she could not reconcile. She had heard about "woods-colts" but she could not get that matter cleared up to her satisfaction. She had asked Mabel, but Mabel threatened to "smack" her for talking about such ugly things. She had asked her mother but got no satisfaction from her. In fact the whole matter of life and birth was worrying her and no one seemed to be able to make things clear—or at least they would not. Finally she asked Old Angeline, and Angeline told her, but told her in a way that put a taint in the little girl's mind that years did not move.

Pinkie was one of the millions of children who have honest questionings about the mystery of life and birth but who never have their questions answered by tactful, chaste-minded persons. They often get wrong ideas about marriage and birth which affect their own characters and conduct in after life. The whole subject is one of those forbidden topics about which many mothers never speak to their young daughters, and as many fathers never mention to their sons. But find out they will, though heaven forbid the manner in which they make the discovery. Unless honest and intelligent answers are given to these questioners by those nearest and dearest to them others will give them and in giving the answers they may contribute to the undoing of noble and beautiful lives.

III

Pinkie and the other children who were old enough worked in the cotton all summer. They chopped from early morning till sun-down day after day until late in the season, for even the late weeds must be kept down else they will injure the clean white fibre. The girls went to the field barefoot, and clothed in sunbonnet and one-piece dress. Shoes were never used in the fields, and rarely about the house. Mabel always wore hers on Sunday, but when Monday morning came they were carefully cleaned and put away. Hour after hour they worked in the broiling hot sun till hands, faces,

feet, and even shoulders were tanned a deep brown. Mabel invariably developed a few freckles which greatly annoyed her. She pinned her subonnet close, and bathed her face frequently with butter-milk, but all to little purpose. Pinkie tanned a beautiful uniform brown and was greatly pleased with it.

There were compensations during these days of hard toil. They lived and worked in the land of the mocking bird, and these delightful songsters were everywhere. There was shrubbery close by—red haw, hackberry, "May trees," redbud, dwarf crab apples, box elder, and other small growth that made the place a paradise for songbirds. From dawn till dark the notes of the mocking bird were heard—heard rarely during the hottest part of the day—and often at night when Pinkie was wakened by one of the babies she could hear the notes of this songster whose tones never fall below the degree of *par excellence*. He never sings badly; it's either a burst of heavenly music or no song at all. His numbers are all in the class with "Moonlight Sonata."

There were other wonderful songsters that filled the air with melody. The children often saw a tiny bluebird—they called it green—sitting on the topmost point of a dead stump or on the top twig of a tree, singing for dear life. Sometimes—usually late in the afternoon—they saw him sail slowly upward with peculiar flapping of wings, singing as he ascended until he reached the crescendo of his song, when he would turn and hasten down again to his perch. They did not know the bunting by name but they loved his cheering song that came at all times during the day, even when the sun was hottest and most of the other songsters were still.

Out in the thickets away from the open field lands other warblers entertained them. One in particular was a bird of many notes and surprises. They rarely saw him but they could hear his notes a long way. Occasionally he could be seen soaring up in most ludicrous fashion "poppin' his wings" and pouring out his quaint notes until the end of the measure was reached, then dropping back to the leafy bush again. Sometimes he, too, could be heard in the dead of night, but always seemingly far away, for the chat is a ventriloquist of marvelous powers and loves to keep those who listen to him under a delusion. Among the others were the red-eyed vireos that whistle all the day, the bluebirds whose warbling notes came from post, dead twig, and knot-hole, the bobwhites

whose piping calls were always good to hear, and the woodthrushes whose morning and evening chants filled all the woods with sweetest melody. There was no song among all the forests and fields which they loved more than the song of the thrush, and they always welcomed the time when his first flute-like notes came from the dim recesses of the ravines and the deeper woods.

But no feathered friends were more welcome than the house martins. There were always clusters of gourds hanging on tall poles erected by David and Billy, the oldest boy, and in these the martins built their nests. They always furnished a world of chatter, good cheer and company. Pinkie loved to hear the male bird gurgle and "pop his teeth" when the female approached the gourd. She talked to her father and mother about them and asked all sorts of questions about them and other things. One Sunday morning this conversation took place between the little girl and her father:

"Pappy, whut you reckon makes him do that a-way?"

"Um, I don' know. Guess it's jest his way of sayin' good mornin'."

"Well, pappy, whut you reckon makes the little green bird sing all day when other birds ain't a-singin'?"

"I don't know, honey. Guess he thinks somebody ought a-keep singin' all the time."

"Well, pappy, whut you reckon makes the flyin' ants all come out on the same day? Reckon how one bunch knows the others are out?"

"Don't know why they do it."

"Well, pappy, t'other day me an' Billy wuz a way down in the swamp huntin' for ole Bloss" (the cow) "an' we saw a rabbit settin' on his hin' laigs an' jest a-jumpin' up an' down an' a-pattin' the groun' with his hin' feet. Whut you reckon he wuz a-doin' it for?"

"Guess he wuz jist a-havin' a good time."

"An' pappy, jist yestiddy mornin' when we wuz out a-pickin' dewberries we saw a big hawk a-flyin' over with a great big snake in its claws, an' the ole snake wuz jes a-wigglin' an' a-rattlin'. I bet it wuz a great big rattler. Reckon whut the hawk wuz a-goin' a-do with him?"

"Eat 'im 'spec."

"Pappy, you know we seen some quair little holes down in

the swamp, an' they had little chimbleys of mud built up around um. Reckon whut made um?"

"Crawdads."

"Whut chu reckon they made um for?"

"I don't know, honey."

This was the usual satisfaction which Pinkie got from her father. She had two good eyes and she saw things, and she was always bubbling over with questions. But poor stupid David had eyes that saw not and ears that did not hear. He had a mind that asked few questions and an intelligence that answered fewer. He seemed to think when he thought at all of rents and crying babies, cotton and sleepless nights, of weeds, cutworms, and little shoes. He had no mind for the voices about him other than the voices of Winnie and the children, and the "bawl of a cow an' the squeal of a pig." He read no books, never looked at a newspaper, visited few people, rarely went to church, but lived the narrow, depressing, miserable life of the one-mule cotton cropper and took little interest in anything outside of the "worm-fence" that surrounded his cotton fields. He never went to "the polls" on election day and took no interest in the affairs of the nation. His ambition had been stifled and his spirit had been broken by hard luck and poverty. His whole life interest seemed to center in cotton, pigs, stove-wood, shingles, boards, and children. His mind had stopped growing at seventeen; he was now nearly forty. He had limitations beyond which he never essayed to go. His whole life was in a little circle outside of which he felt exceedingly uncomfortable—like a fish out of the water. He furnished very little inspiration to his children, and to their inquiring minds he ceased to be companionable. They grew away from him because they found his mind barren. They had so often asked him questions that he could not answer that they finally stopped going to him for information. He was conscious of their drifting away and suffered agony because of it. He could not understand why they did not continue to come and ask questions and receive his "I don't know, honey," for an answer.

How many tragedies like this exist among the poor and unlettered the educated world will never know. Many of the educated folk are too far out of touch with the poorest in everyday life to see into the heart of hearts of people like David and Winnie. Courses of study are not made for them, class-room lectures are not prepared

with people like them in view. University extension workers rarely meet them on a helpful level, for the extension workers seem to find them so stupid and uninteresting that they prefer to leave them alone. The workers little dream what tragedies their indifference helps to perpetuate. These poor people who always appealed so strongly to the Man of Galilee, who do the first hard tasks that make it possible for us to have hardwood floors and furniture, cotton goods, vegetables, warm homes, other necessities, these same people who strike the first blows that make our very existence possible, are often passed unnoticed by the very people who are supposed to help them most. The tax-assessor and the sheriff reach them but few other people do. The institution or the organization that adopts a program adapted to reach these unreached folk, lighten their burdens and bring them forth into the light and the larger life will at once commend itself to the most thoughtful people of the land. The fact that tens of thousands of such people remain out of the fold of culture, usefulness, and the larger life is unimpeachable evidence that our educational system does not function successfully when applied to the poor workers of the fields. But it is to be feared that long years will pass and thousands of souls will dwindle away in the dark before educational institutions will break away from traditions and conventional paths and be brave and daring enough to standardize their courses not by what is found in other institutions, but by the actual needs of the poorest and most neglected people in the land.

Or will the time ever come when the plaintive call of the unreached child will be heard by our educators over and above the clamor of the conventionally educated who demand the conventional program based on the very methods that in the past have allowed millions of the poor to live and die outside the pale of the larger and more useful life? If only the Spirit of the Man of Galilee could dwell in the room where our college faculties meet, and if the leaders of thought and action only *knew*, perhaps some things would be different.

PLAY NEEDS AND WORK NEEDS OF CHILDREN*

RAYMOND G. FULLER

One of the chief indictments against child labor is that it deprives children of opportunity to play. We do not, without a little thought, appreciate fully what this indictment means. To rob children of childhood as playtime is to rob them of childhood itself, for as Wood says: "Children love play as all young beings love life, because life is play. The child's life is one of physical, mental and moral development. Development means self-expression, self-expression means activity and activity means play. . . . Children do not play deliberately from ulterior motives; with them it is play for play's sake; play is life, they live to play; they are children because they play." It has been said that "the child who has not played has missed half of life." Rather he has missed childhood, which is more than half of life, since, in Froebel's words, "the whole later life of man, even to the moment when he shall leave it again, has its source in this period of childhood." Waddle says: "The child must play or he cannot become a man." That is, play is *functionally* related to growth and development of body, mind and soul. The values of play are as varied as the values of life. They are values that are not merely values to the child in childhood; they are values that last a lifetime. They are permanent.

When we consider the child labor evil from the physical and physiological standpoint, we have to consider not only the immediate effects but the effects that may not appear until adulthood; then we have to consider the physical and physiological values of play and with reference not only to the immediacy but to the permanency of these values. Childhood is the time for laying up treasures of health and strength to be enjoyed and utilized in later years.

*Some portions of this article are taken from the author's report on Recreation in Tennessee, which constitutes a section of a comprehensive report on child welfare conditions and problems made by the National Child Labor Committee and now in process of publication by the Tennessee Child Welfare Commission.

The building of a strong, healthy body by means of play fortifies against disease and gives power of resistance long, long afterward. Play strengthens and develops the bodily tissues, increases the vaso-motor reactions, stimulates all physiological processes, normalizes the vegetative processes, rids the body of accumulated toxins by oxygenation and elimination. Far more important than any muscular development, or any increase in strength is vitality. Play is vitalizing. It tones up the whole physical system. All these results are assets against the future.

Physical tone conduces to mental tone, physical health to mental health. Play for this and other reasons is favorable to mental health in adulthood; child labor is unfavorable. Most disturbances of personality and mental function, whenever they appear, trace their origin to childhood. The selective draft revealed a host of men with neurotic and neurasthenic symptoms. The number would have been smaller if there had been either less child labor or more childhood play. This fact is due in large part to the difference between play and work in childhood as regards psychic motivation and the demands of racial heredity, as well as to peculiarities in the different environments of play and work. Professor Yerkes writes: "In response to your question—'Does child labor in forms involving physical overwork, nervous overstrain, excessive fatigue, noisy surroundings, monotonous tasks, repression of 'play instincts' or 'work instincts,' issue in defective personality, nervous derangements and mental diseases, appearing in childhood or in later life?'—I should say with assurance and emphasis, 'Yes.' " Edmund C. Sanford, another distinguished student of the mind, writes in a letter that in his opinion a normal childhood would have reduced the percentage of neurasthenic and neurotic conditions uncovered by the draft and says that "in such normal childhood proper play is an important point." Dr. Pearce Bailey, Chief of the Section of Neurology and Psychiatry, Surgeon-General's Office, writing in the *New York Times* of functional nervous disease, says, "Non-medical agencies, such as boys' clubs, boy and girl scouts, settlement agencies, and play-grounds, promise most in the line of prevention."

Work as well as play requires supervision, and for reasons some of which apply to play and some of which do not. Work must

not be too hard or too continuous. It must not conduce to excessive fatigue or faulty postures or bad motor habits. It must not cause over-development of but one muscle or part, or overstrain the accessory muscles. It must not be carried on amid noisy or insanitary surroundings. On the positive side every operation and task would have to be considered with reference to orthopedic value, the development of muscles and parts, the motor habits favored, the interest evoked and maintained. The educative value of the work would be a prime consideration. Any activity ceases to be educative the moment it becomes monotonous and automatic. Work would also have to be considered with reference to the time and energy it took from schooling and the time it took from play. The values derived from the actual work performed by the child would have to be compared with the values to be derived from full-time schooling on full strength and with the values to be derived from play, plentiful at least and supervised if possible. Work meeting all these tests would be children's work and not child labor—small in amount and leaving abundant time for schooling and play. The proper work-places for supervised work are the home and the school, and not—to use the term generically—the factory, which functions for profit and is little likely in our day and generation to undertake the supervision of children's work in the interest of the child. The supervision of children's play is becoming daily more and more of a reality, but play even without supervision is better than child labor.

So strong is the play impulse that even the child laborer plays. In the midst of rapidly moving machinery, and despite admonitions and warnings, children *will* play. In the country at large, three times as many children as adults, in proportion to the number employed, are victims of industrial accident. This is partly due to the strength, the irrepressibility, of the play impulse. Child laborers may play also after the hard day's work. If children have energy enough to play after long toil, then why not exculpate child labor? Some children don't play after their work; they are too tired. But some do. It may be a bursting forth of the pent-up play impulse, or it may be a quest of relief and relaxation after toil and monotony. The fact that the child has seemingly boundless energy, energy enough to work hard and then to play hard, is apt to

deceive us. Expenditure of energy is not to be regarded, however, solely with respect to the amount which the child is able or willing to expend, but with respect chiefly to the energy that can be spared. Physical growth and development depend on the reserves of energy. If it is to be symmetrical and normal, energy must not be drained to the bottom. The reservoirs must not be emptied. .

We may note that much of the play of the child laborer after work is not active physical play, but passive play. Instead of the games of the playground he seeks amusement at the movies or the carnival. His tired and jaded nerves want stimulation. He craves excitement. So it happens that child labor conduces either to an over-strenuous leisure or an over-indulgence in amusements that have about the same effect on his nervous system as drugs—temporary and artificial stimulation, without restoring or increasing the reserves of energy. These amusements are night amusements to a large extent, taking time needed for sleep; many of them are indoors in crowded, stuffy, noisy rooms; they are likely to be furnished by commercialists, whose primary object is money-making, not man-making.

The muscular exercise that a child laborer gets is frequently lauded and work declared to be as good as play in this respect. The *amount* of muscular exercise in child labor may be as great as the amount in play, but it is not likely to be as varied. Certainly a boy will never become an athlete from standing at a loom, or shucking oysters, or delivering packages, or picking berries. The muscular exercise that really develops muscles is not that which is common in factory employment. Dr. Freiberg says on this point: "Exercise is our only means of strengthening the muscles, of encouraging their development, but the building up of a muscle which is actively growing and developing must be accomplished by exercises which are not too severe, which are not too long continued and which are of constantly varying character. Furthermore the muscle which carries out exercise must be given frequent periods of rest, during which it may recover; it should be given an opportunity to build up again that which has been consumed by use." Exercise in the factory that develops all the muscles and parts proportionately is still less common.

Farm work as physical exercise has much to commend it, but

here again a good many facts are often left out of consideration. Says Andress: "The clearing of the forests and the coming in of machinery have revolutionized the modes of muscular activity. The healthful exercise of swinging the axe to fell the trees of the forest, or to clear away the underbrush, is a thing of the past. The vigorous exercise of ploughing among stumps and stones or swinging a scythe in the hayfield is no longer a characteristic of farm life. The ploughs, cultivators, rakes, mowing machines, binders, headers, and other implements convey the farmer over his land and diminish the amount of his physical exercise. The work that the boy does with his hands is frequently pulling weeds, hoeing, or the like. Such work tends to cramp the chest and bring the shoulders forward. If he drives a team he sits on a seat that has no back and assumes a cramped position. Children on the farm may develop considerable muscular strength, but this is becoming less important each year. There is little exercise which develops vital strength, vigor of heart, lungs, and digestion." Curtis says: "Country boys and girls are apt to be round shouldered and flat-chested, with forward-slanting heads. Boys who have done much hard work are usually awkward and clumsy, almost without that grace and suppleness that are characteristic of a child who has been trained through play. Country children generally have more stable nerves than city children. Their digestion is commonly good. But they are apt to be deficient in lung capacity and heart development." All these facts are answers to the hundreds of farmers who take a skeptical or hostile attitude toward play and playgrounds, declaring that their children have all the exercise they need in the work they do. As an argument against play this is no argument at all, not only because the facts are against it, but because play is the life and spirit of childhood, and exercise is only incidental to it. It is psychical, not physical; it is emotional, mental, social.

But farm work does not even give well-rounded development from the physical standpoint alone. In the army camps it was found that city boys excelled country boys in symmetry of body, in quickness and sureness of motion, and in resistance to fatigue, as well as in mental alertness. The disadvantage of country life in all these respects can be overcome best through play and especially supervised play. It is not necessary that farm work for children be entirely abolished, but there is need for supplementary

and corrective activities. There must be available time for play—without it the provision of play facilities and play supervision will not suffice.

The development and cultivation of the so-called social instincts,—gregariousness, loyalty, altruism, co-operativeness—through children's play furnishes valuable preparation for adult work, as well as for adult life as a whole. It enables men to work together more easily and more effectively. It makes *esprit de corps* possible in the factory. Charles Otis Gill, a sympathetic and profound student of country life, declares that one of the chief reasons why it is so hard for farmers to co-operate is the fact that they did not play together enough when they were young. Associative play discovers individuals to one another, educates in the habit of co-operation, educates in the art of co-operation. Play among adults tends to have these effects, but the time of times for bringing out and establishing sociality is the period of childhood. Not only does play have meaning for agricultural production by enhancing individual efficiency and favoring co-operative effort on the economic side of country life, but by contributing to the attractiveness and completeness of country life on its social side, thus helping to check the exodus from the country to the city of much of the best human stock that America produces. Group and team play in childhood has significance, too, with regard to the problem of industrial strife. It initiates the individual into the ethics and amenities of the give-and-take of contest and encourages good sportsmanship. Through such play the individual learns the rules of the game of life and acquires willingness to abide by them. If the rules are unfair the rules may be changed, but the spirit and manner of accomplishing the change will be fair and open and above-board.

Among the instinctive tendencies developed in children's play and strengthened for future use is the play impulse itself. The ability to play is an undoubted asset to the adult worker. He needs it if he is to keep himself at maximum efficiency. He needs it in his leisure. He needs the play habit and the habit of physical exercise that goes with it. An eminent psychologist connected with the Aviation Service during the war relates this experience: "At Blank Field there was a definite requirement made of all officers to

the effect that they must be able to report at the end of each week that they had done 12 units of physical exercise. This was one of the best things I found at any of the aviation fields. If most of these individuals had had a normal play life in childhood, they would have taken their 12 units without any regulation from the commanding officer, and they would not have objected as strongly as they did to the enforcement of this regulation. One of the greatest surprises to me was to hear medical officers complain about having to take this physical exercise. One of them in particular gave me a great deal of trouble later because of his neurasthenia." But over and above the play impulse and the play habit is the play spirit, which represents an attitude towards all endeavor and experience. The spirit of play, as Gulick says, has value as a philosophy of life. Curtis writes in similar vein: "Most of the work of the world might as well be play as work,—it depends entirely on the spirit in which it is done. . . . Perhaps the greatest service that play has to render life is to give it the play spirit in which to do its work. The tragedy of child labor is that too often it kills the spirit of play itself."

It is sometimes the deficiency of the worker and sometimes the deficiency of the job that causes work to be drudgery. Play is its own reward, work not always; but there are many sources of that pleasurable-ness that makes work play, some of them residing in the work itself, others residing in the man or woman who does the work. The motives of play are various and often complex, and so are the motives of work; the motives of neither can be characterized in any brief formula. No hard and fast line between play and work can be drawn. The likenesses of work and play are at least as significant as their differences. The fundamental industrial problem is a problem of play. What do the workers really want? Leisure for play and recreation—a leisure at once pleasurable and profitable, affording relief from irksome monotony and opportunity for self-expression. What else? Not leisure alone, but a chance to play in and through work—self-expressive work. The worker is entitled to work that gives him self-expression or certainly the time and means for self-expression. Otherwise his life is hopelessly flat and stale, otherwise he deteriorates because so few of his powers are used. Not work, but zestless work, cheerless work, is the tragedy of work. The trend of standardized machine industry is against his finding a play interest and play satisfaction in work,

but somehow some of the time he must play, or his balked and thwarted instincts will issue in controversy, clashes, broodings, and fights—in the psycho-pathology of repressed impulses and unfulfilled components of desire—the anarchism and rebellion of the playless worker. It is play—as self-expression—that keeps life sweet. One plays or grows sour.

There are several definite instinctive tendencies that are clearly common to the motivations of both work and play, giving work some of its play interest and giving play some of its virtue as preparation for work. Conspicuous among these is the instinct of contrivance or constructiveness. Its development through play, rather than its catharsis or sublimation, is to be sought. This instinct is widespread in the animal world, among insects, birds and mammals, notably the beaver. It appears early in the life of the human individual. The great variety of block plays shows the interest in construction, as does the boy's desire to play with tools. Toys with which something can be done are more acceptable to a growing boy than completed toys. His curiosity as to the uses of things is related to his interest in the making of things. Doing and making are instinctively satisfying if they have personal meaning in purpose, process and result. They are playful and educative and preparatory to work. They constitute true learning. Walter Prichard Eaton, in reminiscent mood, writes: "I was taught, thank God, to use a saw, a plane, a chisel, when I was but 8 years old, and at 10 I was able to build a 12-foot canvas canoe which really floated and carried me all over Birch Meadow in the flooded spring. Teach a boy really to make something with tools, to make it strong and right, and you have done more to make him happy, to develop him, than you can accomplish in any other way. Give him power to realize his own dreams, not try to supply him with the dreams you think he ought to have." The constructive instinct appears in every boy. In some cases it is strong enough to persist under all circumstances, but in others, where it is not so strong, and where no encouragement is given, the desire fades, and the boy henceforward may be of no use with his hands at making anything. The old craftsmanship has largely gone out of the home and into the factory, where it has been broken up into minute processes performed by a machine-tender, whose monotonous repetition of his

part of the whole process gives him but a remote relation to the finished product; but craftsmanship and the pride of craftsmanship have not entirely passed away, even in the factory, the joy of work well done is still possible, and any married woman will admit that there is something worth while in "a handy man around the house." Moreover, the cultivation of the constructive interest in childhood has mental and moral values of no little account. In child labor it is likely to find little expression; expression is better given to it in the home and the school, and through it play may be combined with children's work.

But constructiveness means more than manual activity, more than making or doing things with the hands. It has reference to accomplishment and the joy of accomplishment. When Veblen said that "man has a taste for effective work and a distaste for futile effort" he was referring to the constructive instinct or what he called the instinct of workmanship. The sense of efficiency and effectiveness gives work something of a play interest and play satisfaction; that is, an attitude toward work that compensates for its menial and grinding features. This attitude should be the possession of every worker,—farmer and business man, mechanic and teacher,—but can be only if the work is well suited to his powers. Child labor stands in the way of a play interest in adult work because it not only lessens vocational efficiency but results in so many round pegs in square holes—vocational misfits.

The child who plays much and well will be able to work much and well. It is sometimes believed that play unfits for work because it is taken to mean idleness or mere diversion. This view springs from the anthropomorphic conception of childhood, according to which the child's mind is the adult's mind in miniature. It is thought that the child should be able to see that difference between play and work which the conditions of adult life suggest—work is real, play is not real; work is serious, play is not serious; work is business, play is pleasure. Play is pleasurable to children, but not pleasure as such; it is the most serious business of life; it is tremendously real. Idleness in the case of children is the exact antithesis of play—it is the lack of play. It does not develop habits of idleness—habits of idleness are encouraged by its absence. It does not develop love of ease—it often involves and welcomes hardship.

Play gives the pleasure of doing the unpleasant and the moral training of overcoming difficulties. It makes the most exacting demands upon patience, perseverance, concentration and skill. It develops, not the qualities of the loafer, the shirker or the quitter, but the qualities needed by the efficient, effective, successful worker.

II

The three principal substitutes for child labor are schooling, play, and suitable work. The school, as an educational institution, has a large responsibility in respect not only of one but of all three of these substitutes.

It has a large responsibility in respect of play. The varied values of play and the functional relation of play to growth, development, education, have been clarified—or, it might almost be said, discovered—by modern child psychology. So now we have the deliberate use of play for educational purposes. But there is danger in this utilitarian view of play. We should not fail to regard play as its own justification; perhaps we should never regard it as a means, a method, an instrument. Certainly the benefits of play come incidentally, from the standpoint of the child's own psychology; and play is a good-in-itself.

The responsibility of the school in regard to play is not limited to the playground. It is not limited to any special place, nor to any special time. It has to do with the whole play life of children.

The play life of children deserves recognition in the school curriculum. Too many educators seem to regard play as merely a means to something other than play—an incentive, a bribe, a school method, a device. They would use play to get children to learn and study, or to afford relaxation. Junius L. Meriam takes a different view. He says that play merits a place in the curriculum strictly upon a principle which he states as follows: "The curriculum should be selected directly from real life and be expressed in terms of the activities of people. The function of the school should be to help boys and girls do better in all their activities that are normal and wholesome. Play is one of the normal and wholesome activities of children." But, it will be objected, children do not need to be taught to play. True, but they do need to be taught how to play.

"It must not be overlooked," says Meriam, "that the spirit of play and the means and manner of playing are two very different things. . . . There is great need that the means and manner of playing be improved. Such a need gives opportunity and responsibility to the school." Meriam is speaking of *education in school for the play life of children*. The curriculum should serve play; not play, the curriculum. Play should not be regarded as an aid to schooling; schooling should be regarded as an aid to play, which is a part of the natural, normal life of children. The service of real education is to enable individuals to live well—fully and efficiently—in the present. If this service is adequately performed in childhood, adulthood will very largely take care of itself.

Children have work needs as well as play needs and these, too, should be served by the school. In considering them we come upon some fundamental distinctions. One relates to the difference between play and work, another to the difference between child labor and suitable children's work, and a third to the difference between vocational needs and work needs. Psychological research into the bases and implications of these differences presents an important and as yet little developed field. The psychological difference between work and play has received considerable attention and has been stated variously according to the terminology of various schools of psychology. The racial-inheritance psychologists state it in language which, though valid enough within limits, is not sufficiently serviceable for the purposes of the inquiry suggested. Patrick, of whom Stanley Halls says that he has "the clearest conception of any one I know of the nature of play," has a conception which leads to the conclusion that in a psychological sense children *cannot work*. The same thing is implied in most of the other current conceptions of play and work. This the present writer does not believe. Without discussion or argument as to the psychological ability of children to work let us assume that play and work together do comprise the active occupations of children, that children work as well as play, and that the work they do is not necessarily, in all cases, child labor. Probably the work that is farthest from child labor partakes largely of the nature of play, but let us omit discussion or argument on that point. Let us pass to the distinction between child labor and suitable children's work. Child labor we may regard as non-education, not only because it

stands in the way of schooling but because its antithesis, which is not play but children's work, is developmental and educative while child labor is not. Let us take "development" and "education" as if they applied only to the mind. And then let us draw a distinction between vocational needs and work needs. The child's work needs have to do with his present life as a child; his vocational needs, with his future adulthood. They are psychological rather than sociological.

In considering the work needs of children we consider the child, not industry. Our vocational education suffers from the pressure and domination of the industrial institution; and the industrial institution does not exist for the satisfaction of children's needs. Says Helen Marot: "The institution of industry rather than institution of education, dominates thought in industrial education courses. It is the institution of industry as it has affected the life of every man, woman and child, which has inhibited educational thought in conjunction with schemes for industrial schools. No established system of education or none proposed is more circumscribed by institutionalized thought than the vocational and industrial school movement." The vocational education of today is as far from meeting the needs of children as children as the older traditional education. Just as the latter has overemphasized *subjects* at the expense of boys and girls, to the neglect of child nature, so the former is now overemphasizing *vocations*. In both the traditional and the vocational curriculum, the content of the whole is subdivided and parcelled out according to what is believed to be the child's ability at his age—that is, the starting point is the subject or the vocation itself, not the child. Growth, however, is the really important consideration. The vocational curriculum has the advantage in that it involves more action—especially action of body and mind together.

Children have (sometimes) and ought to have a work life, though they may not have a specific work instinct* as they do perhaps, have a play instinct. This work life consists of their active occupations apart from play. The school has a responsibility for the whole work life of children as well as for their play

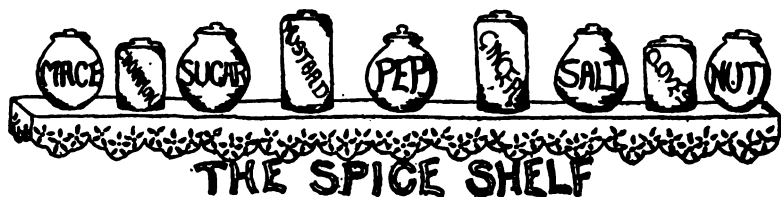
*Constructiveness comes nearest to such an instinct. There are other instincts common to play and work.

life. This responsibility is not limited to the school room or to the school work, which may include manual, prevocational and vocational work. The school should help children to perform better and more profitably and more enjoyably all those tasks away from school that are proper for children to perform. It should enrich the work life of children. It should educate not only *through* work, but *for* work; and not merely for *adult* work but for *children's* work. Children's work, distinguished from child labor, is, where established, "one of the normal and wholesome activities of children," as Meriam says of play. To paraphrase Meriam: "There is great need that the means and manner of working be improved. Such a need gives opportunity and responsibility to the school."

This responsibility of the school for the enrichment of the actual work life of children implies the prior establishment of children's work in place of child labor or the conversion of child labor into children's work. Children's work is a matter of *what* children do; the responsibility above referred to is concerned with the *how* of their doing it. But the school has a responsibility also for *what* children do—whether it shall be child labor or children's work. It has a responsibility, in other words, for the establishing of such work as shall constitute one of the normal and wholesome activities of all children.

Nothing could be farther from the truth than the rather widespread notion that child labor reform is predicated on the assumption that children should have no work *whatever* to do. It must be said, however, that the belief that children *should* have work is responsible for a good deal of child labor. Though much has been done by society to abolish child labor, little has been done to establish children's work on a proper basis. Society has made no serious constructive attack on the children's work problem, but sooner or later we must come to grips with this problem of children's work. The school has not done its part toward answering the true work needs of children; neither has the home, and the urban home is under a heavy handicap in this regard. Instead of enough children's work we have had too much child labor. As part of the solution of the child labor problem, as a means to the abolition of child labor and the breaking down of opposition to reform, we must give attention to the work that children *should* have and *see that they*

have it. To establish children's work is quite as important as to establish children's play or to abolish child labor. These are all aspects of a single problem.



A social worker is often charged, and sometimes justly so, with fixing his gaze on the dark side of the picture. But he's not the only pessimist. A hotel proprietor in a Rocky Mountain village spent most of his time dwelling upon the evils of his environment, the while he sat on the porch in a rickety chair tilted back against the wall, and spat tobacco juice out into the road. He asked the visiting social worker what his line was and having satisfied his curiosity, gave vent to his feelings in these words: "Well, sir, out here there are more rivers and less water, more cows and less milk, you can look farther and see less, you can work harder and earn less, than in any other d—— state in the Union."

Intelligence, according to psychologists, consists in the ability to come off well from situations.

There was once a little boy who did not seem to be very bright in school. One day he was required to stay after hours to write a list of twelve polar animals. He wanted to go with the boys to the "ol' swimmin' hole," and through the open window he could hear their shouts and laughter. And bye and bye he handed to the teacher a folded paper on which he had written, "six seals and six polar bears." Then he beat it.

CLASSICS THAT MAY BE WORTH REPRINTING

Four animals belonging to the cat family are the father cat, the mother cat, and two little kittens.

A mountain pass is a pass given by the railroad to its employees so that they can spend their vacations in the mountains.

Weapons of the Indians: Bow, arrow, tomahawk, and war-hoop.

—*Outlook.*

"Now, children," said the teacher, "I have been talking to you about the duty of cultivating a kindly disposition, and I will now tell you a little story of two dogs. Henry had a nice little dog, gentle as a lamb. He would not bark at the passers-by or at strange dogs, and would never bite. William's dog, on the contrary, was always fighting other dogs, or flying at the hens and cats in the neighborhood; and several times he seized a cow by the nostrils and threw her. He barked at strangers, and would bite them unless some one interfered. Now, boys, which dog would you like to own—Henry's or William's?"

The answer came instantly, in one eager shout:

"*William's!*"

—*Everybody's.*

The Reverend Sol Broils was preaching what he considered his best sermon, but, for some unaccountable reason, it failed to arouse sufficient interest.

He decided to try his audience on another theme. "Brethren," he shouted, "in dat Glory Land dar ain't gwine ter be no mo' scuf-flin' fer de good things to eat! Everything gwine ter be fotch to yo'—sassage, spare-rib, chitlin's, 'possum! Think uv dat!"

Old Uncle Bill Franklin, who had been sound asleep, woke up at this point and yelled out fervidly: "Parson, say dem greasy wuhds agin!"

—*Everybody's.*

VOCATIONAL CHOICE

How do people choose their vocations in life? The remark of a certain butcher is illuminating on this point—at least, so far as he is concerned. He was asked one day why he had embraced the butcher business. He scratched his head thoughtfully with his meat axe as he slowly replied: "Well, now, that's pretty hard to tell, but I reckon it must-a been because I always *was* fond of animals."



A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION. Walter Scott Athearn. New York: George H. Doran Company. \$1.50.

This book is a plea for a dual system of education: (1) for a national public school system such as might be developed if the Smith-Towner bill were enacted; and (2) a system of religious instruction independent of the public schools in control and support but national in its scope and organized on a parallel basis.

Mr. Athearn's conception of the function of the public schools, is "to prepare our people to sustain a socialized-industrial-democracy." In other words it is through the public schools that the youth of the nation must receive instruction in the various problems, national and international, that confront us and it is likewise in the schools that he must develop the initiative, invention and originality that will enable him effectively to deal with them. To this end Mr. Athearn recommends that the compulsory school age be raised to 18 years, and that the state make it economically possible for children up to that age to remain in school.

Public school education, however, Mr. Athearn believes, tends to become naturalistic and materialistic. The state can not be expected to give religious instruction, but the work of the public schools "must be supplemented by a unified system of religious education which will guarantee the spiritual homogeneity of our democracy." Unless this is established, unless "the church school can pick up the curriculum of the public school and shoot it full of religious meaning" democracy can not be successful. The author, outlines in detail the contemplated plan for the organization and demonstration of such a system of religious education and its relation to the work of the public schools.

Mr. Athearn's fear that our public schools may become materialistic is legitimate. Perhaps they are so already. But, if this be so, it suggests that those in whose power the control of the school lies have a false conception of the purpose of education. It is not due to the lack of religious instruction in the public schools (which Mr. Athearn agrees is out of the question); nor does it indicate a need for imposing upon the children another system of education such as the author suggests. Rather it calls for a change in the atmosphere of the school, a more idealistic and cultured type of teacher and a more vital curriculum. If the work and activities of the school are such that they do actually develop "initiative, invention and originality," which Mr. Athearn points out

as the essential factors in the citizens of a democracy, there need be no fear of a materialistic nation, no demand for a system of religious instruction other than that which each parent chooses for his child.

G. H. F.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CURRICULUM. EXPERIMENTS IN ADAPTATION.
Francis W. Parker School Studies in Education. Chicago, Ill.

This volume does not merely add one to the number already published dealing with the application of the teachings of modern child psychology to theories of education. Rather it is a description of the methods by which the Francis Parker School has attempted to establish this relationship and the results which have been obtained in certain classes of this school.

The net impressions left after reading this book are three:

First, that the experiment has been successful in demonstrating the worth of the self-directed individual project theory of education—an impression created not so much by the statements of the children, their parents and their teachers, although these are not without value, but by actual illustrations of the work which the children have done. The aims of this method are defined by the author to be: "To increase intensity of individual action; to preserve individual differences; to train the power of choice; to train the habits of self-direction and of self-stimulation; to train the power of self-judgment; to stimulate the habit of putting one's power at the service of others." Without knowing the children, but by comparing their work with that of children of similar ages in the public schools, it is evident that these objects are being accomplished, not all in each child perhaps, but sufficient to justify continuance of the method.

Second, that it must always be regarded as an experiment—not because of any doubt as to its ultimate success, but because of its very nature. The foundation of this theory, that the child is an individual, precludes any cut-and-dried method of application. Each child is in itself an experiment. Some, perhaps, can not profit by such a method of instruction or may profit only by certain features. Only through constant experimentation and constant study of child psychology can teachers discover how this theory will affect the individual child, and how it must be applied in order that his development will not be one-sided, and yet will give free play to his individuality.

Third, that it is applicable only to experimental or at least exceptional schools. The large public schools of today could not introduce such a method. The classes are too large, the teachers, for the most part, would not comprehend it, and the equipment could not be secured. This, however, is not an indictment of the method. The school exists for the child, and if its plant is unsuitable for the type of study which is of greatest value to the child, it must be changed.

G. H. F.

INDUSTRIAL NURSING. Florence Swift Wright, R.N. New York: The Macmillan Company.

The foreword of this book describes it as a manual to give an idea of the conditions under which the industrial nurse may have to work, and a guide for those without special training to careful self-preparation while engaged in the work. It describes in detail the many varied duties in which the industrial nurse is engaged and gives valuable suggestions for carrying out these activities. The suggestions for meeting the practical problems of gaining the support and good will of the employer and the employee, of conducting first aid in the plant, of friendly helping through home visiting, of records and reports, of lunch-room service and of general public health nursing problems, are well chosen and helpful.

This book probably represents, in a sense, an over-view of the industrial nursing situation as it is today—a hodge-podge of activities that have developed as a result of many kinds of demands. The book does not present a broad view of health service for the industrial worker, but rather considers the problems of the industrial nurse as she is now found in varied lines of activity. The nurse entering this field should by all means study the problem of industrial hygiene in a broad way because she is so oftentimes the pioneer who introduces the industrial leaders to the great possibilities of human engineering.

H. H. M.

TECHNIQUE OF SOCIAL SURVEYS. Manuel C. Elmer. Minneapolis: University Printing Company.

Because of its many suggestions as to details of procedure, this volume is unquestionably useful to those who are bent upon making community surveys, but owing to its advocacy of the type of organization and methods which culminated in the late lamented Interchurch Movement's survey, the wisdom of its advice with regard to fundamental matters in this field is at least open to question. A good deal depends in the first place upon one's definition of a survey, and this book gives no clear idea of what it is; in one place it is referred to as an inventory of the community, in another its findings are said to bear much the same relation to the community that (sic) an architect's plans do to the construction of a great industrial plant—and this confusion between the study of conditions and the preparation of a program based upon a knowledge of conditions leaves the reader in doubt about the author's conception of a survey. The scientific value of a scientific survey is urged upon the reader, and this is commendable, so far as it goes, but the reader should be cautioned to apply the scientific method to a consideration of the book itself as well as to the social surveys he may have it in mind to make.

E. N. C.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF WOMEN PHYSICIANS. New York City: Woman's Press. Six volumes. \$3.00.

The program of the International Conference of Women Physicians, called last summer by the Young Women's Christian Association, represented a courageous effort to bring about a free discussion of the fundamental problems—whose solution has not been really sincerely attempted in the past on account of the clouds of convention and theology generally enveloping them. The discussion showed a recognition that the motives of conduct are important factors in health and happiness, and consequently, that problems in human development cannot be solved until the searchlight of science is turned upon the subject of fundamental instincts and motives of behavior. Among the many topics discussed were general health, industrial health, and child health problems, moral codes, personality, prostitution, illegitimacy, venereal disease, and the adaptation of the individual to reality.

The discussions on beauty and hygiene in dress, at the time the conference was in session, called forth much discussion in the press. Dr. Joseph M. Levy's exposition of the short-comings of many members of the dental profession resulted in his expulsion from the Dental Association. The paper by Dr. Beatrice M. Hinkle in pointing out the fallacy of certain fundamental ideas regarding sex distinction was a genuine contribution. The hidden motives of behavior and the distortions resulting from repressions were subjects that were dealt with in all the sessions.

It is interesting to note that in recently distributed copies of these proceedings, the Young Women's Christian Association has rubber-stamped a statement that "while the National Board publishes this report, it does not necessarily endorse all opinions expressed therein."

Physicians, psychologists, teachers, and students of social problems will find in the six volumes of proceedings fearless, original, and stimulating presentations of the topics dealt with by persons of such recognized scientific standing as: Dr. William A. White, Dr. Beatrice M. Hinkle, Dr. Trigant Burrow, Wilfred Lay, Dr. Horace W. Frink, Dr. Constance Long of London, Dr. S. Josephine Baker, Helen Marot, Dr. E. V. MacCullom, G. Stanley Hall, Drs. Anna Montet and Marguerite Giboulot of France, Dr. Clelia Lellini of Italy, Dr. Alma Sundquist of Sweden, and Drs. Dagney Bang and Reginia Strang of Norway.

EMMA DUKE.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF NATIONALITY AND INTERNATIONALISM. W. B. Pillsbury. New York: D. Appleton and Company. \$2.50.

This book reflects no less the influence of McDougall and Trotter as original thinkers in social psychology than it does the vigor and independence of Professor Pillsbury. The author modestly says in his preface that the volume represents a compromise between the position of McDougall and that of Trotter, but there is something besides compromise—there is something added that is the author's own—this addition is distinctive.

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY. Edward A. Ross. New York: The Century Company.

Here is Ross, very nearly complete. The book represents, as he says, *a* system of sociology; he does not attempt to formulate *the* system. It is an arrangement of social data that he has found convenient and serviceable. The treatment, of course, is very strongly psychological. The style, as usual, is flowing and delightful. The book is easy reading. It is also good reading. There may be difference of opinion as to the soundness of the author's views and interpretations; there can be none as to the worth-whileness of this volume, despite its lack of critical detachment.

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE TESTS. Prepared under the auspices of the National Research Council, by M. E. Haggerty, L. M. Terman, E. L. Thorndike, G. M. Whipple, and R. M. Yerkes, Chairman. Scale A: Form 1; Scale B, Form 1 (with Scoring Keys, in packages for 25 pupils). \$1.60. **MANUAL OF DIRECTIONS.** 40 cents. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company.

These are the army mental tests adapted for use in schools, but their utility is not confined to schools alone. They can be used for determining the mental status of any English-speaking person not above the mental age of the average adult. Scoring has been made unusually simple.

STANDARD EDUCATIONAL TESTS. Arranged and standardized by M. E. Haggerty. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company.

These include "Achievement Examination in Reading: Sigma 1"; "Intelligence Examination: Delta 1"; and "Intelligence Examination: Delta 2." Two of these tests are intended for group intelligence testing in the elementary schools and one for testing both intelligence and achievement in reading at the same time. They are based on the army tests.

AMERICAN PRIVATE SCHOOLS. Sixth edition, 1920-21. Boston: Porter E. Sargent.

This is a well-known and invaluable handbook which in the present revised and enlarged edition upholds its tradition of excellence. It is full of information for all students of education as well as for parents who are trying to decide to which private school they will send their children. Handbook? Well, it's just what that word implies, except in the matter of size.

SOCIAL LAWS AND AGENCIES OF NORTH CAROLINA. A handbook of Information
Compiled by the American Red Cross, Southern Division, in Co-operation
with the State Department and the State University of North Carolina.

This loose-leaf volume of classified information covering laws and agencies in the fields of Agriculture, Americanization, Child Welfare, Community and Civic Development, Delinquency, Dependency, Domestic Relations, Education, Family Welfare, Health, Insurance and Pensions, Labor, Mental Defectives and Insane, Taxation, and some other subjects, was primarily designed for the use of Red Cross workers but will prove serviceable to many others engaged in social work. Not only convenient in form the book is undoubtedly accurate in substance, the material having been gathered and edited in cooperation with state and university officials. This is the first of a series of similar state handbooks to be issued by the Red Cross. There is also to be one for the whole United States.

SHOP TALK

I—ABOUT THE "AMERICAN CHILD"

Readers of the *AMERICAN CHILD* may be interested in what other readers think and say about the magazine. We are pleased most of all that the policy and purposes behind this publication seem to be so well understood. But let us quote from some of the letters we have recently received (some of them appeared in a circular sent to all members of the Committee):

Prof. G. T. W. Patrick, head of the Department of Philosophy and Psychology, State University of Iowa, writes in a personal letter to the editor: "I am enthusiastic about the AMERICAN CHILD. The article on 'California the Golden' in the November number would alone awaken one's interest in the all-important work that you are doing. The inductive, scientific spirit in which you are conducting it insures its success. It is a fine field and I wish you the fruit which this kind of work deserves."

We quote below from other letters that have come into the office:

Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Chief of the Federal Children's Bureau: "The AMERICAN CHILD is always interesting. Fresh material and readable presentation characterize its pages and it performs well the invaluable service of popularization. No one should read it who is unwilling to have his sense of responsibility for the children of the nation painfully quickened."

Joseph K. Hart, Author, "Community Organisation," etc.; Associate Editor, the "Survey": "The interest you are developing not merely in the work that is being done to correct evils and safeguard children in industry, but the efforts you are making to broaden the general field of interest in child life and education commends the magazine to me very strongly. We are still very negligent in our efforts to understand the wider basis of child life, especially in the realm of childish feeling and appreciation. You have been running some articles recently that are directed to these phases. I hope that while continuing your excellent work for the protection of children from the complications of modern industrial society, you will continue your fine work in exploration and discovery of the still hidden meanings of childhood itself."

Prof. E. C. Lindeman, North Carolina College for Women; Field Secretary, American Country Life Association: "The AMERICAN CHILD is a quarterly journal which covers a wide range of child-welfare interests. Its chief function is, of

course, to give publicity to activities related to the problem of child labor. It contains articles which are scientific in character, but the major portion of its material constitutes a popular interpretation of scientific material. The journal is well edited and contains information valuable to social workers, physicians, physical directors, teachers, school administrators, recreation leaders, legislators, sociologists, employers of labor and all persons interested in child welfare as one of the avenues of social progress. It should be in the libraries of all educational institutions, community libraries, reading rooms, reference libraries, legislative libraries, and its bound volumes should be included in traveling libraries. One edition each year is devoted to the addresses delivered at the annual conference on child labor held under the auspices of the National Child Labor Committee. The AMERICAN CHILD constitutes a running history of the theory and practise underlying the child-labor movement." (*Extract from lecture-syllabus for course in Applied Sociology.*)

Paul U. Kellogg, Editor "The Survey": "Members of the *Survey* staff often go foraging in the pages of the AMERICAN CHILD. We find it newsy, interestingly written, fresh. Its standards of accuracy are high and it gives information about conditions affecting children against the larger background of public welfare as a whole."

Mrs. Ira Couch Wood, Director, Elisabeth McCormick Memorial Fund: "The magazine is high-grade in every particular. . . . The articles are well written. . . . The magazine is most worth-while."

Kenyon L. Butterfield, President, Massachusetts Agricultural College: "I think the AMERICAN CHILD a most admirable expression both of the interests of the American child and of the service of the National Child Labor Committee. I wish it could circulate among farmers as well as other folks."

Arthur F. Lederle, Supervisor of School Attendance, Detroit: "We have just completed a study of available periodicals covering the field of child welfare, as we are about to subscribe for a number of magazines for the use of our investigators. I thought you would be pleased to know that we have placed your magazine, the AMERICAN CHILD, at the head of the list. We did so because it is up-to-date, sensible, and attacks problems at the source. . . . The fearless and impersonal attitude of your investigators also is apparent in the work undertaken by the members of your staff."

Lillian D. Wald, Head Worker, Henry Street Settlement, New York City: "Here at the settlement we often talk about the AMERICAN CHILD. . . . I was particularly impressed with the picture of the Southern child at play. The story made him such a very natural child that I, for one, am glad that the National Child Committee departed from its usual and necessary exhortations and made use of the eternal aspirations in the heart and the muscles of the young. I find myself, accustomed as I am to receiving magazines, leaflets, reports, etc., holding on to the last copy of the AMERICAN CHILD because of some illuminating, interpretative account, and because it seems to be extraordinarily suggestive, even to the jaded mind."

Hastings H. Hart, Director, Department of Child-Helping, Russell Sage Foundation: "I want to congratulate the National Child Labor Committee upon the *AMERICAN CHILD*, which is full of illuminating material in the field of child welfare. It fills a unique place.

William S. Woods, Editor, the "Literary Digest": "We read your excellent magazine here with great interest and find its material available for quotation in our columns. We wish you every success in the splendid work you are doing through the magazine and otherwise."

Prof. Dwight Sanderson of the New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, says that: "The *AMERICAN CHILD* is doing a useful service in calling attention to the conditions of child life in some of our more neglected rural regions and in some of the neglected homes of our more prosperous farming country. Because of the high standard of most farm homes rural people have gained the impression that there are no bad farm homes, and they dislike to admit that there are rural slums as well as urban slums. It is to be hoped that these problems can be gotten before our farm leaders so that they will give them real attention, for rural child labor problems will not be solved except by the country people themselves."

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

How and When Organized

The National Child Labor Committee was organized April 15, 1904, and incorporated by Act of Congress, February 21, 1907. It owes its origin to the coming together of several men and women who, in different parts of the country, had been aroused by what they had seen of child labor in some of its worst forms, and to the publication of census figures showing the great extent of the evil.

Purpose or Object

The object of the Committee is to safeguard American childhood as affected by industrial and agricultural conditions. The enactment and enforcement of progressive legislation and the development of enlightened public opinion are essential features of the Committee's policy. The Committee's effort goes beyond legislation—it goes beyond prohibition to all practicable means and methods of prevention, some of which require legislation and some of which do not. The Committee is vitally interested in the whole problem of premature school-leaving. It is interested, as well, in the establishment of the substitutes for child labor, particularly suitable schooling, suitable play and suitable work—and in this both as a method and as a goal of child labor reform. Not an unoccupied but a well occupied childhood is its aim.

Specific Activities and Services Rendered

The legislative program of the Committee is chiefly concerned with child labor laws, compulsory education laws, mothers' pension

laws, and so-called Children's Codes. Items in the program may be listed as follows: Better child labor laws, better enforced; better school attendance laws, better enforced; better schools with stronger holding power of their own; vocational training, guidance, and placement; health supervision of the child in school and at work; physical examination of applicants for working papers; provision of public recreation facilities for children; children's scholarships, mothers' pensions, and other means of relieving and preventing poverty; all children under 16 in school on full time; all children between 16 and 18 in part-time or continuation schools if not attending school on full time. Throughout its existence the Committee has emphasized the necessity of efficient administration. In the last few years it has devoted much attention to the Children's Code, which represents the attempt, in a given state, to standardize and coordinate the laws and administrative agencies having to do with children and to supply laws and agencies covering aspects of child welfare that have been neglected in the statutes.

The National Child Labor Committee from its inception has based its work on first hand knowledge gained through investigation of the particular phase of child labor under discussion. Such investigations were at first, of necessity, on a small scale, and devoted to a specific issue. Today the Committee has a large staff of trained investigators whose services are placed at the disposal of any community desirous of discovering the truth about itself as regards child welfare in all its numerous and interrelated aspects. Several states have taken advantage of this service, and in cooperation with both public and private agencies, the Committee has made a number of state-wide child welfare studies. These surveys cover such subjects as Public Health, Education, Dependency, Juvenile Delinquency, Institutions, Recreation, Child Labor, Agriculture, Rural Life, and Law and Administration.

Territory Covered

The Committee deals with the child labor problem as a local community problem, as a state problem, and as a national problem. It works throughout the United States.

How Individuals or Communities May Secure Service

By application to the National Child Labor Committee, 105 East 22d Street, New York City.

Publications or Exhibitions Available for Distribution

The Committee publishes the **AMERICAN CHILD**, a quarterly magazine of general child welfare. It also publishes various pamphlets and reports, including reports of its State child welfare studies. Photographs, slides and exhibits are furnished.

STATE CHILD WELFARE STUDIES

By making comprehensive studies, on a statewide basis, of child welfare conditions and problems, the National Child Labor Committee is rendering well recognized service in the Children's Code movement.

The purpose of a children's code is to standardise and to co-ordinate the laws and administrative agencies relating to children and to supply laws and administrative agencies covering aspects of child welfare that have been neglected in the statutes. This, of course, is far more than a mere process of simplification—far more than rearrangement for ready reference. A general code deals with laws already passed, while a children's code deals with boys and girls, their interests, and the conditions that affect them. The one is merely the arrangement of laws in orderly sequence so as to facilitate the use of the statute books; the other is legislative social service whose object is to enrich and to make secure the realm of childhood.—*Edward N. Clopper.*

The studies of the National Child Labor Committee lay the informational foundation for revision and standardization of the child welfare laws of a state. In Tennessee the study covered the following subjects:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. The Child and the State. | 6. Rural Life. |
| 2. Health. | 7. Juvenile Courts. |
| 3. Schools. | 8. Mothers' Pensions. |
| 4. Recreation. | 9. Institutions. |
| 5. Child Labor. | 10. Home Finding. |

These studies are made by a staff of specialists and always at the invitation of public-spirited citizens or social agencies within the state where the work is to be done.

PUBLISHED REPORTS

Child Welfare in Oklahoma	\$.75	Child Welfare in Kentucky	\$1.25
Child Welfare in Alabama	\$1.00	Child Welfare in Tennessee	
Child Welfare in North Carolina .	\$1.00		(Ready soon)

These volumes should be in every library containing works on sociology and economics. They are of special value to social workers, clergymen, educators, journalists, legislators and administrators everywhere.

HAS YOUR STATE HAD A CHILD WELFARE SURVEY?

National Child Labor Committee

Incorporated to promote the interests of children

105 EAST 22D STREET

NEW YORK CITY

National Child Labor Committee

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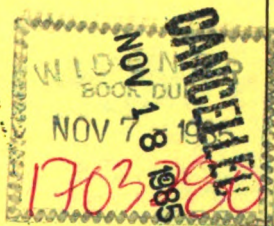
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